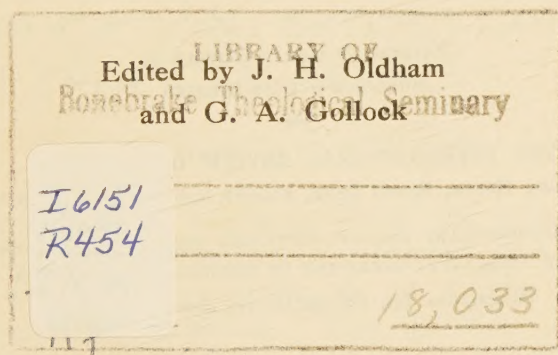


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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT IN EDUCATION: BRITISH COLONIES IN TROPICAL AFRICA¹

By GARFIELD H. WILLIAMS

WE cannot decide anything about the relations which should subsist between government and missions in education until we have made up our minds what is the aim and scope of education. This question of aim and scope is quite fundamental to any profitable discussion of the subject. For if our aims are essentially different there is an end to the matter, and if we do not realize the scope of education the chances are that co-operation will be ineffective because we shall not discover where and how it is best to co-operate.

I

First then, what is the aim of education ?

Education is something which draws out possibilities which are latent in growing minds. It is accomplished in a general kind of way by encouraging such tendencies as

¹ A paper read at the Conference on Christian Missions in Tropical Africa, held at High Leigh, September 8th to 13th, 1924. In the original paper there were sections devoted (1) to an historical survey of political thought concerning the duties of the State in regard to education, and (2) to the relations which should subsist between government and missions in areas where the dominant religion of the people was Mohammedanism. Lack of space prevents the inclusion of these sections.—Ed.

already exist in the individual, and helping them towards an ideal of individual development and good citizenship which exists in the mind of the educator, and, if true, latently in all minds, and must therefore, if true, be, in its essentials, independent of differences of temperament, environment and race. Parenthetically it seems to me that this must usually involve something in the nature of a suppression of such tendencies as militate against this ideal. But I will not dwell on this point now. In order to accomplish its constructive work, education supplies to the individual a knowledge of certain known facts, and it creates a desire, or perhaps it would be better to say it stimulates a desire which is inherent in the individual to increase the store of known facts. But it does much more than this, for somehow or other it has got to help the individual to put the facts he knows to the best possible use both as regards himself and the whole community, and to do this it must develop in the individual a certain breadth of outlook which among other things involves the possession of certain moral qualities such as purity of heart and motive, interest in others, unselfishness and altruism, and a certain moral judgment which necessarily demands a criterion for judgment.

May I point out in passing that this idea of the aim of education presupposes great variation in the method of education among different peoples? Such evidence as history affords clearly shows that the latent possibilities to be drawn out by education are not exactly the same either in kind or degree among any two individuals the world over. There are indeed large dissimilarities in natural endowments, and temperamental variation exists both among individuals and as between specific groups of individuals. There is such a thing as group temperament, and this must often affect the application of educational theory. But what I want chiefly to point out here is that in all education there is the absolute necessity of producing somehow or other what I have described above, quoting from some source I cannot

remember, as breadth of outlook and moral judgment, and all educationists are agreed that without this breadth of outlook and moral judgment education must inevitably be a curse rather than a blessing both to the people educated and to those with whom they come in contact.

Can we get any further than this? It is to be hoped that we can, for this is far too vague to be of much use as a definition of our aim in education. The difficulty is of course, as Maxwell Garnett says in his massive work *Education and World Citizenship*, 'the aim of education cannot be defined until the aim of life has first been determined.' He goes on to assume 'in the absence of any generally accepted view of the aim of human life' that 'human societies should at least aim at making progress—advancing continuously towards the fulfilment of some far-reaching purpose,' and I think we can assume as much as that here. But he goes much further, and I hope we can go with him, he concludes that this far-reaching purpose is best thought of in terms of the fundamental Christian hypothesis—God is the centre of the universe, the central fact of what he calls 'the endarchy of science'; that knowledge of God begins by faith; that hope of eternal life belongs to people who seek to know God; and that all human beings are in some peculiarly close relation to God. 'No other hypothesis that fits the conditions,' he says, 'is so readily available, or so widely accepted, or perhaps has ever been formulated, although one could conceivably be imagined.' And he sums up what he has to say on the aim of education by these words: 'Every member of a maximally progressive community—whatever the direction of its progress—will naturally begin with the Christian hypothesis to complete and focus the single wide interest which, in co-operation with a strong will, will form his character. The Christian hypothesis having been selected to focus the single wide interest, the direction of the community's progress is then determined towards the fulfilment of the supreme Christian purpose—the advancement of the kingdom of God in the minds of men.'

‘Thus,’ he concludes, ‘in a maximally progressive community (and therefore—since no group can be maximally progressive if possible conflict with other groups restricts its freedom to develop—among the whole human race) the common supreme purpose must be this Christian purpose, and the typical character must be the Christian character.’ It follows therefore at once that ‘the aim of education the world over’ is ‘to form Christian characters with all the manifold outer differences that are necessary if their several owners are to co-operate effectively for the fulfilment of their common supreme purpose.’

Now is that a fair statement of the aim of education? If it is, do both government and missions agree to make it their aim? If they do, there seems to me to be no reason why they should not co-operate. If they do not, there is an end of the matter.

Now since we are dealing with this question in what is I hope a scientific spirit, and are only anxious to get at the facts, let me say at once that my experience is that there is not to-day general agreement as to this aim of education in the British Empire in Africa. I have met many government officials and settlers whose educational aim is not to form Christian characters but is some other thing, and indeed there are so many other aims which exist in the minds of those who are engaged in the education of the native of Africa, that it will serve no useful purpose to mention them here. I want further to say that I have met not a few missionaries for whom the aim of education was not to form Christian characters but was something else. Now it must be said at once that both on the part of many of these missionaries, and on the part of many of these government officials and settlers, their aim is not deliberately opposed to the aim of the formation of Christian character. They would, if they thought about it (and most of them do not, that is one of the chief problems), say that they were aiming at some intermediate goal. Eventually, they would say, the aim is of course the formation of Christian character,

but they think of that, if they think of it at all, rather as some subsequent goal, and prefer in their educational work to have a more proximate goal, but one which should not of course lead in the opposite direction to the goal of Christian character. At first this sounds good enough. But it may not be good enough. It is not scientific enough. There is no certainty about the direction of this proximate goal unless it can be seen in actual relation to the final goal. It may be all right, but then again it may not, and unless you see this proximate goal definitely mapped out, as it were, on a road leading to the final goal, you cannot expect the educationist who sees the final goal to start on the road with any assurance or enthusiasm. I hate walking alone. I long for companionship upon the road, but I am trying to get to a definite place, and I am not going to take 'any old road' just for the sake of company, even if I am offered not only your very pleasant companionship, but also your financial co-operation. I would rather reach my goal starved, and in rags and tatters, than reach some other goal than mine clothed in 'plus fours' and with a five-course lunch inside me.

It is just on this question of definition of aim that a vast amount of possible co-operation between government and missions fails. No co-operation is possible unless there be co-operation in policy. The thing cannot be done unless the government educationist and the missionary educationist and the settler too can get together with, as it were, a map in front of them of the country that has to be traversed to reach the goal of Christian character, or even with a blank sheet in front of them upon which to make for themselves such a map if they are not satisfied with the maps already made. Nor can this thing be done simply by co-operation on committees. We have got to put our heads together and pore over that map, and this involves a certain intimacy which you do not get in a committee, and if you have actually got to make the map together, rather than use one already made, there is going to be the necessity of still greater intimacy. Joint committees are necessary for official

action, but let us not imagine that in them we are going to do much more than jointly and officially verify conclusions already come to in the more intimate relationship of the fellowship of co-operative educational research.

My experience is that there are a large number of excellent people who have not decided for themselves what is the aim of education, chiefly because they have not thought about it, perhaps because they do not realize that a definite aim is essential, but sometimes because they fear to think about it lest they should be driven to the conclusion that the aim of education is the formation of Christian character, and either it may be they are very doubtful how this conclusion will react upon their own way of life, or they are doubtful how it will affect the accepted policy either of government or missions.

Then there are a large number of excellent people both in government and mission circles who see much the same goal in education, but each of them pins his faith to some particular road to that goal to the exclusion of all others. They will not face the fact that there may be quite a number of quite good roads by which the goal may be reached, though doubtless not all of these roads have the same directness or simplicity. I personally feel that this demand for one road is a hopelessly unscientific attitude for anyone to take up. It may even be that a little rivalry in respect of the various roads is rather an advantage if one can only keep up good communications between the various parties marching along different tracks to the same goal. An army of any serious dimensions must move along different but converging ways if its component parts are all to reach the same goal. But these parts must of course keep in touch with one another as much as possible or there can be no unity of plan. Governments often make the presence of sectarian or other differences among various missionary bodies an excuse for lack of co-operation with them. The only adequate reason for lack of co-operation is surely that the various Christian sects and parties are not working for the same goal, and it

would be a somewhat over-confident government which would determine this matter in every case, and a somewhat stupid government, whether in State or Church, which would decide that because the various parties were not all walking in exactly the same road they were therefore none of them, or only one of them, to be trusted to reach the goal. But I none the less constantly hear this latter argument made use of, though doubtless sometimes it is really a lame excuse to hide some other reason. Government officials and missionaries must get clear about the aim of education, and thus with sympathy and friendly intimacy see not what lowest common denominator of co-operation will keep people quiet, but how large a measure of co-operation is possible.

But with all this desire for co-operation let us be quite straight and open about the whole matter. If our aims are fundamentally different, and at least sometimes and in some places they are, that is an end of the matter, and there must be no shilly-shally. For me personally, the aim of education is the formation of Christian character and the advancement of the kingdom of God in the minds of men. If the government's aim is something other than that, and not even on the way to that, but in my view in the opposite direction to it, I am a non-co-operator. The basis of co-operation is a common aim.

The motto for every conference that missionaries and government officials have together, public or private, is *respice finem*. If we disagree as to our aim, let us see if the disagreement is inevitable, or whether by a fresh and scientific study of the educational problem we may not arrive at the same aim, but do not let us go on together haphazard, and above all let neither of us sink to the level of those who fulsomely flatter one another with simpering interchange of educational platitudes.

What is government aiming at in education? What are missions? If there is a common aim we should probably be able to arrive at a common policy. If there is not, we are not only each of us wasting time, but we are also each of us

insincere, and insincerity is the unpardonable sin in education, a sin moreover which, sooner or later, always finds us out.

In co-operation between government and missions the thing I fear most is insincerity.

II

And secondly there is the question of the scope of education. In this connexion the first thing to note is that the education of Africa has been going on for centuries. We are not in the twentieth century educating an uneducated people in Africa. There is to-day no such thing as an uneducated people, either in Africa or anywhere else. There are of course degrees of education, and compared with other peoples the African may be said to have little or no civilization, but educative forces have already been at work upon him, and these forces must be carefully estimated. The African has been educated by Nature. Nature is not as hard a taskmaster in Africa as in many other parts of the world. Nature has spared her rod and rather spoiled her child in many parts of Africa. But none the less the African is by no means uneducated as regards agriculture, and I hold strongly that his tribal education in the past has produced many results which must by all means be conserved in the future.

The African has also been educated by contacts with other peoples. I am thinking now of contacts between persons rather than the clash of civilizations, and this education has been going on since prehistoric times. Hamitic and Negro peoples have clashed, and various admixtures of Hamitic, Bantu and Nilotic peoples have resulted therefrom. Then there has been a clash with peoples of Semitic race, largely affected by geographical influences—for instance, to the Arab, as to his successors, the Nile ‘Sud’ was a greater barrier than the ocean, hence in East Africa it is in the coastal regions where the effect is greatest, and you see it in the Somali and Galla and other coastal tribes.

Above all in its ultimate influence you see it in the enrichment and extension of the Swahili language. Its effect on the interior came chiefly through the slave trade. The Semites have been, by their contact with the Natives of Africa, a great educative influence both for good and evil.

Then there came the amazingly educative contacts with the peoples of the western races—the missionary, the traveller, the trader, the settler, the government official, and after or along with these, and in some cases even before them, came the contact with the eastern races brought there in the first case usually by the western, and chief among these have been the peoples of India, and who will at the present time try to estimate the educative influence of the Indian in East Africa ?

Now it is quite impossible to exaggerate the educative influence of the clash of personality upon personality as represented by these racial contacts. It is too large a subject to deal with here, though it is one to which I have given much time and thought. Do not underestimate its educational significance.

Then the African has been educated not merely by contact with other peoples, but also by their civilizations, and especially by their social and economic systems. At the present time it is probable that the most massive educational influence at work in Tropical Africa is western commerce and industry. An example of this is the influence of a British Empire cotton policy made in Manchester upon the development of Eastern Uganda. It is popularly supposed that the greater part of the education of Africa is in the hands of the missionary, whereas the truth is the exact opposite. The largest part of the education of Africa is completely outside of the control of the missionary, and very largely outside of his influence. In a measure it is also outside of the control of the government, but there is a very large residuum which is not outside the control of government as it is of missions, and if governments at home and abroad realized the immensely potent educative effect of

some of the forces just barely referred to above they could make many of them safer and more constructive.

A more careful and scientific study on the part of government of the educational effect of these forces would also affect greatly its estimate of the work of the missionary (and this of course is even more true in regard to the estimate of the missionary's work arrived at, as a result of a modicum of study, by the British traveller, trader or settler).

The vast majority of the white people in Africa, and of those interested in Africa in the home lands, have not got the slightest idea of the immense scope of educational activity. To them education is something which is necessarily given in a school. The real fact is that vastly, incomparably, the largest part of education takes place outside the school, and can and does go on where there are no schools, and has been going on in the past entirely without schools. Failure to realize this is the chief reason for much most unfair criticism of the missionary in Africa, and this is the more dangerous since at least nine-tenths of all the schools which exist to-day in Tropical Africa are mission schools. It is assumed therefore that the missionary is responsible for the results of education in Africa.

It is true, I fear, that the missionary also has not given sufficient thought to the natural and tribal educative influences of the past, nor to these great factors of mass education which I have mentioned above, and which are particularly operative in the present. The result is often seen in his failure to adapt his school to the actual educational product presented to him for further education, and to the changing needs of the community as it develops in its new environment, a most serious defect, all the more serious when you realize the importance of what Dr Jesse Jones calls consciousness of the community in education. But when all is said and done the direction and control of mass education is not the function of the missionary. It is government's business. It is as a matter of fact far and away the largest and most vital problem of empire,

and it is about as large an educational task as any government could desire anywhere in Africa to-day. Realizing the scope of education, and the vast amount of thought and organization for research and considered action required for mass education to-day, it seems to me that government should if possible let the burden of specific school education rest largely where it is at present, namely, on the shoulders of the missionary body.

III

The scope of education being so tremendous, in this generation anyway—I do not speak of future generations, the acceleration of change is too great—let that branch of it which may be designated ‘school education’ be continued by the mission bodies who have had what is practically a monopoly of it in the past. This conclusion is a considered one, and I will now proceed to give at least some of the reasons that have led me to it, and some of the changes that must take place if it is a generally accepted policy. In doing so you will see that the conclusion will have to be modified, and that there will need to be large provisos made. In particular it can only be accomplished if there is an altogether new degree and effectiveness of co-operation between government and missions.

I said the government should if possible let the mission bodies continue to undertake the greater part of the school education of Tropical Africa.

But is it possible? Is it possible for government to do this? And is it possible for missions to undertake it? Anyway I say at once it is not possible for government to do it unless missions can properly undertake it. And missions cannot properly undertake it unless they are prepared in this generation to more than double the number of efficient educational missionaries in Africa, and to make their education increasingly more effective and more related to the life of the community. It is no use refusing to face this

issue. It is not primarily a question of money, it is primarily a question of men and women, and men and women of a certain kind, who are capable of continually producing better types of school and better types of teacher.

No sane government could to-day completely hand over the working of the general school system of any British territory in Africa that I know anything about to the actual educational missionary force that is in possession. I do not say that the government would do any better on its own with a government system of education. Nor do I belittle the work already accomplished by the educational missionary. I want to say, and to say unequivocally and without any reservations, that in general the work accomplished by missionaries in their schools in the past in Africa is simply staggering in its magnitude and in the general excellence of its quality if one studies it scientifically—that is taking account of all the facts. I believe that any fair critic would simply be reduced to silence at the spectacle of what has been accomplished by those little bands of missionaries, if he felt that his criticism would be taken to imply a lack of recognition of the general excellence of the work accomplished. In my tours in Africa and the East I have gone quite definitely as a critic, though I think I have always tried to make criticism constructive. I have seen work in some countries that, as a missionary educationist, I am ashamed of, and for the continuance of which I am not prepared to put up a case. But I want to say here that the school work of the missionaries in some parts of Tropical Africa which I have visited, is, taking account of all the facts, but speaking of course in quite general terms, a positively superb piece of educational work.

None the less, I say, government cannot to-day allow the missionary bodies, *as at present staffed and organized*, to tackle the school system of Africa. The reason is this: The mission school system is quite obviously breaking down under the strain. It is breaking down partly because government has systematically starved it of sympathy and co-operation

in the past, and this of course must qualify anything which we have to say as to its future, and partly because mission policy and mission personnel has not grown with the growing work.

I shall deal with this matter in another place and at another time, but facts must be faced and mission education is simply breaking down under the strain of modern conditions in Africa. School education is only one phase of education, and it must keep pace with the whole educational progress of a nation. Mass education in Africa is increasing with incredible rapidity. School education is not keeping pace with the increase of mass education and is breaking under the strain.

I say that government cannot hand over school education to the missionary body with that body visibly collapsing in the work of school education as it is in Africa to-day. If the extension and effectiveness of mission school education were keeping pace with mass education, it would be another matter. But it is not keeping pace. If by some means it could keep pace in the future with mass education, government could make no more fatal blunder than to try to supersede it with a government system of schools, but it is not keeping pace. This, however, is not a sufficient analysis of the problem. Why is it essential for school education to keep pace with mass education? This question brings us to the crux of the whole problem. It is for this reason I insisted upon tackling the scope of education in this paper. It is not only the aim of education that must be defined, it is the scope of education also.

And in this vast educational movement in Africa—not a renaissance, mark you, but a ‘naissance’ as was pointed out to me by a very distinguished settler in Kenya—we must see the movement as a whole and then ask ourselves, taking account of all the facts—religious, social, economic, ethnological, historical—physical facts, as well as spiritual facts as far as we can discern them, What should be the place and work of a school system in this general educational scheme of things in Africa?

How shall school education be integrated to the whole mass education of the people? That is the crucial point. Let me emphasize it again. What is the place and work of a system of school education in a general educative movement such as is taking place in Africa to-day?

I believe that this is about the most interesting and exciting and vital problem which has ever been given to the educational world to solve. I simply cannot understand why the whole educational world is not buzzing with it.

I believe the problem of African education is going to force us to reconstruct most of our theories of education before we have done with it. Mind you, we have never had anything quite like this before. Again I repeat it is 'naissance' rather than renaissance. We have got renaissance going on all over the world to-day—intellectual rebirth—but this is much more like birth in Africa, not rebirth. This kind of thing, you say, has often taken place before in the world's history; yes, but only through tremendously long periods of gestation. In Africa to-day, the birth of serious intellectual life is taking place with infinite rapidity before the eyes of one generation. The world has never seen anything like that before. And along with all the innumerable educative forces which are all, at one and the same time, in operation, *there is the school*. What part of that great work is the school to undertake, and how shall it do its work? Do you not see what a glorious question that is for an educationist to be allowed to ask?

And do you not see how vital it is that both government and missions, both Church and State, should find the right answer to that question and act in accordance with it?

IV

Again, what is the function of a school system in Africa to-day?

The work and life of a school, I suggest, provides the normal method of fitting the Native to make the best use of

the manifold other educative influences which are at work upon him. The school has to help the scholar to live effectively in his new environment.

The school does not manufacture the new environment. The new environment is the chief reason for the school.

It is no use teaching a boy to read if there is nothing for him to read and no incentive in his environment to make him desire to read. The same is true of writing and even of arithmetic. If nobody else has any knowledge of mathematical calculation, to teach the boyhood of a nation mathematics is a work of supererogation. A school system is something which has to be brought into existence when a changed environment demands it, and it has to be intimately related to that changed environment. Of course it is also true that it subsequently helps to change the environment.

One of the greatest mistakes in education in the last fifty years or so has been that the school system has been used for instructive or destructive rather than constructive ends.

I put forward the thesis to-day that a school system is the chief weapon which Church or State has to make constructive, to guide, to control and to bring to rich fruition any new spiritual and intellectual, and even purely material forces (if there are such things), which are acting upon a nation.

New facts are pouring in upon the native African from every conceivable source. Many of the new facts are presented to him in an educationally effective way—such a way as to make him search out still more new facts for himself. Leave the thing there and you have absolute disaster. What methods are you going to use to give him the breadth of vision and the moral judgment to use those facts aright? That question government must answer. Its life and work depends on the answer it gives. The thing is quite vital. To imagine that government can relegate to others the whole responsibility of the thing is nonsense. By so doing it abrogates its functions as a government.

But the problem therefore that government has to face in education in Africa is not chiefly a problem of dissemination of facts. It is a problem of giving breadth of outlook and moral judgment so that the youth of great growing nations can safely possess and use facts. I submit that the chief—almost the only—weapon that government has in its armoury for this purpose is the weapon of the school, and that incomparably the chief reason for government to interest itself in a system of schools is so that it may see that this breadth of outlook and this moral judgment which can alone make mass education safe are given to all people affected by mass education. If government's aim in the organization of a school system is primarily to meet its own demands for subordinate native officials, for subordinate workers in all phases of commerce and industry, in a word to make effective its own institutions which, with whatever motive, it is super-imposing or permitting to be super-imposed on those new countries which have come under its sway—then it is organizing a school system to produce anarchy, and wherever and in so far as it has done this kind of thing in the past it has produced anarchy. It is starting at the wrong end. The institution does not come first in human progress—as Mr Delisle Burns says, 'it follows upon a social sentiment,' although of course it is true that when it is established it may 'transform that sentiment.' 'Law and government did not create civilization: civilization created law and government,' and we cannot impose a system of law and government, the creation of our particular civilization, upon the uncivilized or the differently civilized.

My conviction is that the best minds in government circles to-day have grasped the significance of these facts. Partly it is that they have seen the dire results of school education divorced from the inculcation of religion and morality, and partly it is that the immense responsibility of a mass education which they cannot wholly control is weighing upon them.

This accounts for the interest of two successive govern-

ments in England in an Advisory Committee on Education at the Colonial Office which should explore the possibilities of government and missions co-operating in educational matters. This accounts for Sir Hugh Clifford's recent action in Nigeria, and for Sir Robert Coryndon's in Kenya, and for Sir Gordon Guggisberg's on the Gold Coast.

Let me, if I can, try to indicate the position to which I believe our discussion has led us. We have attempted through a study of the aim and scope of education to get some indication as to the relations which should exist between government and missions in the work of education and in the formation of an education policy in British Tropical Africa. We saw, I think, that there must first be intimate and friendly study and discussion undertaken by government officials and missionaries together with a view to clarification of the ideas of each concerning the aim and scope of education. There should also be official bodies of government and mission educationists in every government, and at the headquarters of government in London, where official action could be taken on any agreed basis of co-operation. It should be a matter of friendly discussion within and outside such committees as to what particular part of the whole task of education should be the particular function of the missionary. The answer to this question will not always be the same, and will depend on a variety of factors. But usually it will be discovered, I believe, that provided we have arrived at some consensus of opinion as to the aim and scope of education, the chief work of the missionary will be in the school and training college, where actual and constant instruction in morals and religion is quite essential. It will, I believe, be seen that as we go up the educational ladder, actual instruction in morals and religion, though it can never wholly be absent, and will usually need the assistance of the missionary, and always need the assistance of the missionary-hearted for its performance, will use a decreasing part of the time available for instruction, and will be replaced more and more by voluntary moral and religious activities

on the part of the educand. So that in upper secondary and university education the mission hostel in a government institution is quite an effective method, and there may be other methods worth trying, though my experience of what is called 'the right of entry system' does not suggest to me that it is one of them, rather do I think of it as a sort of back-door way of escape from the problem of moral and religious instruction. Indeed there certainly are other methods worth trying—the Achimota experiment on the Gold Coast is one of them. The proposed experiment at Kabete in Kenya is another. The success of both these experiments depends upon a deliberate recognition on the part of government that the aim of education is the formation of Christian character. They both of them depend for their success almost wholly on the personality of those who are placed in charge of them, and form their traditions. They both are the result of a very high type of co-operation between missions and government. If I were thinking of the Principal of Achimota as a professional moralizer appointed and paid by government (to use the phrase of Sidgwick), it would only be as a literary flight into the realms of pure comedy. I am not of course unaware of the fact that moral and religious instruction is worse than useless unless the whole ethos of the institution gives a right atmosphere for the instruction. But a common aim in education ought to make it possible for government and missions together to develop this ethos.

Should government officials and missionaries come to some such conclusion as I have indicated as possible, the next question will be to what extent can government give financial assistance of a semi-permanent character to missionary education and other kinds of assistance which are just as important as financial assistance, and to what extent can the missionary societies in the same way permanently pledge themselves to find the right men and women capable of discovering and of producing and of developing the right kind of school under varying conditions. The two things must go together.

V

Let me enlarge on these requirements a little. Financial assistance which changes with sudden changes of policy, in which the missionaries have had no say, and which leaves the missionary societies in the lurch, is worse than no financial assistance at all. The order of events should be a common policy, the result of collaboration between government officials and missionaries agreed to by both and definitely related by both to a carefully worked-out budget adhered to by both. It should then be in the nature of a friendly contract between government and missions, and if the work is done the money should be forthcoming without question, and if the money is forthcoming the specific work contracted for should be done. In my experience the breach of contract has not by any means always been on the government side; but then neither has it always been on the side of missions.

But it is not only, nor even chiefly, financial assistance that is needed from government. In the control and development of what I have called mass education, government invariably and rightly specializes. It creates departments of agriculture and forestry, of public health and public works, of commerce and industry and communications, and so on. Looked at from the point of view of mass education these departments are each of them vitally important. Looked at from the point of view of specific school education the type of thought and work and inspiration which they represent is quite equally and quite as vitally important. If the schools of Africa have got to develop in their scholars consciousness of the community, then it is not merely a desideratum, it is of the very essence of efficiency that their work should be related to the work of these government departments. The community school centre is a microcosm of the State, and it needs from the State the knowledge and enthusiasm, the advice and constant help of those who are engaged in all the civilizing activities of the State.

Now it is just at this point that I have to record what is

almost absolute failure, and I have failed utterly in my presentation of the problem if I have not made clear the seriousness of this want of co-operation as between government and missions just at this point.

If we are going to integrate school education to mass education this matter is vital. If we are to develop in our schools consciousness of the community, and if the appropriate departments of government which are tackling the problems of mass education in its most constructive aspects do not collaborate with us, we are failing to use one of the most valuable aids imaginable, and government itself is losing one of its chief avenues for the dissemination of all that is best in its activities. Both sides are to blame for the failure. It is almost incredible to me how these government departments can be so foolish as to neglect what is far and away their most effective method of propaganda, and it is equally incredible to me how missions can be so foolish as to acquiesce in this government neglect. It should be laid down as one of the chief duties of each of these government departments that at every point they keep in touch with the schools, and lay themselves out to give all the assistance that they can in the development of community interests within these schools.

But what of the missionary side of this contract of which I have spoken above? I have laid immense emphasis on the need of producing breadth of outlook and moral judgment in the school. I do not minimize the other functions of the school which involve the presentation and elucidation of facts in such a way as to make the educand seek out fresh facts for himself. I have seen dozens of mission schools which emphasize the religious side of education practically to the exclusion of other essential school activities. This, of course, apart from anything else, immeasurably decreases the practical utility of the religious teaching, as religious instruction, especially under the new conditions of mass-educated life, must have its expression in service rendered to the community. It seems to me that government, if it

makes provision for effective moral and religious instruction by utilizing the missionary, must demand that the missionary takes full cognizance of the needs of the so-called secular education so intimately related to the needs of community life. It is stupid of missionaries to neglect this issue. From the point of view of this so-called secular education, hundreds of our schools are practically useless. If we imagine that catechetical centres are schools and call them schools, we are not only fooling ourselves, we are also making it quite impossible for government to use us as responsible educationists. All over Africa our ridiculous educational terminology lends itself to further misinterpretation, and this kind of thing makes government educationists suspicious even when there is no real ground for suspicion, but sometimes I fear there is ground for suspicion. Our schools must be prepared for rigorous inspection, demanding real and appropriate attainment in the various grades of education, and if we fail under the test of this inspection we fail all along the line, and rightly lose the opportunity of giving to Africa the religious school education she so sorely needs.

It will, I believe, be agreed that the actual administration and general inspection of education should be in government's hands, and that the more rigorous and effective the inspection is the better. On a basis of careful differentiation of function in view of aim and scope, and of continuous friendly social relationships and frank discussion in respect of actual policy, I can see the possibility of an alliance between government and missions in the education of Africa, which will be fruitful not only for Africa, but will start a new era in education the whole world over. Should this alliance be possible, the responsibility that will devolve on the missionary societies will be far greater than ever, and if they fail government, it will mean that the chief responsibility for the disaster in Africa which will surely result will be at the doors of the western Church, and will not chiefly be the responsibility of government. The Church in the West has not as yet seriously been asked by government to shoulder this responsibility.

The matter has hitherto gone by default. I pray God she may be asked, and if asked that she may respond. She has the power if she will use it, with government help, to make the schools of Africa save Africa. Be sure of this : the schools of Africa will either save Africa or destroy her. This is a day of decision both for the State and for the Church of Christ. The fate of Africa is in the balance. It is a decision in the first place about the aim and scope of education. In the end the decisive factors will be the teachers and the schools.

GARFIELD H. WILLIAMS

THE PLACE AND FUNCTION OF THE VERNACULAR IN AFRICAN EDUCATION

By DIEDRICH WESTERMANN, D.PHIL.

A THOROUGH knowledge of the vernacular is generally acknowledged as indispensable to a missionary. He comes to the non-Christian people as a stranger with a strange message. His mode of living, his education, his mentality and views of life, above all the contents of his preaching and teaching, are fundamentally different from his new environment, not only when he goes into the African bush, but also when he is working among educated Africans. Our forms of life may be the same, we may speak the same language, but our inner life, our spiritual environment, the overwhelming power of our traditions are different. It has been fatal for our work in Africa that very frequently we have not realized this discrepancy, but have treated the African 'as if he were a European who happened to be born black' (E. W. Smith). To find a bridge between him and ourselves, to know the inner African, must be the never-ending effort of the missionary; he must know and realize what Paul means in saying: 'I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.' He has to enter into the mental world of the African and to live in it, to feel at home in it, to sympathize with it, exactly as the teacher in Europe penetrates into the mental world of his pupil, if he wants to influence him. Christian education means the development, in the direction of the Christian ideal, of the intellectual, spiritual and ethical qualities inborn in every man and each race. The natural endowments of the individual

or the people are not to be ignored, much less to be annihilated, but they are to be strengthened, ennobled, Christianized. Mental life has evolved in each people an individual shape and a proper mode of expression; in this sense we speak of the soul of a people, and the most immediate, the most adequate exponent of the soul of a people is its language. By taking away a people's language we cripple or destroy its soul and kill its mental individuality. In our own time and in Europe we have seen with what extraordinary tenacity a nation keeps to its own language; centuries of suppression have not been able to extinguish it, because the people feel: 'In giving up our language we give up ourselves as a national unit.' Mr Oldham in his book on the race problem has pointed to the fact that to-day there is a great danger of the Africans losing their racial individuality, because they have to live under foreign influence, and so the peculiar genius of the African peoples may fail to find its proper expression for the enrichment of mankind. The African race has indeed its own valuable gifts and special contribution to the development and fulfilment of the human ideal. For every true friend of the Africans it is a noble duty to help them to keep their individuality and to protect them from becoming strangers in their own country. It is chiefly the missionary in whose hands lies educational work; on him therefore lies the greater part of the responsibility.

But direct missionary motives also oblige us to cultivate and protect the vernacular. We do not want Christianity to appear in the eyes of the Natives as the religion of the white man, and the opinion to prevail that the African must become a pseudo-European in order to become a Christian, but we want to implant the Gospel deep into the soil of the African mind, so that it may grow there in its own African form, not as a gift of the white man but as the gift of God, the Father of all men. If this is to be effected, the Gospel and the whole of Christian education must take root in the mother soil of the vernacular. Only in this way will it

enter into the African mind and become the medium of a new life—not of new forms of life—and of a regeneration of the people's soul. I do not hesitate to say that it is quite impossible for the African to grasp the full meaning of the Gospel and to make it his own spiritual property, if he is not taught it in his own language, however well he may be acquainted with the foreigner's idiom; every missionary who knows the African's language and mind will affirm this. If the Christian Church in Africa is to be really African and really Christian, it must be built upon the basis of the indigenous peculiarities and gifts of the people, it must become part of the African genius, and these will for ever be embedded in the mother language. A people without a language and a tradition of its own is individually dead, it has become part of a mass instead of being a living personality.

From this there results for the missionary the duty of fully acquiring the vernacular, as being the one all-important tool of his daily work. Any man not able skilfully to wield his working instrument will ever be a poor worker. How should I as a missionary preach the Gospel in an African village, how could I be a witness of what God has done to me, if I am not familiar with the language, the mode of thinking and arguing, the religious views, fears and hopes of the people to whom I am talking? How am I justified in presenting myself as their teacher and guide if I have not been willing or able to learn from them? What right have I to ask from them the renunciation of their religion, their traditions, their tribal ideals, if I do not even know what they are, and am, therefore, not in the position to judge whether their content is good or bad? How childish is it to consider everything as anti-Christian because it is African—still more so for one who does not possess the key to the inner life, the language. How are they to respect my message if I show disrespect, and crass ignorance in things that are dearest and holy to them, or if my preaching can awake in them only a compassionate smile? (This is indeed more fre-

quently the case than many a missionary would like to believe.) If I want to win a man's heart, I speak to him in his mother tongue, and still more so if I want to win his heart for God. We all know from experience in our countries the significance of the mother language in the cultivation of the inner, and particularly the religious, life, therefore we may safely say the African too has the right to hear and read the Gospel in his own tongue.

The same principle is valid in Christian education generally. Language and mental life are so closely connected that any educational work which does not take into consideration the inseparable unity between African language and African thinking is based on false principles and must lead to an alienation of the individual from his own self, his past, his traditions and his people. If the African is to keep and to develop his own soul and is to become a separate personality, his education must not begin by inoculating him with a foreign civilization, but it must be based on the civilization of each people, it must implant respect for the indigenous racial life, it must teach him to love his country and tribe as gifts given by God which are to be purified and brought to full growth by the new divine life. One of these gifts is the vernacular, it is the vessel in which the whole national life is contained and through which it finds expression. Let nobody believe these languages are too poorly developed to be a fit vehicle of new thoughts; if they do seem so to us, it is because we do not know them sufficiently. The dictionary of the Ewe language in Togo contains about twenty thousand words; all these languages possess potentialities far beyond the people's present need of self-expression, and they are moreover wonderfully capable of forming new words according as new objects and ideas come within their reach. No African languages have hitherto been found into which the Bible could not be translated, and this proves that they are certainly rich enough to express the elements of our modern civilization.

Above all, education has to build character. Its

function is to create men who will lead their fellow-men into a new time, men able to think and act for themselves and feeling their responsibility towards their own people. This is impossible if by their very education they have been separated from the mentality of those they are supposed to teach and guide, if they do not feel with them and are not able to read their souls.

It is particularly hopeful that the Africans themselves begin to feel the danger by which their future is threatened. They begin to work for a civilization of their own; they no longer like to be a dubious copy of the white man but want to be real Africans. This desire for a racial life of their own is legitimate, and we ought to encourage them in its realization; that it will be a growing factor is beyond doubt; that it be guided in the right direction is our responsibility. Without entering on details of this movement, I would direct attention to one feature of it: the increasing interest of Africans in their own languages and folklore. From Samuel Crowther onwards a growing number of Natives have published works on their vernacular, works which generally in their linguistic value are not below those written by the average European; there is even a case of a white man having copied, almost literally, the dictionary compiled by a Negro and published it under his own name. From West Africa alone I could name a goodly number of Natives who have made their idiom an object of truly scientific study, who have collected their people's lore, have given descriptions of their countries, customs and religions and have even tried to write the history of their nation. The Natives take also an increasing share in the creation of a Christian and educational literature and in Bible translation. These productions are only the first-fruits of a young but vigorous movement, and they give us the conviction that not only the Africans, but also the African languages, have a future, and that at least some of these will one day rank among the literary languages of the world. At any rate they will not disappear and give way

to languages of the foreign ruling races, as some short-sighted people appear to believe and hope. Let us remember that almost in every case in Africa the conquering race has adopted the language of the conquered, and not *vice versa*. Already the Natives begin to understand what they would lose by giving up their language; they would in some later day bitterly reproach us if we had lent a hand in destroying it; they feel that missions, in cultivating their vernaculars and elevating them to the rank of literary languages, have done them a real service, and they will not forget this. During the war and afterwards, some Churches in Africa were cut off from their missionaries, but they had the Bible and other Christian literature in their own language and had been taught to use these books. So they were kept alive, whereas a book in any European language would have provided nothing for their Christian life.

But on the other hand, owing to the present situation in Africa, the Natives live in close relations with Europeans and are in many respects dependent upon them. It is therefore natural that they should desire to acquire as much as possible of the higher European civilization. African progress is to-day not possible without European and American help. African civilization will not gain strong vitality and sufficient power of resistance without being enriched and fertilized by the best of the white man's accomplishments and thought. For this the Africans need a knowledge of European languages, and chiefly that of the respective ruling powers. At the same time this knowledge is expected to be the high road to earning much money and gaining a good position, and so it exercises a great attraction.

That this state of things may create considerable difficulties for a sound missionary education is evident. The greatest lies in the fact that sometimes colonial governments try by all possible means to encourage the study of their home language and to suppress teaching in the vernacular, with the unacknowledged hope of making the European language universal in that particular part of Africa.

In this way they hope to uproot the Native from his old attachments and at the same time to attach him closely to the language and civilization of their own country. This method of almost indiscriminate assimilation is to a certain degree possible, and notable results have been attained by it. It is also justifiable that a colonial power should want to spread its language and civilization and so deepen its influence, and it is fortunate that the Africans are patient and intelligent enough to meet these requirements: in the case of Togo and part of Kamerun, the Natives had, within one generation, first to learn English, then German and now French.

But willing as the Africans may be to meet the demands of the governing power, they will not cease to be native and African; the white influence changes, the native remains. It is also not true that a change in language necessarily goes hand in hand with a change in mind and sympathy. A man may be a loyal English subject without knowing the English language, and on the other hand, there are examples in colonial history showing that instruction in the language of the ruling race, and a policy of narrow assimilation, do not constitute the final solution of all colonial difficulties. We need not assimilation but adaptation.

For the material welfare of the Africans the knowledge of a European language is of no such great importance as is commonly supposed. It is only a small proportion of schoolboys who will get employment in which a foreign language is needed. But the boy who learns English does so in the sure expectation of gaining by it a better and a more comfortable livelihood; if disappointed in this hope, he has in most cases lost the taste for the life in his village as a farmer; he goes into the towns and only too probably will increase the number of educated proletarians: the Europeanizing education has not fitted him for his life, but has spoilt him. At any rate people who are educated within the sphere of their own native life, and have learnt

to love and respect this, will be of greater service to their country than those who have become aliens in their own surroundings.

The attempt consistently and indiscriminately to Europeanize Africans, with a view to extinguish the African race as an independent member of the human family and make him a mere appendix to this or that European nation, cannot lead to happy final results. It may be justifiable in dealing with isolated fragments of a people, but not with a strong and hopeful race like the Africans, who doubtless have a great future before them. With them it would mean a great injustice, a violation of the most elementary rights of man. After all, education should be guided by pedagogical, not by colonial or political views. A fundamental principle of pedagogics is certainly that a pupil should be instructed in his mother language; if this is right for Europe, it is right for Africa as well. It is absurd to teach a child to read in a foreign language instead of his own, and thus make him believe that his own is not fit for reading and writing, so that from the beginning the child learns to despise that which should be dearest to him—the sounds his mother has taught him. How different the feeling when he sees that his own language too is a channel suitable for what he is going to learn! How infinitely more at home he will feel when teacher and pupil both talk in the same native idiom! What an irreparable loss it means when he hears nothing of his own country—the traditions, wisdom and history of his own people! What treasure for educational purposes these contain may best be seen from E. W. Smith's book, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*.

Allowance being made for the particular colonial conditions in Africa, as a general rule it may be suggested that in a sound school system the first three years of elementary training should be given exclusively in the vernacular, and that no foreign language should be taught within this time. During the following years a foreign language will come in, and may, as the pupils are advancing, become partly the

medium of instruction. But during all the years of training, at least in some of the lessons, and chiefly in religious instruction, the vernacular should be used. In higher schools the European language should be thoroughly acquired, so as to give the young people admission to European literature. This is particularly important for future teachers and preachers. But here again it is of vital importance that in training institutions for teachers the vernacular too should find its place. There is a great danger of neglecting it here altogether. On the one hand the pupils are sufficiently conversant with the European language to use it freely, and on the other hand many of the subjects taught are, by want of practice and lack of books, difficult to express in the native tongue. So it seems much more convenient to teach in a European language only and put the vernacular aside altogether.

This should not be done. For no one is the use of the vernacular, refined and enriched through a higher literature and Christian ideas, of such great moment as for the native teacher; in his hands lies the future of the language as the medium of cultivating the mind of his people. Not only the language, but the whole of his people's mental heritage must be a constant object of his study, thus will he be enabled to be a faithful mediator between the old and the new eras, grafting the new scion on the native-grown tree. We missionaries, though we may be acquainted with language and folklore, will hardly ever lose the feeling of not being fully understood by our hearers, nor do we fully understand them. In the native teacher we have the man who from the fullness of his own heart can speak to his own people—if we do not purposely and artificially make him a stranger within his own country.

In discussing the study of the vernacular and folklore by Natives it is assumed that a certain amount of literature exists in the respective native tongues. Here arises a question which is of paramount importance for the whole language problem in Africa, and which can only be referred

to now. There exist some four hundred and fifty African languages ; which among them are to be used as literary and educational languages ? The appallingly high number is somewhat reduced by the fact that not a few of these languages are rather dialects, so that several units will in course of time be amalgamated into one, namely, the literary one. Others are spoken by such a small minority that they are really of no account, and almost all individuals living within their area are fully acquainted with some neighbouring language of larger area. So the claim, ' the Bible for every one in his own language,' can practically not always be realized ; only languages of a larger area and of expansive tendencies will be used for school purposes and have a literature ; the Native will in other cases be obliged to learn reading and writing in a language not his own. Now it has been argued : If the African has to learn a language other than his own, why not then let him learn a European instead of an African language ? This argument is not conclusive. The native language he has to acquire is in construction and etymology identical with or closely related to his own ; it spreads automatically by way of general intercourse ; people do not, properly speaking, learn it, but pick it up and get used to it almost unconsciously ; it is a product of the African mind and therefore spontaneously assimilated. The European language, however, is something strange ; it does not, except in a degenerate form, spread by itself, but only in the artificial way of systematic instruction. It is useful as a means of communication between the educated class and Europeans, but it will not become the popular language of the whole population and it will never check the progress of an expansive African language.

Which languages in individual cases will be chosen for literary and missionary use, and to what extent they are to be employed in instruction, can be decided by local experience only, and must be the object of special investigation. The question is, however, important and

urgent, and should soon be taken in hand for the whole of negro Africa. Here a close co-operation of all the groups interested in the welfare of the Africans is indispensable. In the first line stands the creation of a literature; apart from languages of very small area some modest amount of literature, portions of the Bible and some elementary instruction, should be printed in each language. For the more important languages not only books and booklets for immediate religious and school use are needed, but also short practical handbooks on agriculture, handicrafts, hygiene, child-nursing, home life and similar subjects will be of great service. These may have a common text for the whole of Africa with only local variations, so that a standard form for each of these books might be composed and translated into each of the respective languages. The same may to a certain degree be done with books on religious subjects. Books of general instruction need more particularly to be adapted to each country and people with its own folklore, history, geography and natural environment.

The natural desire of seeing the number of literary African languages diminished has led to the laying of great stress on the *linguæ francae*, such as Swahili, Hausa and others, which have gained an influence far beyond their original sphere. They will always be of great importance and should, far more than is at present done, be used as vehicles for knowledge. But they are not the panacea of the linguistic problem. Of no less importance are, at least for the immediate future, the large number of vigorous tribal languages in all parts of the continent; without doubt many of these will survive and will conquer languages of smaller areas. Each one of them must be cultivated and made subservient to the expansion of the good news. Which among them will in the long run hold their ground, or by what other languages they may be supplanted, depends on the course of events which are beyond our reach.

We have to face the present situation and to recognize

our actual task. In Africa a sound educational policy depends largely on the use of the vernacular ; there will never be an African nation or an African civilization without African languages—look at Uganda and Liberia as the outcome of two opposite ideals of education. The future existence and development of African languages is to the greatest extent dependent on the attitude of the missionary ; he is to administer this precious endowment for the welfare of those under his tutelage. He must realize his responsibility, and the only way for this is that he should know the language ; if he knows it he will respect and love it.

DIEDRICH WESTERMANN

TEXT-BOOKS :

A STUDY WITH AN AFRICAN BACKGROUND

BY W. T. BALMER

THE text-book is not a fundamental necessity in education. At its highest it can never be more than a second best. And it carries with it the great fault of the second best—that of being the enemy of the best. It may be said that much of what is lacking in education in Africa is due to oversight of that best against which text-books wage war, unless kept under control. This best thing, so often lacking, is the personal element in teaching. By personal element I do not mean that peculiar thing which is supposed to exude from a European as soon as he steps on shore, or walks down a street, but that which works by living contact, by speaking the African's language, thinking his thoughts, sharing his outlook and feeling his limitations.

There are many failures and causes of disappointment in African education of which none are more conscious than those who have had any active share in it. Many, if not most, of those defects are due to the lack of emphasis on this all-important personal element and to a too slavish regard for text-books.

The essential factor in education consists in the sympathetic contact of two minds with each other, whereby one is able to assist the other in the interpretation and understanding of experience. True education is a living process in which two minds enter into or share the same experience, it being understood that one of the minds is more mature and more familiar with the said experience than the other, and so able to help on the less mature by some method of communicating ideas. The means or

method whereby this process should be carried on would, ideally, be actual objects or situations embodying the experience in question or else instances of the truths and facts under discussion and, of course, the use of a common language. Such a conception of education implies four elements: Ideal teachers; plenty of them; alertness of mind on the part of the pupil equal to that of the teacher, so that once a truth is imparted it is grasped and retained; or else unlimited time and leisure at the disposal of the teacher. That is what a school is supposed to be—a place of leisure. With regard to each of these four elements I will make some comment.

I will not say that there are no ideal teachers in Africa. *Ex Africa semper aliquid novum*. You never know what you may meet next in Africa—as someone said over two thousand years ago. This may be true even in the matter of teachers. It is just as possible that ideal teachers are born in Africa as—let us say—in America. There is one fact of which we may be perfectly certain—the birth-rate of teachers is not sufficiently high to supply the demand of the present day. There is not enough of them by a long way. There never was in the old days of leisurely missions and individual training, much less now in the speeding up to which the work is being subjected, not to mention the vast extension of the operations.

Again, the forms of experience to which modern education introduces the average African are to so great a degree novel and strange to him that he would hardly be human if he could grasp at once what he is being taught. Finally, the rush of children to the schools makes a present-day school anything but a place of leisure and quiet, however orderly it may be.

But in place of ideal conditions or anything approaching thereto, we are confronted with the following actual facts: Imperfect teachers; fewness of teachers; slowness and bewilderment of pupils; difficulty of giving individual attention to pupils. It is in the presence of these actualities

that the text-book finds its justification, place and function. Were it not for these defects of the actual from the ideal there would be no room for a text-book. The ideal teacher needs no text-book: he will always be superior to it and master of it. To him, the matter to be taught is alive and quick in his own mind, having no dead matter intermingled with it.

In the absence of this ideal element, the services which a good text-book should render are: To act as a guide to the imperfect teacher; to make up for the fewness of teachers by enabling the pupil to teach himself as far as is possible; to afford matter for practice and revision, and so remedy the slowness of the pupil; to point to reality beyond itself.

These aims might find summary under one head: the text-book should be such as will enable the reader to be, as far as possible, a teacher of himself.

In order to achieve this, a text-book ought to be a reflexion of the methods and matter used by an actual teacher. This is borne out by the undoubted fact that the best text-books are those written by practising teachers, or, to be more exact, perhaps I had better say, not those written by teachers, but those books for which teachers are responsible. As a matter of fact, I believe the best examples of text-books I have come across were actually written not by teachers, but by pupils of real teachers. I know or have heard of instances in widely different subjects where this has been true, in elementary schools and in university, from a commonplace arithmetic to an elaborate edition of a great classic text. But in each case the essential factor was present, namely: the books were written in immediate contact with the living teacher. Perhaps by being compiled in that way they better realized the ideal of a text-book than if composed in a detached hour by the teacher himself. For, in such an hour, the teacher would tend to put together his matter in an abstract form shorn, to his mind, of all apparently non-essentials.

But of those apparently non-essentials the pupil may entertain another view—they were perhaps the necessary media through which his understanding penetrated to the heart of the matter. (This apart from the question of the drudgery involved. Teachers, even good teachers, have been known to exploit the labour of younger people.)

The genesis of the best text-books can be illustrated by reference to an historical example. The first text-books on record were, perhaps, the writings of Plato and Aristotle. Plato's *Dialogues*, for the most part, were written by and from the point of view of a pupil listening to his teacher—Socrates. Aristotle's treatises were compiled by the teacher himself—large tracts of them being mere lecturer's notes. Every student knows which writings are the more living.

Or, to take a higher example still, the New Testament. Compare the epistles with the gospels. The epistles were written by the Apostles as teachers apart. The gospels were not written by the Teacher but by pupils, yet pupils who had learned as their Master had taught. We know which part has most charm and is most read.

To use a figure from practical science: In chemistry, substances under investigation and analysis are passed from test-tube to test-tube not in a solid mass but in solution. But specimen substances are sent out from the central laboratory to other schools in the form of a solid powder precipitated from the solution. Similarly, a text-book should be a precipitate of matter that has actually been in solution, and so dissolved as it passed from mind to mind as to be readily assimilated, and so precipitated as to be easily capable of solution again.

Real teaching is a process of life and motion. A text-book is static, necessarily so, and fixed; but it should be so fixed as to be like an engine which has been brought to a standstill in such a way as to be capable of being easily re-started by the touch of a child's hand.

The practical question for us is to prepare text-books which will move and produce life in an African's mind.

Ideally such a text-book can only be produced by African pupils. Not that production by an African will be sufficient guarantee. It must be written by one who has an African mind, but in whose mind the subject-matter is truly alive, having been in personal contact with a living teacher.

From all this it follows that a text-book should reproduce all the essential features of good teaching. To specify these would lead one too far afield, but I will just mention one all-important element. Every lesson should establish, first of all, a point of contact. To teach arithmetic to little West Africans in terms of weights of coal, bales of wool and measures of milk, things never seen, would make the subject drier and more lifeless than it is supposed to be.

But perhaps the greatest need in the way of books in West Africa is of those dealing suitably with the history of the peoples. It is not helpful to any one that a subject which is so capital a medium of education should be presented simply from the point of view of the European, in terms largely of what may appear to us as exploits but which to the Native are painfully like exploitation. We went to the coast with our backs to the sea; the inhabitants have their backs to the land, and it is with reference to that relation that history should be written. Criticism has been passed on the relations of French governments to education. It might be well, however, to bear in mind that they have their own way of working, though we may disagree in some particulars. I do not know that any Englishman has done so much as they have in investigation of the ancient civilizations of the Sudan. What we call the West Coast of Africa is only the Atlantic seaboard of the Sudan. Has any writer done so much as the French Monsieur O. Houdas in revealing the writings of the medieval Moors, such as Es-Sadi, from which Lady Lugard has drawn so largely in her fascinating book, *A Tropical Dependency*, or as Levy-Brühl and his collaborators in anthropology?

In passing I might say that I place Lady Lugard's book, as a history of part of West Africa and the Sudan, in a class

by itself. While not quite agreeing with all her statements and conclusions, it is, in my opinion, above criticism as an example of the right method of approach to this most important subject.¹

To return from this digression, books should be related to the life of the people unless we merely wish to accumulate a pile of indigestible facts. If knowledge is to be interpretation of experience a text-book ought to be such as continually to turn the reader's mind to reality in terms of actual life. The inherent weakness of a text-book is that it tends to come between the mind and reality. Instead of being a means it comes to be regarded as an end. It comes to be thought that to know any fact is to be able to repeat what is contained in a book. Instead of being a symbol the book becomes an idol. Knowledge, instead of being regarded as a thing of life, continually growing and adapting itself to new conditions, becomes fixed and standardized—it is what some book happens to say.

There are special reasons why persistent effort should be made to combat this tendency in West Africa. It is a constant criticism of education in that country that it is too bookish and conventional and has divorced the minds of the people from reality. The blame is often assigned to the methods pursued in the past, especially by the missionary. I am willing to acknowledge the bookishness but I am not convinced that the cause of it is as stated by casual observers. It would seem that the root-cause of this artificial way of regarding knowledge is in part in the African himself. It may originate in his innate conservatism but it is there, and it is wonderfully fostered by his marvellous power of memorizing words.

I used to be so troubled by this tendency that on one occasion when I was asked by the Sierra Leone Government to draw up the constitution of the school at Bo, for the sons

¹ It is unfortunate that the book is now out of print and almost impossible to obtain except at a prohibitive price. If Lady Lugard could re-write it, under a better title, and with just slightly less bias in favour of Islam, and let it be sold at a cheaper rate, a great benefit would be conferred on African education.

of native chiefs, for which I was given to understand there would be available much greater resources than are at the disposal of mission schools, I planned, among other things, for the rigid exclusion of text-books until a certain stage was reached. Yet with all its financial resources sufficient teachers of the right kind were not forthcoming, and I have no doubt that those who had to conduct the school had to fall back on text-books. If even in the best appointed schools text-books are apparently inevitable, there is all the more need that they should be written, if for use in Africa, with as much reference as possible to living experience, and in such a way as constantly to point beyond themselves and not to entangle the mind in the words of the printed page, never forgetting that the text-book is only a substitute for something better than itself.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, with which I am connected, has lately taken up the work of providing text-books for its schools in West Africa. As far as possible these have been and will be compiled in accordance with the principles I have just outlined. Our first aim was to bring out a set of School Readers in English. Up to the present five of these have been issued. Three other numbers are in manuscript and will appear shortly.

These, although in English, are written from the African point of view, physically as well as mentally. Lessons suggestive of snow and skating parties at Christmas, buttercups and daisies in spring, fox-hunting in autumn, do not appear. A special feature, we think, is in the pictures. We all know how difficult it is for us, when confronted with a picture of a foreign scene, to see 'round the corner,' so to speak. We do this easily with a picture of our own country, and this it is which imparts a sense of reality to the view. This has been borne in mind in preparing these African pictures. Matter has been collected from native myths, origins and folk-lore, of which there is an abundance, though the stories, as told by the Natives, do not always point a healthy moral or imply a desirable atmosphere. Items

are given of other lands, but such are presented as looked at from Africa. The impact of Europe is told in view of the development of the countries.

Readers—as such—cannot of course be translated, at least not the earlier numbers. A monosyllable in one language, e.g., may be a quadrisyllable in another; ‘cat’ in English is ‘egyinambua’ in Fanti. So the work has to be done over again *de novo* for each language. But a beginning has been made with Mendi—a language of Sierra Leone. Of this one number has appeared.

Matter has been collected for a set in Fanti, but in this case we are held up by an unfortunate difference in the mode of writing the Gold Coast languages. The two principal languages in that country are Fanti and Twi. These are really dialects of a common ancestor, not much more divergent than southern English is from Scotch ‘Doric.’ Unhappily our society—which began among Fantis—put forth one system of transliteration, while the Basel missionaries, who began among the Twis, put forth a widely divergent system. Both have their excellences, but now that the languages are intermingling the literary result is confusing. It is hoped that a uniform plan will shortly be agreed upon and then we shall publish.

A couple of books of religious teaching have also been written, and these will appear in each of the six vernaculars in which we work on the coast. In these, Christianity has been set forth not so much as a doctrinal system but as a life, an experience of fellowship. One is entitled *A Catechism of Christian Experience*, the other—in parable form—*The Law of the Friend*.

It is hoped, in a year or so, to provide a school history of the Gold Coast on the lines already suggested, as well as a book of short biographies of notable individuals whose lives have touched Africa.

More prosaic publications, such as those on arithmetic and geography, are in view.

W. T. BALMER

TO THE RESCUE OF CIVILIZATION

By A. G. HOGG, D.LITT.

THE name of Dr Albert Schweitzer, whose first two volumes on *The Philosophy of Civilization* I have been invited to discuss in these pages, is one which always recalls to my mind a pregnant incident in the life of our Lord (Mk. ix. 38ff., Lk. ix. 49f.). Some of the disciples, having seen a stranger casting out devils in Christ's name, had forbidden him because he did not belong to their disciple band. Our Lord's comment was: 'Forbid him not: for there is no man which shall do a mighty work in My name, and be able quickly to speak evil of Me. For he that is not against us is for us.'

In a theological regard most of us would have to say of Dr Schweitzer, in the words of John in that gospel incident, that 'he followeth not with us.' Yet not only has he cast out the devils of disease on the Ogowe in the name of Christ, but by every missionary reader of his moving chronicle, *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest*, he will be recognized as a fellow missionary animated by a passion of brotherliness and a deep and humble devotion to the Lord Jesus. Can such a man 'quickly speak evil' of the Master? Nevertheless, to very many of us—perhaps to most—that was almost what he seemed to have done in the volume by which he leapt into world-wide theological fame, translated into English under the title *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*. From that work the average reader was apt to derive the impression that Dr Schweitzer regarded the historical Jesus as a visionary enthusiast who, believing himself to be the destined eschatological Son of Man, and animated by a thoroughly predestinarian apocalypticism, expected the catastrophic ending of the present world to begin before

the return of his disciples from their missionary journey and who, when this hope was disappointed, set himself deliberately to precipitate the final tragedy, in the mistaken certainty that it would be the signal for the supernatural *dénouement*. In what points of detail Dr Schweitzer may to-day have departed from the outlines of the brilliant construction of the Synoptic data which he sketched in that earlier work I do not know ; but at any rate it is clear from his present volumes on Civilization, and from his recent earnest and beautiful lectures on *Christianity and the Religions of the World*, that he still adheres to the central result of his earlier investigations, namely, that a mistaken conviction of the imminence of the end of the existing world-order was a dominating factor in the work and thought of Christ. There must be many Christians to whom this will seem a degree of unorthodoxy almost amounting to blasphemy. And yet no man who has to his record so single-eyed an endeavour as Dr Schweitzer's to follow in the Master's footsteps can 'quickly speak evil' of our Lord.

About seventeen years ago, having already achieved an international reputation both as a theologian and as a musician, he resigned his professorship at Strassburg, with a view to becoming a medical missionary in Equatorial Africa. This new purpose required him to add to the doctorates which he already possessed in philosophy and in theology the degree of Doctor of Medicine, and throughout the medical curriculum on which he now entered he largely maintained himself by giving Bach concerts in different countries of Europe. In 1913 he went out to one of the worst parts of tropical Africa, the River Ogowe, and there he has been running a hospital, with no European assistance except that of his wife who had qualified as a nurse.

What led Dr Schweitzer to this striking change of life-plan ? In his chronicle of his African experiences he has described his main motive with an unself-conscious simplicity. 'I had read about the physical miseries of the natives in the virgin forests ; I had heard about them from missionaries,

and the more I thought about it the stranger it seemed that we Europeans trouble ourselves so little about the great humanitarian task which offers itself to us in far-off lands. The parable of Dives and Lazarus seemed to me to have been spoken directly of us !

One feels certain, however, that there must have been something deeper than even a very perfect human brotherliness in the decision which Dr Schweitzer took. For no discerning reader of his recent books can fail to perceive that his self-dedication to medical work among the neglected is the morally fitting expression of his whole outlook on life and God and duty. It was religious as well as humanitarian devotion that impelled him ; and that this religious devotion was fundamentally Christian, who can doubt who has read this moving passage in his African narrative ?

The operation is finished, and in the hardly lighted dormitory I watch for the sick man's awaking. Scarcely has he recovered consciousness when he stares about him and ejaculates again and again : ' I've no more pain ! I've no more pain ! ' . . . His hand feels for mine and will not let it go. Then I begin to tell him and the others who are in the room that it is the Lord Jesus who has told the doctor and his wife to come to the Ogowe. . . . The African sun is shining through the coffee bushes into the dark shed, but we, black and white, sit side by side and feel that we know by experience the meaning of the words : ' And all ye are brethren ' (Matt. xxiii. 8).

What can all this signify but that in spite of the theologically so vital respects in which Dr Schweitzer followeth not with us, we may joyfully recognize in him a true member of our great discipleship ? For my own part, although I have never been privileged to meet him, and in spite of extensive and profound disagreement with his opinions, study of his recent books has moved me to a deep reverence for their author. In a very outstanding degree this man's thought and his life are one. He has counted everything but loss that he may be true to his vision of the Christ, and that he may be a minister and a witness of the things in which he has seen our Lord (Acts xxvi. 16. *R.V.*). Enlightened by a careful study of his recent books, I have gone back to

his *Quest of the Historical Jesus*, and have learned to take seriously the note of reverence which runs through his seemingly depreciative interpretation of the life-enterprise of our Lord. And in its concluding section, entitled 'Results' (which had previously been to me too unintelligible to win more than scant attention), I have been surprised to find clearly set forth the central conception of his present work, *The Philosophy of Civilization*. These new volumes, his medical labours in Africa and his earlier book on the historical Jesus, so far from being unrelated enterprises, turn out to be complementary expressions of an outlook upon the world, upon duty and upon our religion, which in the personal experience of its possessor has been charged with redeeming power.

These preliminary observations, which I may have seemed to develop with undue fullness, are very germane to the purpose of the present article. If we are to give Dr Schweitzer's message an open-minded hearing, there are two requisites of importance. In the first place we must realize that he reveres our Lord because of, more than in spite of, that aspect in his understanding of Christ's life-enterprise which offends the average Liberal Christian. And, in the second place, we must realize that those convictions which he has either learned from, or been confirmed in by, his study of the historical Jesus are, for Dr Schweitzer himself, nothing less than a releasing or redeeming Gospel. It is at our peril that we turn a deaf ear to any one who comes proclaiming what is for himself an experimentally tested message of redemption, since there is sure to be spiritual truth combined with whatever measure of error that message may contain. And it is doubly perilous to be inattentive if the message is unwelcome; for in such a case it is almost certain that the kernel of truth which it contains is some element in the true Gospel of Christ to which one's own spiritual apprehension has hitherto been blind.

The pages which follow are the result of a patient and sincere endeavour to learn from, and be corrected by, a

work which not only is a marvel of erudition and industry but breathes throughout an apostolic fervour and conviction. At the same time, to remain open-minded has been supremely difficult in face of passage after passage in which views that for myself have become matters of settled belief are set aside without anything that I can regard as serious argument. For example, Dr Schweitzer will have nothing to do with any attempt to establish peaceful relations between philosophy and science by distinguishing the types of validity at which they respectively aim. While admitting that 'almost the whole religious world, so far as it still attempts to think at all, has attached itself to some such means of escape from its difficulties,' he is content impatiently to brush it aside with an indignant phrase. I have been driven, I confess, to the reluctant conclusion that, in some way which I do not understand, Dr Schweitzer must be temperamentally unfitted to do justice to the post-Kantian idealism. He almost appears to assume that idealism is necessarily 'mentalism,' and that 'illusion' would be an adequate word to describe the only status it can ascribe to the sense-world. Over and over again he refers to what he calls 'epistemological idealism,' but never once does he examine it. A sniff of contempt, as at an admittedly exploded fallacy, and his attention turns to some other alternative. And all this in spite of the fact that his own 'life-view' is a kind of voluntaristic idealism—a 'life-view' which, as he presents it, rests upon so flimsy a substructure of argument that seemingly it must collapse unless somehow propped up by the epistemology which he despises. Even a reviewer so much in sympathy with Dr Schweitzer's rejection of idealism as Mr Bertrand Russell has been driven to remark that his criticisms of European philosophy 'all assume his own point of view, and are only valid if that is granted.' In this damaging comment there is a regrettable amount of truth. Is the explanation this, that Dr Schweitzer is more of an artist than a philosopher? His outlook is dominated by a great cosmico-ethical intuition, which he expects others

to share as soon as he has expressed it. And too often the reader who is so unfortunate as not to share this intuition finds himself invited to condemn rival views on the score of what his own judgment regards as their merits rather than their defects.

I stress these features out of an honest desire to make plain how easily they may have prejudiced me, in spite of every effort to preserve an open mind, against volumes which, whatever may be their limitations, are so thought-provoking as to deserve first-hand study by every reflective mind. Taken together with what I personally regard as his more valuable little book *Christianity and the Religions of the World*, they are calculated to re-awaken the Church to the vital degree in which our religion is a gospel of redemption from the world. The smaller book appears to me to penetrate, in some respects, more deeply into the essence of Christian morality than is at all common to-day; and no matter how slightly successful one may consider the larger work to be in its effort to find for this essence a philosophical expression, one must needs be grateful to its author for having made the attempt.

Civilization, according to Dr Schweitzer, is in imminent peril of final collapse. It is in peril because it possesses no seriously thought-out view of life and of the world, no rationally grounded faith, and because in consequence it lacks moral depth and energy. For civilization does not consist in technical skill and material well-being, although it tends to include these as assets. Essentially civilization is something ethical; it consists rather in a fellowship or community of effort after perfection and progress than in the mere results of that effort. Its development comes about 'by individual men thinking out ideals which aim at the progress of the whole, and then so fitting them to the realities of life that they assume the shape in which they can influence most effectively the circumstances of the time.' Hence it presupposes freedom and thoughtfulness. But the conditions

of to-day have destroyed both freedom and the will and power to reflect. 'The modern man is lost in the mass in a way which is without precedent in history, and this is perhaps the most characteristic trait in him. His diminished concern about his own nature makes him . . . susceptible, to an extent that is almost pathological, to the views which society and its organs of expression have put, ready made, into circulation.' The truth is that we have, as it were, returned to a kind of Middle Ages. 'But liberation from the Middle Ages of to-day will be a much more difficult process than that which freed the peoples of Europe from the first Middle Ages. The struggle then was against external authority established in the course of history. To-day the task is to get the mass of individuals to work themselves out of the condition of spiritual weakness and dependence to which they have brought themselves.'

I have not space to sketch even the outlines of the picture limned in Volume I of the present *débâcle* of civilization. As to whether its colouring is too dark, opinion will vary; but all must agree that the spiritual condition of Christendom is perilous in the extreme. In what way does Dr Schweitzer come to the rescue? He offers a diagnosis of the malady from which civilization is suffering and prescribes a cure. An attempted proof of the correctness of his diagnosis occupies more than two-thirds of Volume II, leaving room for only a brief demonstration of the means to recovery, a fuller exposition of which is promised in two yet unpublished volumes.

If civilization is something fundamentally ethical, then its maintenance and development depend on the depth and fervour of our morality. Now, for its full vigour, as Dr Schweitzer rightly insists, morality needs a cosmic motive. If we are to be not only deeply in earnest about our ideals, but also nobly (instead of pig-headedly) enthusiastic in their service in face of every obstacle, we need to feel certain that they are no mere private dreams of our own, nor even merely ideals characteristic of the human species, but that

they are somehow rooted in the universal nature of things. We need to be supported by a conviction that service of these ideals is precisely what the whole cosmic scheme demands of us, and that our loyalty or disloyalty to them is a matter of moment not to ourselves alone, nor to our community, nor to the human race, but to the universe. For this reason ethical thought, wherever it has been profound, has sought to ground morality in some philosophical conception of the relation between human conduct and ultimate reality.

In the pursuit of this endeavour two paths lie invitingly open before philosophical ethics. The one path will be followed unhesitatingly by thinkers who find themselves at home in the immediate or workaday world, and are able to take a favourable view of external Nature. Inevitably their way of vindicating for morality a cosmic significance will be to teach that duty consists in collaborating with Nature and modelling our behaviour in accordance with the majestic collectedness and rationality of her ways of working. This was the path chosen by Chinese ethical thought. Unfortunately, when consistently followed, it leads to a morality lacking in enthusiasm and self-sacrificing brotherliness, since neither of these features is much in evidence in the operation of natural law.

Indian thought pursued the other track. So far from finding themselves spiritually at home in the immediate or workaday world, the souls of the Vedantic sages felt it unsatisfying and alien. Believing that the real must be also the satisfying, they refused to acquiesce in the seeming reality of the actual, and entered on the mystical quest for an Absolute of a kind not only supersensuous but intellectually unknowable. Now it is obvious that thought of this pessimistic type cannot conceive morality as imitation of and collaboration with Nature. If it is to vindicate for duty a cosmic significance, it must try a different expedient. And such an expedient lies ready to hand. It consists in identifying morality with quietism and resignation. If the

actual knowable universe is an unreal phantasmagoria, then for men to spend labour and heroism in battling with its merely illusory evils must be a pure squandering of energy. Moral activity of that kind can have no cosmic significance; it can render no service to an Absolute which itself is raised above all illusion. Under such presuppositions the only ethic that can claim for morality cosmic significance is the ethic of resignation. For if there be no solid reality in the obvious evils of this illusory workaday world, then to put up uncomplainingly with their annoying semblance of reality is not only duty and wisdom but something more. It is at the same time a way of entering, in some measure, into the peaceful being of the Absolute, whose inscrutable essence, knowing nothing of the illusions of error and evil, is timelessly at rest.

Consistent pessimism thus reaches a cosmic ethic quite as easily as consistent optimism, and this ethic is equally lacking in enthusiasm. No one can feel enthusiastic about enduring purposeless annoyance, and the illusory evils serve no purpose. The enthusiasm which the moral duty of resignation does not attempt to evoke is reserved for the super-ethical endeavour to attain that mystic vision for which no longer will the sublunary and evil even seem to exist. Only an enthusiastic morality is genuinely ethical, and so the cosmic ethic arrived at along the Indian path is as defective as that reached along the Chinese. Indeed, it is more defective; for the latter at least encourages active endeavour in the workaday world, while the former preaches mere resignation and centres all eager interest upon a super-ethical goal.

Compared with the relative singleness of tendency perceptible in Chinese and Indian thought, the history of European reflexion is confusingly complex. The real greatness of Christianity is connected with the fact that it is neither consistently or one-sidedly optimistic nor consistently or one-sidedly pessimistic, but holds within it both these factors in an unresting tension.

There is no genuine optimism without a reverence for ideals and a belief that directing our aims by these ideals, in all the enterprises of the workaday world, is an endeavour well worth while. To believe thus is to feel that life is, somehow, well worth living; in other words, genuine optimism is at least 'life-affirming.' But it is possible for genuine optimism to be 'life-affirming' without being 'world-affirming': a man may possibly feel life to be worth living without being at all sure that the world is very worthy of being lived in. Now if optimism is to be something deeper than a mere mood, the optimist must satisfy himself as to why he feels sure that his life is worth living. When this problem presents itself, the obvious line of solution to attempt is to say that a life directed to active service of our ideals is worth living because the world is so malleable to our efforts that by this service our ideals will sooner or later be brought to actual realization. When our reflective defence of optimism takes this line, our optimism is world-affirming as well as life-affirming; for we cannot help fundamentally approving of a world that is adaptable to our ideals. Such was the direction pursued by Chinese optimism. But another kind of optimism is possible—an optimism which, although in no degree certain that active service of its ideals will really further their actualization, is nevertheless reflectively convinced that this service of them, no matter how useless, is profoundly worth while. This is the optimism of Dr Schweitzer, which he recommends to the modern world as the one way of preserving civilization. It was not the kind of optimism with which modern Europe entered on its career of progress.

The optimism with which, after the medieval period, the European mind eagerly set itself to refashion the world in accordance with its ideals was little more than a mood born of its new and intoxicating successes in the realm of physical science. The discovery that natural processes operated according to mathematically formulable laws gave such unlimited promise of the possibility of harnessing

Nature to man's purposes that it seemed as if nothing more than a consistent use of rationally devised means were necessary to secure the realization upon earth of the grandest ideals of human well-being. The fact that these ideals were social rather than egoistic, was a benefit for which the European mind was indebted to the Gospel of Jesus Christ ; but its mentality was unable to accept (or even to perceive) the other part of the primitive Christian message, namely, its pessimistic world-view. Instead of believing that the world was so evil as to be past mending, unless by supernatural divine intervention, it addressed itself confidently to the task of perfecting the conditions of human life by purely natural means. As a result of the eager endeavour induced by this confident mood, civilization advanced for a time by leaps and bounds. But a mere mood is not proof against the temptations to discouragement which arise when a task turns out to be much more difficult than anticipated. To deepen this eager moral mood into a stable ethical optimism proof against every discouragement, a philosophical grounding was needed. European thought made a heroic effort to supply this need, but it failed. By the middle of last century the triumph of science over the great German idealism was practically complete. To all but 'the lesser minds' it had become clear that it is impossible to find a rational justification for genuine morality in any intellectually acceptable world-view. To our moral ideals Nature is indifferent, and Nature is too great for man to conquer. Hence the collapse of modern civilization. A cynical subservience to Nature and to historical process, a cynical acquiescence in the merely practicable, took the place of the moral enthusiasm—noble, if somewhat shallow—of the Age of Enlightenment.

That idealism has fallen in hopeless ruins is one of the premisses of Dr Schweitzer's own proffered philosophical construction. With this premiss I am entirely unable to agree. As I have confessed above, I cannot regard Dr

Schweitzer as a penetrating critic of idealism. His treatment of Hegel's system, for example, seems to me so undiscerning as to be little better than a caricature, and he shows no signs of any considerable acquaintance with the current developments of the Hegelian tradition in Britain and Italy. At the risk of being summarily dismissed from Dr Schweitzer's attention as one of 'the lesser minds,' I must confess to holding that, whatever disrepute idealism may suffer to-day in quarters that are temporarily prominent, its main contributions to philosophy have been too solid to be permanently departed from. This Review, however, is not the place for an inevitably technical discussion of the true interpretation of philosophical systems. Also I must crave leave to pass over Dr Schweitzer's attempt—in my judgment anything but successful—to determine with precision the parting of the ways between himself and the Idealists by reference to the relations asserted between 'world-view' and 'life-view.' Instead of pausing over this, I will venture at once to formulate in a manner of my own—a manner slightly exaggerated for the sake of emphasis—what I take to be the real issue.

Idealists affirm and Dr Schweitzer denies that a useless morality would be no morality at all. Of course it is not held by the former any more than by the latter that moral value consists in utility. But the Idealists, believing that moral conduct is essentially an effort to achieve a goal, would regard as imperfectly moral any conduct which did not include in its motive an expectation of being able to contribute to the achievement of this goal. Dr Schweitzer, on the other hand, finds Nature so enigmatic as to preclude all hope of our attaining reasoned certainty that morality is useful—that moral actions directed upon the objective world are able actually to contribute to its uplift and betterment: nevertheless he insists that this possibly ineffective morality is not for that reason any less moral or good.

I must reserve for a separate article my examination of

Dr Schweitzer's ethical views and of the philosophical theory with which he connects them. Here, in conclusion, I can only tell why, in spite of my own disagreement with his results, I feel that his argument deserves very thoughtful attention from the Christian mind of to-day.

Dr Schweitzer's assertion that our generation has lost the ethical optimism of eighteenth century Europe may be true of the world, but it is less true of the Church and is hardly true at all of the missionary army. We missionaries are hopefully energetic and eagerly reforming. We carry on evangelistic and humanitarian labours not merely in order to feel that thus we are expressing our loyalty to our Lord but in the hope also of appreciable results in the elevation of mankind. And many of us are so preoccupied by the toil of running complex missionary organizations which quite obviously have some effect in the way of social and spiritual uplift, that we incur real danger of imagining that the kingdom of God itself can be achieved by mere selfless labour. Now, whenever we feel thus, we are falling back into the shallow optimism of the eighteenth century. Dr Schweitzer professes to show us the catastrophe to which such shallowness inevitably leads; and even if we question his showing, the fact remains that such ethical optimism is radically different from the attitude of our Lord. Dr Schweitzer's volumes, whatever we may consider to be their defects, challenge us to defend ourselves, if we can, from an accusation of disloyalty to our Master. If, as he has correctly reminded us, the kingdom of God was by Christ conceived not as something to be achieved by skill of human endeavour or to be attained by way of social evolution, but as 'something which is brought about by God when He transforms this imperfect world into a perfect one,' what right have His servants to take a different view?

Dr Schweitzer makes claim for the ethic expounded in his volumes that it is 'the ethic of Jesus brought to philosophic expression, extended into cosmical form and conceived as intellectually necessary.' No Christian dare let

that confident claim pass uninvestigated. For my own part I believe that Dr Schweitzer, as a historian, has apprehended more clearly than most of us to-day the key-note of the ethic of our Lord; it is his way of bringing this to philosophical expression that I find so unpersuasive. He strikes that key-note rather happily when, in his little book, *Christianity and the Religions of the World*, he says that in Christ's conception human moral endeavour, so far from deserving to be regarded as the producing cause of the kingdom of God, 'is only like a powerful prayer to God, that He may cause the kingdom to appear without delay.' All our missionary endeavouring ought to be worthy of being defined as an acted prayer; but of how much of it would not 'anxious planning' be a truer description? 'My brethren,' Dr Schweitzer says to us, 'these things ought not so to be.'

Turn that last-quoted phrase from his little book into a formula, and what do you get? Surely this, that morality is conduct which is valuable, not because it is useful but because it is an acted prayer. Does such a formula truly represent our Master's conception? And if in any important measure it does so, is some of its virtue lost when, after having been 'brought to philosophical expression, extended into cosmical form and conceived as intellectually necessary,' it emerges in *The Philosophy of Civilization* in the seemingly very different version that morality is 'self-sacrifice for the sake of other life motivated by reverence for life itself'? Such questions I reserve for another article. I am content that the present one should simply stress the fact that Dr Schweitzer summons us to defend ourselves for ascribing to our missionary endeavours any other value than that which may belong to them in so far as they are 'acted prayers.'

A. G. HOGG

THE PECULIAR LANGUAGE OF THE HEAVENLY POWERS

By N. ADRIANI, D.LITT. ORIENT.

THE desire to enter into communion with the Heavenly Powers finds various ways of expressing itself in the religion of races still living in Animism. According to their conception, the earth is a disc; parallel to it, above the blue sky, is the Upper World, and some distance below the earth the Nether World. The latter is the abode of the departed. After death their souls follow the course along which the sun daily leaves the earth; she sinks into a hole, into which the souls follow her. They gradually descend until they reach the top of a high areca-palm, growing up out of the nether world; the souls slide down this stem and so arrive at their destination. In ancient times contact between the earth and the regions above had been established by means of a long creeper hanging down from the sky; and somewhere on earth was a long cane rope wound up in endless coils; if anyone sat on it it would uncoil in spiral shape and lift him right up into the upper world. But those days are gone for ever; the creeper has been cut, the cane rope has been lost, and to us earthlings the heavenly world is now out of reach.

It is however just as necessary to be in contact with the upper world as with the lower, although the former is a great deal more difficult to reach than the latter. The inhabitants of the lower world are departed inhabitants of the earth; they speak the language they were wont to use during their lifetime; when they appear to their relatives on earth, e.g. in dreams, they are always able to make themselves understood. But how is communication to be established with the inhabitants of the upper world?

Celestials are not related to mortals, they belong to a higher order of beings and speak another language. What language is this ?

The only people able to answer this question are the priests and priestesses ; theirs only is the knowledge of the heavenly language whereby they find themselves in sole possession of the means of communication with the celestials, to the total exclusion of the rest of mankind.

Not every animistic race has evolved such a language of the gods and the priesthood, and very little is known about those in existence. I shall therefore confine myself to giving some information about the sacred language found among the Toradjas, the native race of Central Celebes. The study of this language has been part of the linguistic work carried on in connexion with missionary work in this country ; an insight into its meaning is indispensable for a true appreciation of the religion of this people.

Without further inquiry into the nature of this sacred language, it would be easy to imagine that it originated from a desire on the part of the priests or priestesses to secure for themselves a secret lore, making their offices indispensable, and investing them with miraculous powers wherewith to impose upon the admiring crowds. This opinion however would be unjust to the Toradja priestesses (there are no priests here), who believe as firmly as those for whom they officiate that the Heavenly Powers can only be addressed in the language which they have taken the trouble to learn. Any woman, even a slave, can learn the heavenly language from a priestess among her acquaintance ; all that is required is mental capacity and a retentive memory, for the priestess does not give any instruction to her pupils ; they have to watch her as they listen to her recitations, join in with her chants and so try to acquire the desired knowledge from imitation.

The sacred language of the Toradjas is not a complete language which could also be used for conversational purposes. Its use is confined to some long poems, describing

the way in which the priestess brings healing to a diseased person. When her offices have been requested in a case of sickness, the priestess enters the house at sunset, seats herself on the floor, at the side of the patient, and covers herself entirely with a piece of *fuya* (i.e. bark, beaten out for clothing material). Being invisible, she is supposed to have disappeared.

She starts chanting a long incantation invoking numerous spirits of the air, and invites them to follow her to the top of the roof and call for the rainbow. Her soul has left her body, and she is like one of the aerial spirits who are her servants and with whom she can move about in the air.

She now calls upon the rainbow, the heavenly airship, to come and touch at the roof where she is waiting; she embarks with her attendants, bids the spirits to row it along, the wind to waft it aloft and the birds to carry it up through the air. Now they knock against the vault of the sky, but the spirits draw their swords and pierce the clouds, and up soars the ship, till the floor of the upper world is reached. They go ashore and proceed into the presence of the Lord of Heaven and bring before him their request for 'long breath' for a diseased person, i.e. long life and health. This god is represented as the head of the Heavenly Beings, it is he who created the first human beings, who gives life and withdraws it. They pray him for 'breath of life,' and if he is willing he gives her a vase or bag containing some. After receiving the 'long breath' the priestess takes her leave of the Lord of Heaven; she and her followers return to the rainbow, re-embark and sail back to the house from which they had departed. After charging the rainbow to sail away but to be sure to return as soon as required, they disembark, creep under the roof and slide down the door-posts to the floor.

All this is contained in a long litany, chanted by the priestess from under her covering. It has taken her some hours to go through it and the night is already far advanced before she has reached the verses describing her return.

Her soul, after leaving the body, has gone through all the stages pictured in the poem, it has now returned, that is, the priestess has completed her journey and is in possession of 'long breath' to be infused into the body of the patient to restore his health; for the cause of every illness is lack of vitality, the visible form of which is breath. If the priestess reappears from under her cover during the night, she is unable to infuse the 'long breath'; she must wait until the sun rises in the east, bringing from there the life-power with which she wakens people in the morning.

The priestess goes to sleep for a while; sometimes it is broad daylight before she wakes up. She at once proceeds to pour upon the patient's head the 'long breath' out of the bag or calabash given her by the Lord of Heaven, thereby chanting the last thirty lines of her litany. She charges the 'long breath' to remain in the body, to give it health and strength and not to leave it again on any account.

The language in which she recites, entirely from memory, this long poem of about 1200 lines is unintelligible to the ordinary people. It is neither the language of some neighbouring tribe, nor an obsolete form of the Toradjas' own language. It is an artificially constructed language, a legacy to the present generation from their ancestors. It is not a spoken language, it is only to be found in these litanies to the existing number of which no addition is made. It can confidently be asserted that the knowledge of it will be extinct within a short time. The younger generation has no desire to keep it up, as animism is definitely on the decline.

The original composers of this sacred language had some knowledge of other languages of Central Celebes related to their own, as, e.g., English is related to Danish, Swedish, German, Dutch and Frisian. This knowledge had been acquired by ear, as none of the languages of Central Celebes has ever been preserved in writing. To the Toradja his own language is the only proper language, and he imagines that its forms have never been altered. If another tribe uses *kayu* for 'tree,' which a Toradja calls *kaju*, his explanation

is that the language of the other tribe is a corruption of his own ; as if an Englishman were to conclude from the fact that a Frisian says *net*, a Hollander *niet* and a German *nicht*, where he says ‘not,’ that Frisian, Dutch and German were corruptions of the King’s English, as the only intelligible way of expressing a negation is the word ‘not.’

The composition of an artificial language as a means of communication with the gods originated from the following notion, which, in order to be clearly understood, I shall formulate in terms of an English-speaking person :

When I speak to a Hollander I use *ik zeg* for ‘I say,’ *ik leg* for ‘I lay,’ *weg* for ‘way’ ; proceeding on the lines of these data I translate ‘I pray’ by *ik preg*, ‘I may’ by *ik meg*, ‘I pay’ by *ik peg*, ‘bay’ by *beg* (instead of *ik bid*, *ik mag*, *ik betaal*, *baai*). ‘Moon’ is, in Dutch, *maan*, and ‘spoon’ *spaan*, therefore ‘soon’ is *saan*, and ‘boon’ is *baan* ; ‘to burn’ is *branden*, therefore ‘to turn’ is *tranden*.

After manufacturing simple words it is easy to go on to compound ones and so ‘always’ becomes *alwegs*, (the month of) ‘May’ becomes *Meg*, for homophonous words are considered to be identical. ‘Leg’ may be taken as the stem of ‘legal’ and ‘let’ of ‘letter.’

Much use is made of paraphrasing. ‘Quicksilver’ can be paraphrased ‘swift metal,’ ‘east-wind’ as ‘orient-breeze’ ; however, proper English words have been used for these paraphrases, but as it is, the heavenly beings speak another language, i.e. another English than we do, a perverted English ; it is better therefore not to paraphrase such words too intelligibly and to say : ‘nimble white’ and ‘sunrise-blow.’

Part of a word is sometimes replaced by a synonym. The word is cut in two, irrespective of grammatical construction, provided one part is a complete word by itself. This portion is replaced by a more or less synonymous expression and the other part is affixed ; the word is now almost unrecognizable, and the object is attained. The syllables ‘leg’ and ‘let,’ mentioned above, have of course

nothing to do with the words 'leg' and 'let'; 'legal' and 'letter' not even being Anglo-Saxon words like 'leg' and 'let'; but if they are treated according to the rules practised in the formation of the sacred language of the Toradjas, it is permissible to substitute 'foot' for 'leg,' and 'permit,' 'grant' or 'allow' for 'let,' thereby coining the words 'footal,' 'permitter,' 'granter,' 'allower.' Similarly in 'provision' the part 'vision' can be replaced by 'sight,' 'view' or 'look,' and 'prosights,' 'proviews' and 'prolooks' may be used in the sense of 'provisions.' As 'wild' and 'waste' are more or less synonymous, 'wasterness' can be used for 'wilderness,' 'wishingness' for 'willingness,' 'hotth' for 'warmth'; 'to assist' is 'to aid,' therefore 'assistance' is 'aidance'; 'flame' and 'flash' are more or less the same as 'fire,' consequently 'flamy' and 'flashy' can take the place of 'fiery.' A 'law' is an 'act,' therefore a 'lawyer' is an 'actyer'; the 'viceroy' is a 'vice-king,' so 'royal' is 'kingal'; 'arms' are 'weapons,' therefore an 'army' is a 'weapony'; 'morrow' is 'morning,' therefore 'sorrow' is 'sorning'; 'heavenly' is 'skyly'; 'forwarding' is 'aheading.' Even words from the children's language are in requisition, and 'rather' is changed into 'raddy,' corresponding to 'daddy' for 'father'; 'mother' is 'mammy,' therefore 'brother' is 'brammy,' and 'to bother' is 'to bammy.'

These examples can give some idea of the way in which one could manufacture a language by means of forced analogy of words and forms borrowed from one's own and from related languages. Other languages being more or less systematic perversions of ours, it should be possible by applying the Toradja methods to build up a language whose existence would be quite conceivable, as it would be related to our own language in the same way as all foreign ones.

The following is a summary of the litany recited by the priestess. I shall translate a few passages from the text, and convert a few lines into the sacred language, applying to the English words the same mutilations to which the

Toradja language was subjected by the original composers of the language of the Heavenly Powers.

The poem summarized below consists of 1170 lines, the metre is iambic, measuring eight syllables. The rhyme is in the vowels of the two last syllables, as if in English 'glory' were made to rhyme with 'stony,' and 'market' with 'father.'

Lines 1-41. The spirits in her service are summoned by the priestess to leave their abodes in the air, and to betake themselves to the house of the diseased person, where she is waiting for them. (Every priestess has her servants among the hosts in the air.)

42-167. She calls all the spirits by name, urging them not to keep her waiting. Some of the spirits are males, others females. The males bear such names as : Cloudpiercer, Skystabber, Heavenborer ; the females are called : Fairhaired, Bluejacket, Clevercook, Swiftserver and so on.

168-209. The spirits enter the house of the sick person, where the priestess is seated on the floor in the usual way. The priestess bids them welcome and offers them betel-fruits and areca-nuts to chew, and after that tobacco. She informs them that they have been summoned to accompany her on her journey to the upper world on behalf of the sick person lying there on his mat.

210-272. The spirits reply that they have heard and understood the summons. Preparations are made for the journey ; magic roots are peeled and cut, to be chewed and spit out along the way to counteract evil influences. Clothes, arms and sailing gear are made ready as for a voyage.

273-350. The priestess distributes presents among the spirits to stimulate their zeal.

Up to this point the priestess has been seated on her mat uncovered. Everything described in her song has actually happened through the magic of her language. Her eyes are closed during the chant and she rhythmically moves a bunch of magic herbs up and down.

351-377. The priestess covers herself with the cloth described above, and orders the spirits to join her. Now they are all supposed to have vanished and to have started on the journey heavenward.

The priestess remains under the cover till the end of her song.

378-436. The priestess ascends (i.e. her spirit, only her body is chanting under the cover ; her attendants, being spirits, are invisible). She says a few words of farewell to the inmates of the house, climbs up to the roof along the wooden posts, lifts the covering of dried leaves and

seats herself on the ridge. It is dark outside, for the ceremony is always performed during the night. Betel-fruits and areca-nuts are thrown up into the air for the spirits not commissioned to attend upon the priestess, asking them to allow the travellers to pass unmolested. The gods are called upon, informing them of the intended visit and praying for a prosperous voyage.

437-470. The priestess calls the ship, the rainbow ; also the birds to lift it up and set it a-sailing on the heavenly sea.

471-528. The rainbow arrives, manned with the spirits in charge. It touches at the roof where the priestess and her company are waiting. She shows every one his place ; relatives may sit together. Those privileged to sit next to her are specially named and she is the last to go on board.

The following fragment is a translation :

Scarcely have I finished speaking,	Now jump aboard,
I have just concluded my request,	Leap in with merry songs !
There appears in the air	Let your oars bring it nearer,
The splendour of the golden boat.	Draw it closer, pull it tight ;
Half the sky is aglow	Now be seated, like with like,
With the brilliancy of the gorgeous	Young men with their fellows,
ship.	Lads with lads,
The houses in our village shine	Girls with girls,
With the reflection of the glistening	Old people in front,
vessel. ¹	Wise people to the back,
Side by side, all in a row,	You, Ndointele, and you, Ndoi-
The sailors are lined up,	bantja,
Discussing the course to be taken.	At either side of me.
The ship seems to be shot along	Come aboard, do not go away,
Through the air, through the sky.	Step in, do not go ashore again.
My servants, my attending spirits,	All have got into the ship,
Sit tight on the roof !	All the passengers are aboard.
Stretch out your hands,	Now let us call the wind,
Get hold of the rainbow,	Let the lightning appear.
Land it at the right place !	The wind from the mountains,
Behold, it has arrived,	The lightning from the caves,
The golden boat has landed.	The wind from the East,

¹ Treating these eight lines in English as the Toradjas treat their language, of the heavenly powers, these would read :

'Schaarslyk heb ik bordered spreking,
Ik heb juist conlocked min repetition,
Daar appores mid de eater
De lustrour of de gouden boot.
Part de cloudery is aglooy
Together de diamondy of de kloofous skiff.
De huizes mid ons townage skine
Mit de recurving of de glinstering cask.'

The lightning from the West.
The wind from the land of Napoe,
The lightning from the land of
Bada.

I am tired with calling,
I am exhausted with commanding.
Blow, blow, thou Wind !
Flash, flash, thou Lightning !
Up we rise in the air,
Upwards we soar to the sky.
The house-tops are visible,
We look down on the roofs.

The rainbow is so full,
The golden boat is so crowded,
That the heaviest rain pouring down
Would not get to its bottom.
Straight upward sails our ship,
Straight as the stem of the areca-
palm,
As a parrot flying up from its perch.
The tips of the men's loin-cloths,
The edges of the girls' skirts,
Flutter on the force of the wind,
Blown by the breath of the breeze.

529-670. The wind carries the ship along, lightning-flashes light up the dark way, a sharp look-out is kept for the course.

671-730. At last the clouds are reached. Finely chewed magic herbs are spit out against them and they disperse. Beyond the sea of clouds is a mountain with some villages of spirits. They touch here and there to visit them.

731-840. The vault of heaven is reached and the rainbow is checked in its course. One of the spirits is ordered to thrust a hole through the dome. Several strata are pierced, a passage is forced through dark masses of clouds till the regions of light are gained. They arrive at a wide plain, the pasture-ground of wonderful buffaloes, with spotted skins and stone hoofs, with bracelets for nose-rings and teeth of earthenware, with rice-ears for hair and strips of linen for tails. Several of these villages in the upper world are mentioned by name, e.g. that of the goddess of the wind is called 'Grandmother living in the storm.'

841-997. It is on this plain, that the fluid of life is gathered. This is related as follows :

We have come to gather life-power,	What more is there yet to be done ?
It is fluid of life we want to gain.	What is left that we have not
Now we have obtained life-fluid,	accomplished ?
And life-power we have gained.	Now return, thou Vessel of Light !

There is a slight difference between this poem and the one mentioned above ; the litanies of the several priestesses are the same on the whole, although they vary in some minor points.

998-1167. The company re-embarks in the rainbow and returns along the same route. Soon the earth comes into view. Looking down, a number of villages are recognized, and the home-village among them. They land on the roof of the diseased person's house. The spirits in charge of the rainbow are given permission to return. They are instructed to be at the

priestess' service the instant she summons them, and not to obey the call of any other priestess.

They re-enter the house through the roof and alight on the floor. They walk through the house, calling every object by its name, to greet it on the return from the journey to the upper world and to impart it new durability.

At this stage in her song the priestess emerges from under her covering, for her soul has re-entered her body. The attending spirits are dismissed, but it is still night, and as the ceremonies cannot be concluded until sunrise the priestess lies down to sleep awhile. When she awakes it is broad daylight, the sun is already high and she must hasten to pour out the fluid of life on the patient. She takes a bag of cotton or *fuya* and shakes it out over the patient's head, chanting as she does it :

Now I shall pour out,
The life-power, the fluid
We went to fetch
And have brought with us.
Thou fluid, spirit of life,
Come forth from this bag,
Enter into this man.
Descend upon him,
As a spear into the ground,
As a tree in the earth.

Should one desire to take thee,
And carry thee hence,
Do not obey him,
Pay no heed to his wish.
We shall give thee to eat
All that thou desirest,
That thou mayest remain
Quietly at rest in this body.
Now is our task accomplished.

When we consider the fact that these people have composed an artificial language, which they imagined to be that of the Heavenly Powers, that it was built up from their native tongue in a way similar to that in which other nations were assumed to have derived theirs from it, we cannot help smiling at the thought that any serious study could be devoted to such a production. When a linguist living among the Toradjas discovers the existence of this sacred language, he easily imagines that it will give him a clue to the obsolete forms of the present-day language and enable him to trace its history through former periods. He is strengthened in this opinion when the Toradjas declare that this language is very old. With joyful expectations the

linguist starts on his research. There are no records of the Toradja language in existence, neither inscriptions nor manuscripts used by former generations, and he expects to find a real gold-mine in this language of the priesthood.

His first attempts tend to confirm his views. He actually hits on antiquated forms. But as the artificial construction of the language gradually unfolds itself he sees clearly that there is nothing very remarkable in these obsolete forms, and that they appear here and there as they do in every other language. In ordinary conversational language old forms co-exist with new ones; in 'twenty' the *w* is pronounced, but it has become mute in 'two.' And the composers of the sacred language have replaced 'two' by 'twen,' 'twen' being related to 'twenty' as 'seven' to 'seventy.'

Yet the existence of such a language is an important phenomenon and well worth studying. The language in which we address other people reflects the relation in which we stand to them. An orator who addresses his audience in swollen and affected language does not seek any serious contact with his hearers; they are there for the purpose of applauding him and he is satisfied with their admiration. This sacred language did not originate solely from the desire to establish contact with the gods, but also in order to create something special for the priestesses, something inimitable, a knowledge that should be their private property, that would raise them in their own eyes and in the estimation of the crowd to the rank of highly privileged beings.

Knowledge, in the Toradja's opinion, is something to keep to oneself and not to be parted with except for a high price. That the missionary preached the Gospel without expecting them to pay for it created distrust at first. A person knowing the way of salvation should be so overjoyed with this knowledge that he would refuse to share it with anyone. Besides, if some one gives me a clue to the mysteries of the invisible world without my paying for it, this knowledge will do me harm instead of good. I have therefore always paid the priestesses for the recitation of their litanies, and in exactly

the same articles in which they had formerly paid the priestess who had taught them. The reason for this custom reveals the peculiar character of the sacred language and the magic power of its secrecy.

A word, especially a peculiar word, has magic power. This is in the first instance true of a name; the name awakens the soul. A person whose name is called, looks up involuntarily; his inmost self has been addressed and it responds without an effort of his will. Therefore a name is more or less sacred. I may (as a Toradja) not use the name of a person whom I ought to treat with respect. If my mother's name is Victoria, I am forbidden the use of that name, also the name Victor, and the words 'victory,' 'victorious,' 'victress,' 'victim,' 'vixen.' I substitute synonyms and use 'conqueror' for Victor, 'conquest' for victory, 'sacrifice' for victim. If I have no synonyms for 'victorious' and 'victress' I make the words, 'conquerous' and 'conqueress,' thereby creating words which are at once adopted in the circle to which I belong, as neither my brothers and sisters nor my cousins may use the word 'Victoria,' etc. The use of an artificial language has thereby been established and no one finds anything to ridicule.

If a Toradja has insulted some one by using his name, or a word distinctly containing a part of his name, he can atone for the offence by means of a present. This changes the bad feelings of the insulted party into good, a proof of the magic power of a gift. Therefore when a priestess taught me her litany, thereby pronouncing nothing but magic words, a gift was required to restore to them the magic power. Consequently I had to give her the same reward as she gave previously, warding off the same evil with the same antidote.

It follows that the priestly language has magic power. It exerts a similar influence on the Heavenly Beings as the well-chosen words of one person on another. In order to be on good terms with our fellow-men we must know how to speak to them.

It is evident that the sacred language of the Toradja priestesses had its origin in the magic power ascribed to the spoken word, and especially to prayer. And however ridiculous this perverted language may sound in our ears, when its forms are imitated in our own, to the Toradja the sacred language is no nonsense but sober earnest.

The Heavenly Beings differ from us and so does their language. Other languages are perversions of ours, consequently this also applies to that of the Celestials. They did not teach us their language, therefore we had to make it ourselves, and this was done by perverting our own in the same way as we do on a small scale when we avoid the use of forbidden words.

Meanwhile no Toradja calls the sacred language artificial. It is firmly believed to be in use with the Heavenly Beings, and that it was taught by them to the ancestors of the priestesses.

Now what is the meaning of this phenomenon from a religious point of view? In the first instance it reveals a longing for communion with the unseen world, and a striving and groping to find a way of communication. Where this desire is found the preacher of the Gospel may hope to lead it in the right direction. We rejoice to find a serious religious aspiration among a people to whom we come with the gospel message. We are bound to take a deep interest in it. This is no easy task, but missionary work is a succession of difficulties. Besides, when the sacred language is no longer wrapped in mystery, and communicated as to an outsider, a proof of confidence in the missionary has been given. He is trusted not to take an unfair advantage of the communication and not to ridicule it. The study of a sacred language is best left in the hands of a linguist, and the Dutch missionary societies have always had linguists in their service. The German missionary Dr A. Hardeland published the litanies of the Dayak priestesses of Borneo in 1858, text and translation; he could not, however, explain it, and the translation was derived from the priestesses themselves. No further

research work has been done in connexion with this material. Dr Hardeland has, however, shown that he recognized the importance of the study of this language, which does not differ in essential points from the sacred language of the Toradjas.

The Toradja priestesses were honourable women, married, occupied with their field-labour, outwardly not different from other women. Some of them were slaves, others the wives of chiefs. They did not bear titles, neither demanded high rewards. They dressed like other women except for certain ornaments when on duty. The capable ones stood in high esteem ; but there were others who only knew a few lines of the poem they pretended to recite ; they used to repeat those lines with some additions of their own, took long pauses, started late at night and broke off as soon as they noticed that the audience had gone to sleep. It is remarkable that these incompetent ones were the first to come to me offering to initiate me into their art. Their object was to improve their reputation, as they would be able to say : ‘ Mr A. took me as his teacher because he wanted to know the language quite correctly.’ As it was, these bunglers were of great use to me, as I was more able to take down a long litany after some practice on separate parts, even without the proper sequence. No priestess knows the exact meaning of every word ; a number of them had to be consulted before I could undertake the translation of the entire poem and take my choice out of the various versions.

The knowledge of this sacred language is fast disappearing among the Toradjas. Young girls desirous to be instructed by old priestesses are no more to be found, and several of the latter have adopted Christianity. In a few years’ time the knowledge of the sacred language will be a thing of the past. It has had its time and has fulfilled its object ; it has served God’s purpose in providing a means of communication with the Heavenly Powers to those who were groping for it ; and it has kept alive those aspirations whose satisfaction is not to be found in the things of this earth.

N. ADRIANI

THE MECCA PILGRIMAGE IN THE LIFE OF ISLAM

BY ARTHUR JEFFERY, M.R.A.S.

IN a recent lecture at the School of Oriental Studies in Cairo, Professor Margoliouth drew attention once again to the fact that the pilgrimage to Mecca is practically the one bond of unity in the world of Islam. Islam assuredly has no political unity, for the most recent census of the Moslem world ¹ reveals the Moslem population divided in political allegiance among some twenty different governments, and six-sevenths of that population under western suzerainty. There is not even that ideal political unity of which Pan-Islam was the symbol, for the House of Islam has not yet been able to decide which is its real Commander of the Faithful. Nor is Islam a religious unity. Not only is there the great gulf fixed between Shi'as and Sunnis, but its so-called orthodox sects are poles asunder, and all through its history there has been the clash of opposing doctrines within its fold. Nor is Islam a cultural unity. The Muhammadanism of Malaysia is a gloss over Malayan Animism, and Islam in China is an Arabianized Confucianism, while in lands of more advanced civilization Islam has adapted itself to and expressed itself in the culture of the peoples whom it conquered. Not even has its sacred tongue, the 'language of Paradise,' been a bond of cultural unity, for though it has impressed its script on other tongues and made at times a deep impression on the vocabulary of the peoples Islam has conquered, yet it has created no linguistic unity ² in

¹ In *Journal of American Oriental Society*, March 1924.

² This is speaking generally of the great masses of the population. It is true, however, that among the intellectuals, Arabic is known all over the Moslem world. Some writers make a great point of this and write bombastic periods on the unity of Islam from China to Morocco and from Russia to the Cape through the universality of the Arabic

the Moslem world, for the vernaculars still hold sway, while in Java Arabic is mostly famous as the substance of charms and amulets, and in Africa it makes 'big magic.'

If Islam is in any sense a social unity, that unity is focused in the Mecca pilgrimage, when in the streets of the Holy City there meet and mingle Moslems from every quarter of the House of Islam. There are wild Bedouin of the Arabian desert, and sleek, elegantly tailored Turks from Angora or Stamboul; rough Afghan mountaineers and soft merchants from Bombay; smooth-faced Chinamen from Khansu and bearded Russians from Kazan. There are Egyptians and Moors and Swahilis; learned scholars from Hind and densest dullards from Ethiopia; warlike Moros from the Philippines and pacific Bengalis. There are white-faced Persians and coal-black Sudanese, Caucasians from Anatolia and Mongols from Turkestan. And here during the pilgrimage they are in a sense one great family, drawn by a common faith to a common centre to share in a common enthusiasm for a common end.¹ Here, if anywhere, Islam is one.

It is probable that Muhammad meant it to be a centre of unity, when he took it over from the pagan religion that he superseded. The pilgrimage is older than Islam.² How old it is we cannot guess, but from various indications, both from the north and from the south Arabian inscriptions of Yemen, we learn that the Arabs were ever fond of pilgrimages, and for long before the coming of Muhammad, the shrine at Mecca, with its sacred black stone, had been an important pilgrimage centre. Mecca lived on the pilgrimage,³ and

language. How little practical truth there is in this, however, is shown by the whole class of interpreters at Mecca who live on the inability of the majority of pilgrims to speak Arabic.

¹ See Khuda Bakhsh, *Essays, Indian and Islamic*, p. 18.

² Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidenthums*, p. 79 ff., gathers up the data on the pre-Islamic pilgrimage. It is curious to note that two Muslim writers, Ibn Jobeir in 1182 and Batanuni in 1910, describe the way they saw the desert Bedouin observe the pilgrimage, and thus give us a picture of the ancient rites still surviving, hardly touched by Islam.

³ See Wensinck in *Ency. Islam*, ii. 200, Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 47. Ali Bey says, 'Mecca is so poor by nature that if the House of God ceased to exist it would be

Muhammad, born and bred a Meccan, could hardly have done other than take over this important institution into his new religion. As Demombynes says, speaking of the pilgrimage ceremonies, 'Le Prophète tout imprégné du culte de sa jeunesse les a conservées et observées dans les dernières années de sa vie,'¹ and pressed by the difficulty of finding some way of keeping these widely scattered Arab tribes in touch with one another, he made compulsory² this rite of pilgrimage to the ancient shrine, whence each yearly gathering in the sacred month would send them out with renewed enthusiasm for the common cause.

Yet this very decree reveals the limitations of the Prophet's own thinking. If Islam were intended as an Arabian religion, the decree was good and useful, and also feasible, but with Islam as a universal religion it becomes absurd. For the Arabs it was a simple matter to come to Mecca for the pilgrimage, and it was a useful thing to do; for besides its religious and political benefits, it was an excellent centre for necessary trade.³ But with a present Moslem population of two hundred and thirty millions scattered all over the world, it is utterly impossible for the great majority of Moslems to be able⁴ to observe this 'fifth pillar' of Islam. Not to speak of the difficulty of the Moslems of China and Central Africa taking the enormous journey to a strange and inhospitable land, to perform ceremonies mostly unmeaning to them, it is a mere matter of arithmetic to demonstrate that if every Moslem went once in his lifetime to Mecca, it would mean a multitude of

inevitably deserted in two years, for the inhabitants in general subsist for the rest of the year upon what they accumulate during the time of the pilgrimage.'—*Travels*, ii. 102.

¹ Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 1923, p. 323.

² Sura, xxii. 28; iii. 91, etc. Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, traces the motives behind his decision about Mecca.

³ As it still is for the modern Bedawi. See Ibn Jobeir in Demombynes, *op. cit.* p. 222; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, ii. 455 ff.; Roches, *Dix Ans à Travers l'Islam*, 1904, p. 314.

⁴ The conditions of the obligation of pilgrimage are that one should be (a) of full age, (b) a Moslem, (c) of sound reason, (d) a free man, (e) able, that is of sound health and able to defray the expenses and provide for the family left at home. It is this last which is obviously the big ground of disability.

pilgrims in the Holy City each year so great that even the whole country could not support them.

The pilgrimage, however, is a factor in Islam, and has important political, social and religious bearings on the life of Islam, even though it be only 'a fragment of incomprehensible heathenism taken up undigested into Islam,'¹ and our interest is rather with these practical consequences, than with theorizing on the origin and development of the rite.²

Let us consider them then in this order.

I. POLITICAL.—However divided it may actually be, theoretically the House of Islam is one, and is the completest of democracies. According to the Prophet, says Khuda Bakhsh in his *Essays, Indian and Islamic* (1912, p. 62), 'Islam meant an unqualified admission to the theocracy set up by it, and full participation in its rights and privileges, and an absolute extinction of all differences based on race, nationality, or colour'; and there is some colour for this statement in early traditions of the Prophet, though it speedily passed away as a practical polity.

It is in the pilgrimage, however, that the scattered elements of the House of Islam still find in some measure the expression of both this unity and this democracy.

We have already noticed the conglomeration of nationalities and cultures met with during the pilgrimage at Mecca, and to the simple villager from Khansu or Sumatra or the Congo, who has suffered many hardships and has travelled far to make his visit to the Holy City, that fact conveys an extraordinary impression of the world-wide sway of Islam. A cartoonist in an Australian paper drew a life-like picture of one Kwang-Sue, who had served in a Labour Corps in Flanders, explaining to an admiring following in his native village, how he, Kwang-Sue, had won the war. And that pictures to one what is happening year after year in hundreds of remote villages of Asia and Africa when the long absent

¹ Kuenen, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, p. 33.

² For a theory of origins see Clemen in *Der Islam*, x. 161 ff.

pilgrims return and tell of the strange happenings and strange meetings round the Ka'ba. There are numerous testimonies to this.

Writing from the Syrian standpoint, Professor Stewart Crawford says :

The greed of those who direct the pilgrims at the various shrines, and the frauds practised so brazenly on them by the people of the Holy City, may call for indignant criticism even from the most devout Moslem. But these lamentable social defects in most cases only serve as a foil to the stimulating effects of crowd psychology as realized at Mecca. The individual pilgrim is awestruck by the mass movement exemplified in the pilgrimage of so many fellow-believers. When he returns to his distant home, no feature of his experience is dilated on with more enthusiasm as he narrates the events of the pilgrimage to his friends. Thus countless individuals are drawn within the mystic spell of a profound class consciousness which is essentially religious.¹

Similar testimony could be given from Malaysia, Central Africa, China, India and elsewhere, but our space is limited and this quotation must stand as typical of all.

Now the significance of this class consciousness is obvious. The Mecca pilgrim goes back to his home with a new sense of his importance as a member, albeit a humble member, of the great organization of Islam. At home he may have been but a half-hearted believer who had accepted Islam as an accident of birth, or because of some lure of social betterment, or maybe by submission to force, and his faith sat lightly upon him ; but he goes to the pilgrimage, circumambulates the Ka'ba with Turks and Indians, runs between Safa and Merwa with Afghans and Chinese, drinks at the well of Zemzem with Moors and Zanzibaris, makes his sacrifice in the valley of Mina with Javanese and Syrians, listens to the sermon at Arafat among Egyptians and Sudanese, and he goes back to his little village home enthused with knowledge that he is part of this great brother-

¹ *The Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam*, p. 134. So Dr Zwemer writes : ' As a great magnet to draw the Moslem world together with an annual and ever-widening *esprit de corps*, the Mecca pilgrimage is without a rival.'—*Islam, a Challenge to Faith*, 1909, p. 109.

hood of Islam, with what to him seems its unconquerable power and unsurpassable glory.

And this is intensified by the second fact we have mentioned, namely, the democratic ideal that is theoretically universal in Islam, as the Working Mosque people continually acclaim, and is to some extent realized during the pilgrimage. This is one of the things that stands out in Kazem Zadek's relation of the pilgrimage of 1910-11. He says:

Another thing worthy of attention is the rigorous equality which obtains among the pilgrims, who are all subject to the same obligations and clothed in the same costume, not even excepting the prince and the minister. On pilgrimage there is neither rich nor poor, great nor small, neither honours nor privileges. Social class distinctions do not exist, and democracy, in the strictest sense of the word, is realized. Masters and servants become equals, and even the most humble claim their rights.¹

It is true, of course, that this picture is somewhat idealized, for the Begum of Bhopal, for instance, made her pilgrimage in 1864² with an ease and luxury that poorer pilgrims could not hope to enjoy, and Badia y Leblich's narrative reveals that, even while the puritan Wahhabis were in possession of the Holy City, the man who had money to burn was ensured of better treatment than the masses.³ It is also significant to note that almost all the narratives we have mention that money talks very loudly when the pilgrims desire privileges at Zemzem and other desirable places during the pilgrimage season. But these details do not affect the general statement that there is a very real sense of democratic brotherhood realized more than anywhere else at the pilgrimage. And this has importance, as we shall see when we come to consider the social consequences of the pilgrimage.

In the light of the foregoing statements it does not require much imagination to see how ideal a centre for political propaganda Mecca is. An interesting—perhaps

¹ *Revue du Monde Musulman*, xix. p. 225.

² See the account in *A Pilgrimage to Mecca by the Begum of Bhopal*, London, 1870.

³ *Voyages d'Ali Bey el Abbassi*, Paris, 1814.

the most interesting—illustration of this is to be found in the history of the Wahhabi movement. In reality this was a religious movement, a puritan reformation in Islam, but its political significance has far outweighed the religious, and it is consequently as a political movement that we view it. Muhammad ibn 'Abd el Wahhab was an Arab of Nejd born in 1691, and his movement was in its origin, as it is by a curious coincidence again to-day, almost entirely an Arabian one. In 1803 Mecca was taken and the Ka'ba cleansed in accordance with the new puritanical ideas,¹ and from then onward Mecca was the centre from which this movement with its enormous political consequences spread all over the Islamic world.

At the very moment when the Wahhabis were struggling for supremacy, there was on pilgrimage at Mecca a remarkable Sudanese, Sheikh Othman Danfodio of the Fula, Pul or Fulbe people.² He accepted the new doctrines with enthusiasm, and on his return to Africa united into one powerful confederacy the scattered Fula tribes, enthused them with the new ideal, changed them from a peaceable pastoral people into an army of tireless warriors, and set out with them on those waves of conquest all over the Western Sudan³ which only really came to an end by the English occupation of Nigeria in 1900.

In 1803, the year when Mecca was conquered by the Wahhabis, three Sumatran pilgrims were in the Holy City. They there learned the Wahhabi doctrine and caught its fire, and on their return to Sumatra commenced the propaganda which resulted in the formation of the Padri sects in the highlands of Padang, a band of wild, bloodthirsty fanatics who declared a *jihad* or holy war on the neighbouring heathen tribe of Bataks. Dr Gottfried Simon gives us some account of their ravages in this country where 'all who would not submit to the crescent were murdered, the

¹ Ali Bey was in Mecca during the Wahhabite control, and gives in his *Travels* a curious picture of their rule.

² These are the commonest of the many names by which they are known.

³ See Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, p. 323 ff.

villages were burned, the women violated, and the children sold as slaves.’¹ Things got so bad that the Dutch government had to interfere, and in a long war from 1821 to 1837 practically annihilated the Padris.

It was the Mecca pilgrimage also that brought Wahhabism to India. Sayyid Ahmad of Oudh had, it is true, commenced preaching reform in 1820, but his teaching was unformulated and his work unsystematic. In Mecca, however, he came in contact with the Wahhabis and their work, and as a result, in the words of Sir William Hunter, ‘he returned to India no longer a religious visionary and reformer of idolatrous abuses, but a fanatical disciple of Abd el Wahhab. Whatever had been dreamy in his nature now gave place to a fiery ecstasy, in which he beheld himself planting the crescent throughout every district of India, and the Cross buried beneath the carcasses of the English infidels.’² Then followed the conflicts between Ahmad’s followers and the Sikhs from 1826–1846, and the interferences of English troops in 1854 in the Frontier War lasting to 1868, and various troubles even later, all of which Sir William Hunter has described. Nor is the movement dead yet, for there is still a remnant of the Wahhabi sect working in India.

There are still two further developments of this Wahhabism, one in Africa and one in Arabia, both directly connected with Mecca, and both of considerable political importance. That in Africa is the Senussi movement founded in 1837 while the Sheikh Sanussi was studying in Mecca. He, like Ahmad, had been a reformer before his visit to Mecca, but there he was strongly influenced by the teaching of the Wahhabis, and although he did not go all the way with them, his great fraternity in North Africa is in a very real sense the continuation of Wahhabism, and has been fraught with the most serious political consequences for all the European powers interested in North Africa. That in

¹ *Der Islam in Batakland*, quoted also in his *Islam und Christentum*, 1910, p. 16.

² *The Indian Musalmans*, 1872, p. 61.

Arabia is the more modern Ikhwan movement whose statement of doctrine was translated by Rev. E. E. Calverley in the *Moslem World* for October 1921. It is merely a revival of the old movement, and present political conditions in Arabia favour the extension of its influence.¹

From this example it is clear that Sultan Abd ul Hamid knew what he was doing when he made use of the Mecca pilgrimage for purposes of propagating his great conception of Pan-Islam.² Of the inner workings of this propaganda we know little, but of its results we know much, for its effects have been felt by all European powers who govern large Moslem populations. Holland, e.g., has been seriously troubled in her East Indian possessions by this Pan-Islamic propaganda brought back by returning pilgrims. Gottfried Simon in his work already mentioned³ tells us of the pernicious effects produced on the indigenous population by these men, and such writers as Snouck Hurgronje,⁴ Schreiber,⁵ and van den Bergh,⁶ have pointed out the seriousness of the problem.

But Holland's problem is no different from that of France or Germany or England. 'It is at Mecca,' says André Servier, 'that believers from all parts of the world meet together to discuss freely their religious and political interests. At Mecca are living in forced or voluntary exile numbers of persons who have had to flee from European administration. After each pilgrimage, large numbers of young men of all countries remain at Mecca to spend several years in studying the medieval scholasticism of Islam, and then return home to strengthen the international religious links and animate afresh attachment to the political ideal

¹ This article was written before the recent capture of Mecca by the Wahhabis.—ED.

² Wyman Bury, *Pan-Islam*, 1919, p. 84: 'Perhaps the strongest factor in Pan-Islam as a political movement or a world-wide fellowship is the Meccan pilgrimage.'

³ *Islam und Christentum*, Berlin, 1910.

⁴ *Nederland en de Islam*, 1911, p. 50, and an article in *Onze Eeuw* for 1909 entitled 'De hadjipolitiek der Indische regeering.'

⁵ *Sumatra, Mekka und die Turken*, one of the publications of the Rheinische Mission.

⁶ 'Het Panislamisme' in *Ind. Gids* for 1908.

of Islam';¹ and his words, which stand true for the French and English spheres of influence in North Africa, could be paralleled by many passages from German and English writers dealing with their respective fields in inner Africa.

The political significance, then, of the Mecca pilgrimage is that being the unique centre of the realization of any sort of unity in Islam, it is the centre of all political propaganda against western political control in Islam. Thus one can understand with what serious misgivings some Moslem political leaders view the present troubles over the pilgrimage, such as arose in the year 1923 between the Egyptian government and the King of the Hejaz, and also understand the almost frantic insistence of certain Indian Moslem leaders that the control of the Holy City must always be in the hands of the strongest political power in Islam.²

II. SOCIAL.—Turning now to the social effects of the pilgrimage, our attention is drawn first of all to the sacred character which attaches to the Hajji himself. We have already seen that pilgrimage is the fifth of the 'Pillars of Islam,' theoretically incumbent on all believers, and yet, under modern conditions, a privilege attainable by only a small proportion of Muslims resident at any distance from the centre of the faith. The result is that the fortunate few who are able to make the pilgrimage attain to no mean social eminence among their fellow-believers in their native land.

Writing of conditions in Turkestan, Aminius Vambéry says :

A successfully accomplished visit to the holy places of Arabia makes a Mohammedan respected not only in his community, but also in the outlying districts of his country. On his return journey from Mecca and Madina the Hajee gets an official reception all along his route. He is met by young and old, by rich and poor, everybody tries to rub his eyes or his cheeks to the dress of the man, in order to catch an atom of the

¹ *Le Nationalisme musulman*, 1913, p. 157.

² See Kamal ud Din, *India in the Balance*, 1922, cap. viii.

dust coming from the Ka'ba. . . . I have seen people kissing the footsteps of such a pilgrim, embracing and petting him, and what struck me most was the scene where Kirghis nomads or Turkoman nomads cried like children on seeing one of these Hajees.¹

Lane in his *Modern Egyptians* bears testimony to the veneration of the Hajji in Egypt, which, if not as extravagant as that quoted above, is very marked, for in popular estimation the pilgrim is invested with numerous virtues (not at all noticeable by the Westerner) which are quite unattainable by his less fortunate fellows.

The chief significance of this is the weight it gives to the religious significance of the pilgrimage, a point to which we shall return later. The Hajji, *ipso facto*, becomes a religious authority. The present writer has been witness of the deference paid to his opinion both in Egypt and India, and Dr Simon says of the position in Malaysia :

The brutal insolence with which the proud pilgrim from Mecca spurns the superstitious beliefs of the pagan, which hitherto have been considered as above question, convinces the pagan that firm faith in Allah confers an overwhelming power upon men.²

This leads us to the second point, namely, the enormous social results of the new class consciousness engendered by the pilgrimage. That this consciousness has important political bearings we have already seen, but perhaps even more important is its social significance. Various Christian sects go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Hindus go on pilgrimage to Benares, and Shi'as to Kerbela, and yet in none of these cases is there developed any noticeably strong class consciousness. Yet in Islam the yearly gatherings round the Sacred House have developed such a class consciousness in Islam that throughout the Islamic world there is a more real sense of brotherhood in a common religious interest than perhaps is found anywhere else.

Now this class consciousness makes them missionaries. As we have seen, the Hajji becomes a religious authority

¹ Preface to Hajji Khan's *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, London, 1905.

² *Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam*, p. 82.

by the mere fact of his having visited Mecca, and thus he becomes by a natural gravitation the propagator of his faith among the people with whom he is in contact. In page after page of the writers on Islam in Africa do we find the picture of the returned pilgrim expatiating, not only to fellow-believers but to the heathen neighbours, on the glories of Islam as revealed in the Holy City, of its enormous brotherhood, of the wonderful things he has heard from fellow-Muslims from Russia and India, from Morocco and the Philippines, and his hearers come under the spell of this class consciousness of which he is the advocate. In Java and Sumatra the case is similar, as one can easily see it would be in every case where Islam is in contact with peoples of a lower culture than its own. It may not be the chief missionary impulse in Islam, but it is a very great one, and in view of the fact that Islam is far more a social than a religious organization, this has to be reckoned with seriously in the modern world.

Of great social significance from quite another point of view are two aspects of the Meccan pilgrimage that are frequently overlooked. The first is the fact that the pilgrimage is a notorious distributor of disease; and the second is the fact of the flagrant immorality of the Holy City.

It is only to be expected that the indiscriminate concourse of numbers of people in a particular place at a particular time would be favourable to the spread of disease. In Mecca, however, conditions are aggravated by the naturally unsanitary conditions of the city, of certain sacrificial practices connected with the pilgrimage ceremonies, and the disgracefully backward condition of the vast majority of Moslem peoples in the knowledge and practice of hygiene. As a result disease is rife during every pilgrimage and on occasion plagues sweep the city with direful results.

The pilgrims during Wavell's visit to Mecca in 1905 were very much afraid of cholera and plague, for there had been a terrible visitation the previous year which carried

off as many as a thousand people a day during the height of the pilgrimage season.¹ All writers are agreed that the quarantine regulations are a farce, and by means of Zemzem water, relics, and even the clothing of the pilgrims, the diseases are carried all over the Islamic world, sometimes, as in India, with dreadful consequences.

Equally serious socially is the moral plague of Mecca. Practically all the European pilgrims to the Holy City have remarked on this. Leon Roches refers to the two quarters of the town given over to the prostitutes.² Ali Bey comments on the general lightness of character of Meccan women,³ and Jonathan Wild in 1607, Burkhardt in 1814, Burton in 1855, and so recent a traveller as Wavell in 1908⁴ have the same story of Meccan immorality. Demombynes thinks it is possible that there may still be a survival there of sacred prostitution connected with the old pre-Islamic cult,⁵ but this is no excuse for it, and even so cannot explain the flagrant immorality and predilection for unnatural vice described by Hurgronje,⁶ and which are practised unblushingly in the very precincts of the sacred shrine. The social effects of such a condition need not be emphasized, but the depth of the tragedy is revealed when we learn that the immorality of the Holy City has become a motive to lure men to go there on pilgrimage.⁷

It is also worthy of remark here, in the light of recent questions about the slave trade in Africa, that Mecca still holds open slave market, mostly for the sale of women, though eunuchs and male slaves can be purchased. In the second volume of his *Mekka*, Hurgronje gives ample details

¹ Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, p. 194.

² *Dix Ans à travers l'Islam*, Paris, 1904, p. 313.

³ *Travels*, London, 1816, ii. 105.

⁴ *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, p. 172 ff. See also the statements of the Moslem writer Batanuni in the *Rihla*.

⁵ See *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 1923, p. 298.

⁶ See his *Mekka*, 1888, vol. ii. pp. 11, 38, 55, 64, 107, 156. Noteworthy also is the fact that women going alone on pilgrimage can hire Meccans as husbands to accompany them during the pilgrimage period and take the place of the husband at the desacralization rite.

⁷ Cf. Dr Simon's words in *Vital Forces*, p. 91.

of the trade in his day. Wilfred Sparroy writes a sorrowful page about them in 1905,¹ Wavell² has a word of pity to say for them in 1908, and although he appends a note to the effect that he believes the market has since been abolished, more recent news in the press proves that it is still doing business.

So the pilgrimage has a two-sided social significance. It is the promoter of that which is a social bond and a strength in Islam, and at the same time it is a disseminator of physical and moral ill of the gravest kind.

III. RELIGIOUS.—Here we reach the crux of the whole matter. What is the real religious value of the pilgrimage?

(1) The first point one makes is that what religious value the pilgrimage may have is exclusively for non-Arabians. All observers are agreed that the Bedouin of Arabia are a non-religious people, and that Meccans are superlatively so. It would only needlessly take up space to multiply quotations to this effect. Such witnesses as Doughty,³ Burton,⁴ Burkhardt,⁵ Wavell⁶ are conclusive as to the Bedouin, even had we not the information from numberless sources that the chief amusement of the Bedouin tribes to the present day is the attacking and plundering the caravans⁷ of their fellow-believers on pilgrimage to the Holy City. The cynicism of the Meccans is frequently mentioned, and comes out very distinctly in the second part of Hurgronje's work already mentioned, and if further commentary is necessary from the Moslem side it is found in Hajji Khan's account of his Meccan guide. To the Meccan the pilgrimage means business not religion, and

¹ *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, Appendix, pp. 306, 307.

² *Op. cit.* p. 178.

³ *Arabia Deserta*, ed. of 1923, i. p. 38. Cf. Demombynes, *Mekke*, p. 222. It is evident also on Demombynes' showing that when the Bedouin themselves make the pilgrimage it is a thing of a different religious nature from the Islamic pilgrimage.

⁴ *Pilgrimage*, ed. of 1919, vol. ii. p. 109.

⁵ *Travels in Arabia*, London, 1829.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 74.

⁷ This is strikingly brought out in Joseph Pitt's quaint narration of his journey, cap. viii. The fear of them is well illustrated also in the account of the Begum of Bhopal's pilgrimage.

they openly despise the dupes on whose religious fervour they live.

(2) A second point is that the religious values we find in the pilgrimage have nothing peculiarly Islamic about them. After a very careful perusal of all the documentary evidence that has been available either from Moslem sources, or from Christians who have visited Mecca, one cannot find anything that is not common to the religious experiences of pilgrims all the world over. We are told of the gusts of emotion that sweep over the pilgrims as they catch sight of Mecca for the first time, but exactly the same story is told of Russian pilgrims coming to Jerusalem. We read of pilgrims falling on the ground and weeping and indulging in extravagant emotions before the Ka'ba, but you can see the same thing any day in Benares. Burton relates that he knew men who dated the reformation of their character from the day they visited Mecca, but some of us could tell of pious Roman Catholics who dated theirs from their visit to Rome. The ceremonies may be Islamic, but the religious values are only such as are common to pilgrimages of all religions.

(3) The third point is that the religious experiences of the pilgrimage are artificial, fictitious things. Perhaps this is true of all pilgrimages, but it is very true in Islam. One feels, in reading of the religious enthusiasm experienced in the pilgrimage, that it is based on and corresponds to no real thing in Islam. The pilgrim from India, for example, who seems to be remarkable for his fervour during the performance of the rites, has come to Mecca after years of dreaming about and planning for this venture. He has built up gradually in his mind an ideal picture of Mecca and all that it contains, and has equally idealized all it stands for, and when he actually reaches the sacred soil his emotions overcome him, and we have those extravagant scenes that so many writers have mentioned. But it actually corresponds to nothing real in his religion. When the Hindu pilgrim measures his length in the dust all the

weary way from Tuticorin to Benares, he at least can there look his god in the eyes and bathe in the sacred Ganges, thereby entering into the vital experience of his religion. And the Coptic Christian who travels to Jerusalem for Easter week to see the drama of the Resurrection in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is at least re-living to himself the experience of the Risen Lord. But when the Mecca pilgrim drinks Zemzem water and runs between Merwa and Safa, and makes his sacrifice at Mina, and kisses the black stone in the Ka'ba, he is doing nothing which either is or symbolizes anything that is vital in his own religion.

He may say that Zemzem and the *sa'y* between Safa and Merwa symbolize to him the experience of Hagar and Ishmael, but even if that were the correct explanation of the rites, what has it to do with Islam? It was there ages before Islam was born and signifies nothing in the spiritual experience of Islam. Similarly with their explanations of the other rites.¹ We are back here again at the origin of the Islamic *Hajj* in the thought of the Prophet himself. In pre-Islamic times the rites of the pilgrimage were significant, being bound up with the local pagan cult, and, as Houtsma has pointed out, were the carrying out of a complex astronomical myth. Muhammad took them over almost of necessity, but deprived them of their original content, and in our thinking, intended the whole pilgrimage to have a political rather than a religious significance. So that, at the present day, the sole elements of worth as regards religious experience are those imported into it by the artificial constructions of the emotional life of the pilgrims who come from afar to visit the Holy House.

And here one is tempted to speculate. The strength of this emotional content is evidenced by what it can survive.

¹ It might be said in reply to this that he is visiting the scenes of the life of Muhammad, and his pilgrimage thus has at least the same connexion with his religion as the Christian's visit to Nazareth and Jerusalem. But the fact to be emphasized is that the real elements of the pilgrimage to Mecca have no primary reference to the Prophet's residence there at all. The visit to Medina would have more this parallel, but that is not an integral part of the pilgrimage.

The pilgrims suffer attack and robbery from the Bedouin on their way to the Holy House; in the city itself they are fleeced by officials of all sorts at every stage of their progress,¹ are badgered by rapacious guides,² imposed upon by householders and tradesmen,³ besieged by importunate beggars on a scale unknown elsewhere in the world,⁴ sometimes killed or sold to slavery by the Arabs to whose land they have come,⁵ thrown into contact with the mocking cynicism and flagrant immorality of the inhabitants of the Sacred City,⁶ and yet in spite of all this, which one would think would destroy every particle of spiritual content in the pilgrimage, they preserve its religious values. One naturally asks why?

Unfortunately there is not sufficient documentary material available to work out the theory in detail, but in reading through such material as there is, a suggestion has come to the present writer which may be fruitful. It has been pointed out often enough that Islam ever takes on deeply the cultural and religious colouring of its environment.⁷ As already pointed out, Chinese Islam is Arabianized Confucianism,⁸ Malaysian Islam is a Moslem gloss over Malay magic⁹: Central African Islam is but an Islamic colouring to a primitive fetichism,¹⁰ and even in places where Islam is a much older institution, the principles and practices of the Moslems are deeply influenced by the old religions of the country, and their thinking even more so.¹¹ Now

¹ Practically all narratives agree on this point.

² Burkhardt characterized the profession as numbering the idlest, most impudent and vilest individuals of Mecca.

³ Hurgronje gives many details on the profits these men make from the pilgrims.

⁴ See particularly Burkhardt.

⁵ As happened to some of the Russian pilgrims in 1907. See *Revue du Monde Musulman*, ii. 392, 393.

⁶ Vide Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, p. 172.

⁷ See specially Servier's *L'Islam et la Psychologie du Musulman*, 1923.

⁸ See Broomhall's *Islam in China*, 1910, and de Thiersant's *Mahométisme en Chine*, Paris, 1878.

⁹ See the works of Simon, Hurgronje, Adriani and other authorities on Malaysian Islam.

¹⁰ See particularly the accounts of the German missionaries in Central Africa.

¹¹ Note particularly the Shīism of Persia and the Islam of India, where so many of the ancient Hindu gods have been taken over into Islam and worshipped by the old rites under the guise of Moslem saints.

the suggestion is this, that the religious values the pilgrims get from the pilgrimage are in each case the result of the idealizing transference into it of the religious values of the old national religion. Pilgrims like Hajji Khan and Lord Headley are obviously too sophisticated and write with too obvious a pose for their testimony to carry any value,¹ and the simple, unsophisticated believer does not write accounts of his experience, so we are confined to chance reference of other observers. These references, however, do seem to suggest that the religious values of the ceremonies differ very considerably for different peoples. To the Bedouin, as described by Ibn Jobeir and Batanuni, it is just the old, wild pre-Islamic rite; to the Persian Shi'a it has a value very different from that to the orthodox Sunni; to the Indian it means much the same experience as a Brahmin has at a sacred shrine in Benares; the Egyptian feels at the Ka'ba apparently just what his Coptic fellow-Egyptian feels at the Holy Sepulchre, and so on.

If this is true, it does not lessen the importance of Mecca as a centre of spiritual quickening, but it does reveal that the unique significance of Mecca as a centre of unity in Islam has not the real value that some would see in it, and is a further illustration of how little as a religion Islam has had to contribute, however great its social and political influence has been in the world.

It is exceedingly interesting that the mystics of Islam have sensed something wrong with the pilgrimage as a religious experience, and have sought to interpret it mystically as an allegory of the soul's pilgrimage to God,² though they still visit Mecca as an historic centre. In this they have been followed by the reforming sects. In Behaism the centre of pilgrimage is Acca, not Mecca, and even that pilgrimage is in no sense obligatory. The founder of the Ahmadis of Qadian never made the pilgrimage himself, though many of his followers have, and taught that the

¹ The same is true of the narrative much read in Egypt of Dr Saleh Subhy.

² See e.g. Nicholson's *Tarjuman al Ashwaq*, 1911, p. 54.

Hajj—‘represents the last stage for the spiritual wayfarer,’¹ the pilgrimage being a religious duty which could be performed as much in one’s home in a quiet room, as on weary journeying through the deserts of Arabia. To the missionary to Islam this is the most hopeful aspect. Selfishly we desire the wide extension of this mystical interpretation of the Hajj because it would remove one source of that fanatical propaganda and strong class consciousness which so impedes our work among Moslems. But unselfishly we desire it both because it would mean the saving of them from real physical and moral harm, and because it would introduce them into a world of real spiritual experience, a thing in which orthodox Islam is seriously lacking, and pave the way for an appreciation of the spiritual pilgrimage through Him who is the Way. Here as always our closest contact is with the mystics, and our greatest hope is that their leavening of Islam will open eyes to the futility of even a spiritual pilgrimage which is not made in the companionship of the Son of Man who was also Son of God.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

¹ *Review of Religions*, vi. p. 31.

A CHRISTIAN EXPERIMENT IN NATIONAL EXPRESSION

BY J. PAUL S. R. GIBSON

THE statement of the problem of missionary work in Ceylon is simple in the extreme. There are many Christians, in fact ten per cent of the total population; there are outstanding characters reflecting the glory of Christ, but neither Christ nor Christianity nor the Christian Church has gripped the mind or the imagination of the people. Christ is seen as a foreigner, Christianity as allegiance to the foreigner and the Church as a foreign institution using strange buildings, incomprehensible music and preaching doctrines and customs as unpalatable to the people as those of the Gentiles were to the Jews.

The causes that have led Christianity to be thus isolated are, at least in part, easy to understand. Christ has not come direct from eastern Palestine but from western Portugal, Holland or England. Christianity is the religion of a foreign ruler and the Church one of his institutions as much as golf or whisky-drinking or dancing. But there are deeper reasons. Buddhism is in essence atheistic, materialistic, non-personal, individualistic, quantitative. The question of God is a matter better left out of human thoughts, personality is a myth of the deluded brain, there is only oneself as sole cause of one's bliss or sorrow, as sole author of one's salvation. The idea of an all-pervading, guiding Holy Spirit is unknown. The gradual unfolding of the purposes of God in history is not contemplated.

In these and many other ways Buddhism is the poles apart from Christianity, and having held the field of men's minds in Ceylon for so long has gradually suppressed,

almost to the point of extinction, all those natural instincts towards the unseen and the spiritual.

Thus the ground is very hard indeed and closed to the reception of Christian ideas which place the unseen above the seen, recognize spirit as the master of matter and centre round the Cross as the gate to the Resurrection. Twice have intelligent Buddhists told me that the Training Colony motto, 'Victory through Self-Sacrifice,' bears no meaning to them at all.

Ceylon suffers not only from its own disability. History has forced upon it in succession three different kinds of Christian rule : The Portuguese who were Roman Catholics, the Dutch who were Protestants and the British who profess to be neutral.

This has doubtless complicated the difficulty of missionary work, for each period has seen the attempt to implant a form of Christianity which in the succeeding one has been disregarded. Thus it is common in parts of the island to see the deserted churches of a previous age, and it is no wonder that each period of transition was marked by the backsliding of those who had no more to gain. Climate has also made the adoption of the rule of Christ harder. Buddhism itself is in theory a religion of endeavour. True, it is emotionless endeavour, still it is endeavour. But in practice it has fallen far from this strenuousness into the apathy of fatalism. This is in part due to the effect of climate on character. It is not therefore to be expected that people who have thus softened down the more active side of Buddhism will readily accept the more definitely virile spirit of Christ, which calls to ceaseless effort and warfare and to the full exercise of the deeper emotions.

The solution of the problem has still to be found, and it is at this problem that every keen missionary is working. On all sides one sees the people of the country, especially the villagers, entering enthusiastically into the outward observances of their religion. On the Poya days happy processions of men, women and children can be seen and

heard as they make their way chanting to the temple. They come at times from very distant places to the central shrines and to those at Anuradhapura and Kandy, and from causes partly religious and partly social they manifest real devotion and interest. The beating of the tomtom acts as an emotional excitement. Just the other day a Singhalese Christian told me how at the sound recollection tugs at the heart-strings of the young convert. Years ago I remember seeing a group of college boys, dull and apathetic, when suddenly, on the first few sounds of a local instrument of the violin type, eyes gleamed, bodies moved in rhythm and life awoke.

We feel convinced therefore that one factor in the solution of the problem must be the enlistment of all that is best in national feelings, ceremonies, music and art into the service of Christ and His Church. It is along these lines therefore that we have worked at the Training Colony. Our experience is here recorded, as it may be of interest to others and lead the way to further endeavours along the same lines elsewhere.

As far as possible everything has been moulded by this ideal. The dress worn by our students is national, and according to custom we all wear white for any special service or occasion. We greet each other in Singhalese fashion, giving the words a Christian turn by using our Lord's 'Peace be to you' instead of the 'May you live long' (a peculiar greeting for Buddhists!). The buildings are decorated with national designs which appear also in the carving, and the students learn pottery painting of similar type.

The great heritage of silent meditation is encouraged. Each day begins with a corporate half-hour of silence for prayer and Bible reading, and once a week the staff also meet for a period of fellowship in silence. In our services Singhalese music is used, though not exclusively.

The great Church festivals are observed according to methods suggested by the staff. These vary from year to year, but I describe some that are typical.

On Ash Wednesday we go in procession to the parish church, two and a half miles away, where we hold a corporate service, the Wesleyan representative on the staff usually preaching the sermon.

Lent is characterized by more time for specially guided meditation and voluntary work by which funds are raised.

On Good Friday this money, which has been converted into rice, is solemnly dedicated, and two by two the students come up and receive their share, which they then take to some poor family whom they have discovered in the neighbourhood. It is an inspiring sight to see them all start—and to go with them—bearing the message that on this day God gave Himself for us and so we must give something to others. An invitation is given to come to the special service on Easter night, when the story of God's great gift and of His final victory will be described.

That night the main hall is decorated with great crosses of light which blazon forth the symbol of our faith. On Easter night these crosses are surmounted with lighted crowns typifying the victory of the Resurrection. Those who have accepted the invitation hear the story, and after the service, as an expression of joy and thanksgiving, there is a display of home-made fireworks, for, according to an old proverb, he who offers a firework offers more than gold, far more than silver and infinitely more than flowers. On one occasion I heard our students say at the close: 'We have never had such an Easter.'

Last Ascension Day (influenced possibly by remembrances of St John's College, Cambridge) we decided to hold our service on the top of the highest of the nine hills on which the Colony is built. We paused at the foot to say the wonderful collect for the day and then proceeded symbolically to 'thither ascend and with Him continually dwell.' The glorious depth of blue sky above us, the distant views and the soft breeze of early morning made worship and meditation, both personal and corporate, so joyful and natural that the truth of the message of Ascension-tide came home

to us all as never before. I need not weary by repetition, but each festival in turn has some special expression, so as to bring it home to the mind and heart of the people.

Last Easter we were staying at a village rest-house, and in the evening from the verandah we watched processions going to the temple with offerings. We had held our own Christian services earlier in the day, but as we listened and looked it was borne in upon us that something had still to be learned about public and corporate worship and an old idea once again took form in our minds.

So we are at present engaged in the preparations for a festival for next Advent which will be for all the people in the whole district. They will come in from far and wide in processions, be met by the local Christians, hold a large corporate service in some public place followed by a communal meal, meet for games in the afternoon and, after Communion at their respective churches, return the next day. The expression does not stop at the Christian year. All the actions of daily life are brought into touch with Christianity. The cutting of the first sod of a new building, its dedication when completed, the prayer that a new piece of land necessary for the Colony may be acquired, taking it over later, the starting of any new work, sowing, harvesting and so forth are all symbolically expressed in special ceremonies and processions.

This is natural to Christianity and non-Christian religions alike, but unhappily the cold materialism of the West has ousted this side of Christianity, at least as seen in some of its more Protestant forms. It is our human heritage and should not be lost, and we endeavour to maintain it here.

Let me describe the sowing ceremony. In the cool of the dawn the men and women students in procession leave their respective hostels and the estate rings with the sound of songs of praise.

The processions join and move to the prepared fields. There on a table is the seed. The banner with its motto, 'Victory through Self-Sacrifice,' stands behind it. To

right and left on the narrow *niyara* are the students, the staff in the centre. Then each in turn, students and staff, come and take a single seed, and holding it in the palm of the hand return to their place. Christ's words are read: 'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.' A solemn dedicatory pause and then with the words: 'This represents my life—Victory through Self-Sacrifice,' each sows the single sacramental seed. A hymn closes this first part of the service. Verses are then read, speaking of the sowing of truth and the dissemination of light, of the obligation of sowing and of the joy of reaping, of the inevitable law of seed and fruit, either to life or death, then each takes a whole handful of seed which is sown in a corporate act, flung joyfully into the receptive earth with the declaration: 'This represents unto us our profession.' Chanting and the return procession complete a service whose memory is indelible.

Harvesting is likewise carried out. We have carefully studied local customs and incorporated much of them into a Christian service. Fear is replaced by trust, and protective acts transmuted into praise and dedication of a tenth.

The service, however, which seems to call forth the greatest enthusiasm is that of beating the bounds. This custom too has its counterpart in this country. When priests are about to take over a new site for a temple or dwelling, they beat every inch of the ground with their feet, symbolically, I believe, to drive out the evil powers that may be present. Probably in England, in the first case, the idea was expulsory or at least protective, but as now used with us the service is an expression of praise and trust. It is held once a year at the end of February. Its main idea is the definite public bringing into relation with God of every activity or relationship or gift at the Colony. Our boundaries are rough and steep, uphill and down dale, and very irregular, so that the service is long and tiring,

taking about four hours. It comprises in all some twenty-four short services, each of about three minutes, all different and each dealing with one special aspect of our life. A hymn, or reading, or prayer, or corporate utterance of praise may be the central feature, but in every case the end is a chanted verse embodying the main idea and taken up in refrain by the whole body. The banner precedes us and we march on, singing and beating the actual bounds with the palm leaves in our hands. Thus in turn the teaching, the staff, the dispensary, the evangelistic work, the men's hostel, the women's hostel, the practising school, our neighbour's bounds, the wells, the beauty around us as seen from hill-tops, the well-being derived from the river that flows by us, the estate, the playing field, the village path taking us into the inner seclusion and the main road telling us of the world's activities, all in turn by a specific act are related through God to our corporate life. One has to be there to realize the cumulative effect on ourselves and our neighbours.

Incidentally our bounds are cleared once a year for certain, encroachments become impossible and a body of witness is created as to the ownership of our land, which is of no small value in a country famed for land litigation.

Our hope is that all these rites will be practised by our students when they go out to their villages. By so doing they will make Christianity real to those around them. The accusation that Christianity denationalizes will be broken down. The sense of isolation and loneliness will be lost, for though they may still have to hold aloof from some or even many village processions connected with the temple, they will do so without undue regret as they think of the Christian days coming with their corporate joys, and the nights with their illuminations.

For some years we have felt that all this religious expression needed a focus. We had no chapel which should be the centre of spiritual force.

The way for some time was not clear. Such a chapel

would have to be for corporate use as well as separate use by the Churches federated in the Colony. But last year the way became clear for such a chapel to be erected, and by the good providence of God a Singhalese artist, who had been in touch with the Colony for some years, sought baptism and was admitted into the Church after due preparation. So there was no further need for delay. Collecting was taken in hand. The students though poor have collected one thousand rupees. Friends in England and Ceylon have contributed, and one of the last acts of Mr Fraser before leaving Ceylon was, together with the representative of the Wesleyan Church, to lay the foundation stone of our chapel. The chapel is to be entirely eastern in architecture, open throughout, raised on carved wooden pillars and with the two-angled roof typical of the Kandyan country. The distant forests of Dambulla are providing the giant trees necessary, Ceylon is giving one of its best artists for the work, and in due course we hope to have all our ideals of national expression in the cause of Christ centred in and empowered from a place of worship which shall embody all that is best in the spirit of the country and stand as a symbol of the glory of Christ which shall surely be revealed in Ceylon.

J. PAUL S. R. GIBSON

THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF STUDENTS IN CHRISTIAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN CHINA

BY C. S. MIAO, PH.D.

LIKE many things which are growing, religious education in Christian colleges and universities is characterized by an increasing number of problems which are becoming more and more complex and which are challenging our very best attention. An effort is made in this paper to get a bird's-eye view of this important field with the object of stimulating an interest in what the China Educational Commission has regarded as essential to the most effective fulfilment of the purpose of each and every Christian school in China.

THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION NOW AT WORK

For purposes of description, the work may be distinguished as required and voluntary. The former generally consists of curriculum Bible study, chapel service and Sunday worship, while the latter includes all extra-curriculum activities and sometimes Sunday school.

CURRICULUM BIBLE STUDY. Owing to the disposition on the part of various colleges to carry on religious education each according to its own favourite system, the curricula of religious education in Christian colleges and universities have a wide range of difference. In thirteen colleges whose catalogues the writer has examined there is a total of thirty-eight different courses in religious education besides those elective and special courses offered to students in the religious group. Five of these are in the field of Old Testament ;

eight of New Testament; five of church history; three of comparative religion; four of religious education; two of ethics and philosophy; eight of theology; one of Christian activities; one of Greek and two of the Bible in general. Perhaps these figures should be supplemented by the following table.

NAME OF COURSE	NUMBER OF COLLEGES OFFERING	NUMBER OF COLLEGES OFFERING		
		1 Semester	2 Sems.	3 Sems.
Old Testament	9	2	7	..
New Testament—				
Life of Christ	6	4	2	..
Teaching of Christ	2	1	1	..
Life and Teaching	2	1	1	..
N.T. Literature and History	3	2	1	..
Life of St Paul	1	1	..	..
Gospel of St John	1	1	..	..
Social Teachings of the Bible .	2	1	1	..
Modern Use of the Bible . . .	1	1	..	..
Between O.T. and N.T. . . .	1	1	..	..
Comparative Religion	8	2	5	1
Ethics	4	3	1	..
Psychology of Religion	2	2	..	..
Philosophy of Religion	2	2	..	..
Church History	6	2	3	1
Theology	8	4	4	..
Religious Education	3	3	..	..
Christian Activities	1	1	..	..
Elementary Greek	1	..	1	..

Again, the colleges disagree in the number of credit requirements and in the ways in which religious instruction is given. Some offer a two-hour, others only a one-hour study throughout the college course. Others again only require the freshmen or the first three year students to take a two-hour course. On the whole most colleges are giving religious instruction, just as other subjects, on week-days. However, there is now a tendency to take religious courses out of the week-day curriculum and give them on Sunday in the place of the old-fashioned Sunday school. This arrange-

ment has thus far made possible a re-classification of students in accordance with their Biblical knowledge and religious experience.

Aside from these differences there is also evident a lack of sequence in the courses given. Some colleges begin with the Old Testament, others with the New Testament, a few with ethics and still a few with 'Fundamental Christian Teaching.'

Let us now direct our attention to the students for whom these different plans have been made. The college freshmen have very often no common religious background. Most students have already received some sort of religious instruction in the mission middle schools. But among these middle school graduates some have been brought up in Christian homes, some from non-Christian families have become Christians in the middle schools, and still others have very little or no sympathy with Christianity. Moreover, the mission middle schools do not have uniform curricula, text-books and methods. Then there are a few freshmen coming from the government middle schools where religion is entirely separated from education. Yet somehow all these new students dislike the curriculum Bible study. In examining the causes of their distaste one will probably find that some are afraid of the Bible because in the middle school it has been drilled into them by rote, some think the study of it is waste of time, and many are simply like all young people after the period of 'storm and stress' who have their usual likes and dislikes.

In colleges which have a sub-freshmen class specially for the government middle school graduates an entirely different body of students will be found. Being brought up and educated in an environment totally indifferent or even antagonistic to Christianity, these students first come to the class with many prejudices and sometimes with suspicion that their teachers are going to try to 'slip something over on them.' But these sub-freshmen are really easier to work with than the freshmen if their teachers sympathetically

understand their perplexities and difficulties and wholeheartedly solve problems with them.

A word should also be said here about the general characteristics of the student body in the colleges and universities. Probably in some institutions the scientific spirit is more pronounced than in others. But, despite this and other local differences, we find in the student body a strong national consciousness, a critical attitude, a spirit of enquiry, a certain degree of intellectual awakening, an aversion to external authority and a passion for freedom and truth. It goes without saying that to teach religious courses to such students is no longer an easy task.

CHAPEL SERVICE. It has been a tradition in all of the Christian colleges and universities to have daily chapel services at which all students are required to be present. The service usually does not exceed fifteen minutes. But there is a tendency in some institutions to make the chapel talk the principal item of the service, and in almost all institutions to crowd this very short period with all sorts of announcements for the day.

The attitude of students toward the chapel service varies considerably. For purposes of description we may divide them into four groups. There are students who dislike it simply because it is compulsory. Then there are non-Christian students who, having had no previous contact with Christianity, at first feel awkward and perhaps uncomfortable during chapel; some of these think it is superstitious and a waste of time. The third group, consisting of Christians and non-Christians, regard the chapel as the place to hear announcements and incidentally a few good talks. Lastly, there is a group of earnest students who take it as an opportunity for spiritual refreshment.

With these different groups of students in our mind it will not be difficult to understand why reading of newspapers and books during the chapel service is so frequent, and why so often students are inattentive or talk if the leader does not interest them.

SUNDAY WORSHIP. Most institutions require their students to attend worship on Sunday morning. One institution, after a year's experiment in voluntary attendance, considers it to be a failure and is now ready to go back to compulsory attendance. A few colleges which are located near a city either require or encourage their students to attend Sunday services at the different city churches, with the hope of keeping them in touch with life as closely as possible, of giving them a chance to render some practical service and of helping them if possible to become intelligent and loyal members of their churches. The result, however, is often contrary to the expectation. This is made perfectly clear in the Report of Commission I of the National Christian Conference held in Shanghai in 1922 :

There are no statistics to show how satisfactorily the connection is made between the school and the churches in a given location. The student often fails to regard himself as one of the young laymen of the church. The church members regard him with some interest as a 'student,' but do not regard him as one of themselves; and often the church authorities do not sufficiently help him to find his place in the duties and privileges of a layman in the church.¹

THE RESULTS THUS FAR

Life is too delicate and complex to be measured as exactly as matter can be. Even if it were possible, religious educators do not yet know how to do it. For our purpose we shall measure the results of religious work in three crude ways.

Firstly, the efficiency of the directed efforts upon religious development may be tested by the number of converts. However crude this method may be, it is nevertheless true that in the colleges there are more Christian students in the upper classes than in the lower. It is not unusual to have only a few or sometimes no non-Christian students in the graduating class. As we have said before, not all those students in the upper classes were Christians when they

¹ *The Chinese Church, 1922 National Christian Conference.* p. 118.

first entered college. But they tend to become so during their college course.

At what period of the college course are most students converted? How are they converted? What are the dominant motives that determine their decision? To what extent have their lives actually been changed? How far have they been able to act rightly in new and trying situations? A careful study of these problems will no doubt greatly improve our test methods.

‘No reception without reaction, no impression without expression.’ ‘By their fruits ye shall know them.’ So, secondly, by the expressional activities of our students we may test the quality of religious work in the colleges and universities. All of our colleges have Christian Associations, membership in which is purely voluntary. These and similar organizations usually conduct religious meetings, organize day and night schools for servants and village people and engage in many other activities. It is in these voluntary activities one often finds the expression of vital religion. And it is these also that have made our college atmosphere so different from that of the government school.

Lastly, the religious work of Christian colleges and universities may be tested by their contribution to the Church and society in general. Recently there has appeared a storm of criticism of Christian education. Aside from those unfounded tales and unbalanced judgments which we do not need to discuss here, the most common criticisms seem to be that ‘our colleges do not fit students for life,’ ‘we are putting foreign caps on Chinese boys and girls,’ ‘we are not able to meet the Renaissance Movement because we do not know what is going on in the religious thinking of the Chinese to-day,’ ‘we do not touch the family and home environment behind the student which is actually undoing our work.’ It is perhaps true that in the past Christian colleges have altogether too strictly confined themselves to measures which were directed solely toward the development of the Christian community, and have failed to take full

advantage of their great opportunity. Yet, while we admit a certain justification of this criticism, we must also recognize the contribution which the colleges have made to the life of China. In his presidential address to the conference of the China Association for Christian Higher Education held in Nanking last February, Dr Hawks Pott mentioned four ways in which Christian education has made a definite contribution, three of which are as follows :

It has been one of the great causes of the awakening of the country. It exerted an influence in this direction long before government and private institutions came into existence.

It has been the means of supplying the Christian movement in China with many of its foremost leaders.

It has helped to counteract the tendency to materialism, so frequently associated with the introduction of scientific education. It has demonstrated that the Christian philosophy of life and liberal education are not necessarily antithetical.¹

THE OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT

With the above considerations in mind, we may now come a little closer to the problems as they confront Christian colleges and universities. In general, there are four :

The problem of required or voluntary attendance at worship and instruction. In the first conference of the China Association for Christian Higher Education, this question was keenly discussed. There are many who advocate the dropping of the system of compulsory attendance at worship and religious instruction, while there are also those who protest strongly against this radical proposal. But in reality this is not the heart of the problem before the Christian colleges and universities. All those who have taught religious courses or have anything to do with the religious education of college students are aware of the fact that the greatest bar in the way of their work is the un-Christian character and personality of some who are professing Christians. It is probably the most poisonous gas that we have ever had

¹ *Educational Review*, 1924 (April), p. 126.

in the spiritual world. Surely it will kill spiritual life and create confusion and prejudice in the minds of non-Christian students.

The problem of material and method. No one to-day is so conscious of defects as those who are giving religious education in Christian colleges and universities. They know too well that their text-books are inadequate, their religious vocabulary is unintelligible to their students, whose fundamental life-needs are yet to be discovered, and that experiment of various kinds must be tried before there can be any progress. This feeling of anxiety and humility is explicitly expressed in Dr T. T. Lew's answer to the question why he did not work out a Chinese hymnology: 'I am not a sausage machine which can produce Chinese hymns overnight. It has taken the West several centuries to have just a few hundred hymns.'

The problem of correlation. So far as organization is concerned the most urgent need at present is not multiplication but correlation of agencies and activities. The agencies already established and activities promoted are sufficient to serve our purpose provided they will supplement and co-operate with rather than compete with one another.

The problem of college policies. Shall we lay stress on individual personality and make our Christian education a distinctively personal process? Or shall we try to accomplish it by wholesale or by quantitative production? Shall we keep our colleges small enough to ensure opportunities for close contact between teachers and students? Or shall we make them so large that their function becomes like that of a railway station? Some of the colleges and universities have already expanded unduly in recent years and it is time for them now to deliberate on their policies, lest their religious work becomes paralysed and, in consequence, the very end they were established to fulfil is missed.

C. S. MIAO

THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF MISSIONS

BY KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, PH.D.

ONE of the strangest omissions of historical scholarship has been the slight attention paid to the story of the expansion of Christianity. From the time when the writers of our gospels set about to record the events of the life of Jesus, we have had an uninterrupted flow of books devoted to the history of the movement that began with Him. Sometimes the stream has dwindled, sometimes it has swollen to a flood, but on the whole it has through the centuries ever increased in volume. Attention has, however, been concentrated on some phases of Christianity to the neglect of others. We have had countless biographies of great Christians and influential churchmen. The narrative of the Church's organization—corresponding to the political and constitutional history of a nation—has been written many times, either as a whole or for special periods. The origin of the Faith and its earlier centuries have been studied minutely. The formation and development of doctrines, the great Councils and the dissensions of the Church have attracted voluminous, even if not always unpartisan, attention. On the study of the process, the methods and the results of the expansion of the Faith, however, scholars have spent relatively but little effort. On the spread of Christianity in the first century there has been much written, and for the first three centuries we have the great work of Harnack.¹ Of the transition in the latter years of the Roman Empire, when, beginning with Constantine, Christianity, from being the faith of a well-organized and on the whole earnest minority, became that professed by the great and usually un-

¹ *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*. The fourth edition is reviewed on p. 129.

comprehending majority and made rapid progress among such Germanic peoples as the Goths, historical scholarship has been strangely negligent. Almost as much have historians ignored the process by which northern Europe became Christian and the relation of that process to the characteristics of medieval and modern Europe and present-day Christianity. On the history of missions in the past four centuries there has been much written, but with a few notable exceptions the authors have been concerned rather with recording the achievements of some admired missionary, or in awaking and nourishing interest and support in the spread of the Faith, than in attempting an impartial and thorough examination and evaluation of the movement.

And yet in this neglected field lie some of the most important and interesting questions in the history of the Christian faith and of the race. Particularly are they important for those who are giving their lives to the propagation of the Faith in non-Christian lands. The first question must logically be: What has been the Christianity that has been propagated? No one can charge scholarship with having failed to ask what Christianity was at its inception. To the answer of that question thousands have given their careful attention, although, unfortunately, after nineteen centuries, professed Christians are seemingly as far as ever from agreement as to just what the answer should be. Christianity has, however, changed from age to age and from people to people in its emphasis on doctrines and its organization, so that we must know not only what it was in the days of Jesus and the Apostles, but what it was at each of the various times when it was newly carried to a new country. To the answer to this more inclusive question but scant attention has been paid. If we have not assumed that Christianity is always the same, we have usually failed to describe just what its characteristics were in various ages, in different places and among different peoples. What was the Faith when Ulfilas preached it to the Goths? What was it when Augustine carried it to England; when Boniface

carried it to Germany? What was the Faith that the Spaniards propagated in Latin America? What is it that Protestants are presenting to China? We must not assume that because the message has in each case been called Christian it has therefore been always the same. Protestantism itself is different in various countries, denominations and ages. English and American Protestantism have marked similarities, but they have also marked differences, and Protestantism in both countries is in many ways distinct from that on the continent of Europe. Christianity as conceived by Methodists is not quite the same as when it is interpreted by Lutherans. The message carried by Protestants to China to-day is not in all respects identical with that brought by their predecessors of seventy or even fifty years ago. Great individuals who leave a marked imprint upon the missionary movement of a country differ in their emphases. Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard were both great Christians and great missionaries, but the Faith as interpreted by one was not quite the same as when interpreted by the other. Difficult though it may be to determine the main features of Christianity as it enters a country, the attempt must be made. Before we can answer accurately subsequent questions we must know what were the characteristics of the Faith when it was introduced to a nation.

In the next place, the historian must describe the process, the agents and the methods by which Christianity was introduced. The story itself is usually thrilling for the heroism, the faith, the devotion and the high spiritual qualities revealed in both missionaries and converts, and, as remembered by succeeding generations, has a marked effect upon them. Who can measure, for example, the full effect of the life of St Paul? Who can measure, too, the effect of those of less well-known missionaries? Michael Pupin, for example, tells us that the admiration of his illiterate mother for St Sava, the missionary who did most to lay the foundations of the Church in Serbia, had no small part in making possible his education. Often quite as important

as the lives of early missionaries and converts, and sometimes more so, have been the means employed, the agencies involved and the motives that actuated missionaries, their supporters and those who accepted the Faith. The wholesale methods of conversion and the adaptation of the practices of the Church to pre-Christian beliefs and customs employed in Pontus by Gregory the Wonder Worker, the support given by Carolingians and popes to missionary efforts in Germany and Denmark, the commercial relations between Kiev and Constantinople, the fear of St Stephen of Hungary for the strong neighbouring Byzantine Empire, all had definite effects upon the future of the Church and the character of civilization in each of the countries involved. It is possible that the Protestant Reformation can be traced back in part to missionary methods employed in Germany. Certainly the character of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America and the Philippines has been largely determined by the methods employed by the missionaries who won to the Faith the native peoples of these lands.

The historian must also ask what movements were connected with the missionary enterprise. Nestorian missions appear to have been associated with the commerce of Mesopotamia. The Roman Catholic missions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were part of the rapid expansion of Spain and Portugal. In the last century missions have on the whole been most aggressively carried on from those regions where the Industrial Revolution centred. The prominence of Protestant missions in the past hundred and twenty-five years seems to owe to the commercial and industrial expansion of England and America only a little less than it does to the religious awakening in these countries. The latter supplied the incentive and the vision, but the former did much to provide the opportunity and the means. It was, for example, British rule in India which, in spite of the initial opposition of the East India Company, opened up that land to Protestants and helped to place on the British Christian conscience a feeling of responsibility for the spiritual

welfare of its millions. It was, too, the pressure of British commerce on China that led to the opening of that land to foreign residence. Both Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries have been, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, inevitably associated with the commercial and political invasion of the Orient by the Occident.

The fourth question which the scholar must put is: What effect has Christianity had upon each of the peoples to which it has gone? In how far and in what ways has Christianity altered its environment? That, of course, is an extremely difficult question to answer. What phases, if any, of the Justinian Code are due to the fact that the Empire had become professedly Christian? Has the disappearance of slavery been due to Christianity or to economic and political causes, or to all three? If to all three, how important has Christianity been? In how far is modern Europe the result of Christianity? In how far, if at all, were the astronomical discoveries of Copernicus or the biological discoveries of Mendel due to the fact that both scientists were Christian monks? Did Hugo Grotius' great work arise from the impulse of his earnest Christian faith? Was there any causal connexion between Newton's mathematical activities and his interest in Christian theology? Just how far, if at all, were the geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries due to Christianity? Is democracy in Europe and America due in any degree to the presence of the Christian faith? Was it an accident that some of the earliest democracies in modern Europe were radical religious groups? Is it anything more than a coincidence that the Industrial Revolution appeared in lands that are called Christian? In how far has the economic radicalism of the present day been influenced by Christianity? Are the idealism and the democracy of the United States due at all to Christianity? If so, how much do they owe to it and to the fact that the religious bodies which have predominated there have been what are known in England as Nonconformist? There is yet no adequate

estimate of the effects of Christianity in the United States, or even of the influence of the Faith upon the rapid progress of the American Negro. In how far have missions modified the impact of the Occident upon Japan, China, India and the Near East? Do the emerging new cultures of these nations and regions bear marks that would not be there but for the missionary? If so, how important are these marks? All these questions are of great importance and all of them are extremely difficult and perhaps even impossible to answer.

In the fifth place, in how far has Christianity been altered by its environment? We have become accustomed to the inquiry into the debt of the Church of the Roman world to the mystery cults and to the political framework of the Empire. We know very little, however, or at least little accurately, of the influence of Russia upon the Orthodox Faith that was carried there from the Byzantine Empire. We know something of the influence of feudalism upon the structure of the Church, but we know little that can be tested of its effect upon theology. No one yet has carefully examined the interesting suggestion that Protestantism is the reaction of the Teutonic mind upon Christianity. No one has yet appraised clearly the tendencies of Christianity in Japan, China and India: it is certainly too early to give a final answer for countries that the Church has so recently entered, but it is not too early to begin the attempt.

The two latter questions may seem rather remote from the history of missions. They bear, however, a very close relation to a sixth and final question which has the closest possible relation to the missionary enterprise: In how far have the conditions under which Christianity spread, and particularly the missionary methods employed, affected both the influence of Christianity upon its environment and of the environment upon Christianity? For the missionary, this is of the greatest immediate importance, for the answer ought in large part to determine his future policies. If it could be shown that some of the defects in

European and American religious life, or morals, or politics, or industry are due to missionary methods employed while northern Europe was being won or even while Christianity was permeating the Roman Empire, it might be possible to avoid their recurrence. If, on the other hand, it could be shown that some of the excellent features of modern life are due to missionary methods of the past, that too would be beneficial. For example, one is impressed with the rapidity with which the administration of the Church in England, in Germany and in Scandinavia passed into the control of the peoples of these lands. Within two or three generations from the arrival of the first missionaries these nations were producing not only their own priests, but their own bishops and abbots. The papal system ensured the contact of the new Churches with the rest of western Christendom and maintained doctrinal uniformity, but it did not prevent the early formation of a local hierarchy that was almost entirely native. Did the hold of the Faith upon Europe depend in part upon this fact? One finds, too, in the conversion of northern Europe great mass movements; these were, indeed, the rule rather than the exception. The motives leading to them seem, except in relatively rare individuals, to have been at least mixed and for the most part anything but worthy. It was often the king's command or example, or a desire to be civilized, rather than any great moral conviction or high spiritual appeal which led to the change. Have subsequent events proved this to have been desirable, and if undesirable, was it unavoidable? Is the lamentable state of the Church in Latin America due to the fact that in the religious, as in the political and the economic spheres, Europeans insisted upon retaining control and kept the Indian stocks in permanent tutelage?

These are some of the questions which arise as one faces the history of missions. The list is in no sense exhaustive. Under each of the six main questions there are many others, all of them interesting and important. Scholars have very largely ignored them, and only a fraction of those which

could and should be investigated have even been clearly formulated. It is, obviously, much easier to ask questions than to answer them. No one student, no matter how diligent and able, can hope to answer even the chief questions in the span allotted to one human life. As in so many other fields, many scholars must delve long and patiently before any one of them can hope to tell adequately the entire story. Who will write the narrative of Nestorian missions—a task in itself too great for any one man—or recount the winning of north-western Europe and the effects upon European life, or the Roman Catholic efforts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries? It is, however, not too early for some scholar to attempt to summarize what is already fairly well known of the entire story. He should approach the task modestly, with frank recognition of the fact that all he can hope to do is to ask some intelligent questions, suggest possible answers and state such few conclusions as seem well established. If he recognizes and honestly confesses where his knowledge ends and his conjectures begin, he may at least point out the insufficient basis for some popular conclusions. There is sufficient material available, and in forms not too voluminous to be covered by one scholar, to permit even now of a narrative of the expansion of our Faith. Such a story, while necessarily imperfect and incomplete, would prove both inspiring and instructive, and if diligently read and pondered would be of incalculable benefit to the entire missionary enterprise.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

INDIA AND OPIUM

BY WILLIAM PATON

THE League of Nations, to the student of its operations from a land so far from Geneva as India, appears to be the object of two different types of interest. At intervals, when a crisis like that over the action of Italy in Corfu impends, or great personalities such as the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France attend to further the settlement of those mightiest issues which affect the world's peace, the general public is moved to attention and the League occupies quite a reasonable space in the telegrams of Messrs Reuter, that whimsical judge of the public taste. At other times the League cannot hope to vie with murder or divorce as a subject of human interest, but it continues to attract the attention of a smaller class of people, those who are watching the work of its committees and subsidiary organizations. Of these committees none has in the last couple of years attracted more attention than the one which has had under its survey the subject of the world-wide traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs. The reason is partly that the United States of America has laid aside, *pro hac vice*, its objections to the League and been present both at the committee and at the Assembly itself through assessor members, to whose words very great respect was paid—and well it might be, when one of them was Bishop Brent, whose speech on the whole range of the problem was one of the finest things ever uttered on this perplexing issue. But besides the interest of America we have to reckon on a growing realization on the part of intelligent students of affairs that the opium problem is one of those things with which humanity is bound to grapple in its own most elementary defence. Opium, smoked and eaten in the East,

used in its derivatives, heroin and morphia, as an instrument of vicious addiction in the West and East alike, is revealed as an enemy of the human race—a drug invaluable to the doctor but highly dangerous in its illegitimate uses.

This awakened interest will, by the time these words appear, have been focused in the World Conference held at Geneva in November of the year 1924. What the results of that conference will be it is utterly impossible at the time this article is written to forecast.

The importance of India for the whole opium question is acknowledged to be great ; it is not, perhaps, understood as often as it is discussed. It lies in two facts, first, that India, while not the greatest producer of opium—that distinction, alas, now belongs to China—is the greatest exporter ; and, second, that while no serious person defends opium-smoking, which is the normal use of opium in the Far East, there is in India a widespread use which is not medical in any strict sense but is very generally defended by officials, namely, the consumption of opium by eating. India presents the phenomenon of a country where a use of opium, neither medical nor scientific, is defended as legitimate.

The object of this paper is to set forth some of the main facts which ought to be understood by those who discuss this question, both in relation to export and still more in regard to domestic consumption, and to suggest the line of action which many of those who have given most thought to the subject would desire Government to take. In doing so I shall endeavour to be scrupulously fair to Government, believing as I do, with some reason, that the very uninformed and partisan attacks which are sometimes made on the government policy have acted as a hindrance to the acceptance of a just course of action. For governments, after all, are composed of men who are of like passions with ourselves.

First, as to export. We have seen that India is the greatest exporting country. I do not propose to burden

this article with statistics, which can be seen elsewhere, but in round figures India sends about a million pounds of opium abroad every year. This figure is of course much less than in the palmy days of the China traffic, but it is a large figure, and Indian officials cannot complain if the attention of the world is directed to it.

Where does it go? Mainly to the communities of Chinese outside China. The Straits Settlements, Hongkong, British North Borneo, Japan, Macao, Ceylon, Fiji are among the buyers. The Government of India has accepted the certificate system of the League of Nations, and no opium is exported except under certificate from the Government of the importing country that it is required for legitimate use. This applies both to the opium—the greater part of the total—which is sold direct to importing governments, and to that which is sold by auction to private dealers. Contracts with governments are renewed from time to time, but the Government have repeatedly stated that they exert no pressure on anyone to buy their opium, and recently Sir Basil Blackett, the Finance Member, stated in the Legislative Assembly that Government would not allow considerations of revenue to influence them if on other grounds diminution of export proved possible and desirable.

This is a very brief account of the government position. That it is within the terms of the Hague Opium Convention seems to be undeniable. Many of us, however, have grown somewhat uninterested in the abstract question of legitimacy, by the standard of the Hague Convention. What is important is that the opium exported is virtually all used for smoking. No one denies this, and when it is said by official apologists, or by the importing governments, that the use is legitimate it appears that no sarcasm is intended, but merely the assertion that under the terms of the Convention smoking is continued temporarily in certain countries. We may therefore draw a distinction between a rationally illegitimate use and a legally illegitimate use. This export

for smoking is legitimate in terms of the Convention, but it is not rationally legitimate. For the smoking of opium, by whomsoever it is done, is a vice and nothing else in the world.

Moreover, there is ground for holding that the attraction of monopoly opium in places like Singapore has proved an effective lure for labour. Those who study the reports of companies operating in these parts of the earth may recollect references to recreation being provided for labourers. Recreation sometimes takes strange forms. There is, further, the fact that the revenues derived from the opium monopoly by these importing states where it is legally smoked are enormous, and form a large proportion of the financial resources of the state.

Morally, this opium-smoking trade is therefore indefensible, and there is only one defence offered for it, on the part of India, namely, that if these importing opium-smoking states did not buy Indian opium, they would buy Persian or Turkish. India would lose her revenue, and no one would be benefited—except the growers of Persia and Turkey. It is to be recognized that this argument (which I am bound to say carries no sort of conviction to my mind) is accepted by many high-minded men as valid. They feel that while there is only a very small amount of opinion in India against the export of opium from India, and while the people are heavily taxed in relation to their poverty, it is illegitimate for the Government, acting as it would in deference to scruples of its own and not of the taxpayer, to deprive the taxpayer of that relief which the opium revenue constitutes, particularly as no good is done to the opium-smoker because he gets his stuff from other sources.

The answer to all this line of argument is that we need not policies verbally justifiable by the terms of the Hague Convention and its temporary exceptions, but the eradication of opium-smoking. As a matter of practical politics India will not stop exports so long as other countries demand her opium and no other country will curtail its exports. Hence

the importance of the conference at Geneva in November, where it is hoped that steps may be taken to get a great curtailment of the amount used for smoking, and a consequent common agreement on the amounts to be exported. The loose category 'legitimate' has clearly served its turn. There is really no alternative but to accept the definition of 'medical and scientific use' as the only test. Any other definition is an open door to uses which are in every possible sense illegitimate. It is much to be hoped that the representatives of both the British and the Indian Governments at Geneva at the Opium Conference will cordially second the efforts of other countries, and notably of America, to procure a large and progressive reduction in the total amount of opium produced throughout the world. It hardly needs saying that the total amount of the world production is many times in excess of the medical and scientific needs of the world.

We turn now to the question of the consumption of opium in India itself. It is here that the efforts recently made by the National Christian Council of India may prove to be of some importance. The officers of the International Missionary Council invited the National Christian Council to conduct an investigation into two questions, one, the facts as to the use of opium in India, the other, the opinion of Indians about it. The results are published in a pamphlet entitled *Opium in India*¹ and have been laid before the Government of India and the League of Nations, and sent to all members of Provincial Legislatures as well as to all members of the National and Provincial Christian Councils and to a large number of others, both officials and non-officials.

It is probably common knowledge that the general use of opium in India has been, up to the present time, defended by the Government of India. It is said, firstly, that opium addiction, as a vice, scarcely exists in India; secondly, that

¹ Can be had from 111A Russa Road, Calcutta. Postage should be sent. A limited number may be obtained from 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

opium is an invaluable household medicine, particularly in a land where there are, relatively to the size and to the poverty of the population, few qualified medical men; thirdly, that it is useful in the ailments of children; and, fourthly, that it has certain semi-medical uses, being valuable as a prophylactic against damp and fatigue. This is the gist of the defence. It has been made in a dispatch of Lord Hardinge's Government, by Mr John Campbell at Geneva, and by Sir Basil Blackett (with somewhat less conviction) in the recent meetings of the Legislative Assembly. Sir Basil added that if the policy of the Government of India is to be changed, it must be on the basis of ascertained fact.

It is this basis that we of the National Christian Council believe that we have done something to supply. We have not had the powers and advantages of a Royal Commission, but we have drawn upon the experience of many men and women, Indian and British, American and Continental, who are in intimate touch with the life of the common people, and there is no other evidence which is worth anything at all.

The first thing which stands out with ghastly clearness in the letters of almost all of those who have written to us is the prevalence of giving opium to children. One writer after another gives the estimate of 75, 80 or even 90 per cent of the children under two or three years as being regularly doped with opium. It is done for very many reasons: because the mother has to go out to work and wishes the child to sleep in her absence; to cure ailments such as diarrhoea; to make up for a lack of food; or simply because a tradition has arisen that opium is good for babies, makes them strong and keeps them warm in the cold weather. Most mothers who give the drug to their babies do so in all good faith. But there is no doubt of the evil nature of the practice or the seriousness of its effects. Not only does it tend to afflict a child with chronic gastric troubles, but it has a deleterious effect on the brain develop-

ment and produces lethargy, inattention and irritability. An opium-fed child is an easy prey to other diseases, and responds badly to regular treatment and to medicine. There is a general testimony to the stunting of the frame which results from the practice, and doctors say that it is an unquestionable factor in the terribly high infantile death-rate of India. That it is not economically inevitable is shown by the work of such devoted people as Dr Mistri of Bombay, who has succeeded in getting poor mothers so clearly to see the evil they are unwittingly doing their children that they cast off the habit. But so long as opium is available in opium shops with the flimsy checks on excess which now prevail, it is as certain as anything can be that this infant holocaust will go on.

The medical use, by which I mean the use of opium not on medical advice (which is not questioned) but as a cure for disease or debility, is undoubtedly widespread. Nor can it be denied that in a country like India with its comparatively small medical provision there is a certain plausibility in the argument that so popular a household remedy should not be withdrawn from public use. But when we examine the evidence closely we find that the medical use of opium in the main comes down to one thing—the removal of pain. It is very easy to understand how, to a population like the Indian, disease and pain appear identical. Remove the pain, and it is supposed you have removed the disease. The cause of the trouble remains. Probably the trouble will become chronic and there will be regular resort to opium, until the sufferer is entirely in the power of the drug. A glance at the enormous variety of the diseases for which opium is used will show how little of curative medicine there is in this practice. They range from tetanus to bronchitis, but the most frequent complaints thus treated are gastric and pulmonary.

I believe that it is well worth investigation whether a scheme might not be devised whereby opium could be dispensed by indigenous practitioners, hakims and kavirajes,

etc. It may be that this method would only remove the evil to another channel ; such is certainly the view of many who have written to us. But others hold that it is necessary to make provision for opium to be available for what we are now calling a medical use, not only on the prescription of qualified practitioners but on that of a larger group of dispensers, and the point deserves to be investigated. In Ceylon, it is worthy of note, vedaralas may be licensed to supply opium.

On the whole we have found no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the benefits of the present system of widespread availability are altogether outweighed by the evils that follow it. There is no more dangerous enemy to public health than the more or less customary and unanalysed belief in a magical panacea, and that is what opium very nearly is to those who use it most.

As for the semi-medical use, we find little validity in it. It has no ground in fact, for it is not really a preventive of fatigue or protection against damp. It seems to be used with this excuse by people who already take opium for their ailments and who take more opium when the necessity of having to undergo fatigue or damp makes them fear a recrudescence of their malady.

For the addict, pure and simple, no one will make any defence, whatever compassion may be felt for him. They are not numerous in India, but in some parts, notably in Assam, they are now so many as to constitute a problem of the first magnitude. In Assam whole villages are dying out through the opium curse. It is said that the Ahom dynasty of Assam kings lost its power through addiction to opium. Probably it is in Orissa, the Central Provinces, Central India and in parts of the Bombay Presidency that the more frequent examples of extreme addiction may be seen.

I think it may be added that in the opinion of so great an authority as Dr Ernest Muir, of the School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta, opium-eating carries with it moral

weakness, even when not practised to what is commonly called excess. 'The chronic opium-eater,' he says, 'cannot be trusted. To what extent this is directly due to self-indulgence and to what extent to a toxic effect of the drug on the higher centres of the brain it is very difficult to say. . . . I have however no doubt that this moral unreliability does exist.'

I have already indicated the conviction to which a study of our evidence drives us, namely, that the medical and the other uses of opium ought to be distinguished, and that opium should only be dispensed by persons with some medical qualification. That this can be done is certain. Some hold that it would be very difficult. It would certainly be necessary to register those already addicted, as in Ceylon and Burma, and to allow them a definite ration, no new names being added to the register once it has been drawn up. But we believe that it can and ought to be done, and that the moral and reforming forces of the country would rally behind Government to make the enactment a success.

There are definite signs of an awakening of opinion on the subject of the opium evil. The All-India Congress Committee passed in June a strong resolution in favour of the restriction of the use of opium to medical needs. Mr Gandhi (still, as recent events have shown, far the most powerful individual personality in the country, especially when he deals with moral issues) has spoken very strongly on the matter and is convinced that the alleged danger of public feeling being inflamed by opium restrictions is a myth. Educated men and women realize that the opium danger, while insidious and little understood, is undermining the health and character of the people, and I have little doubt that there will be a steady increase in the persistence and vigour of the movement for abolition. That there is little mass feeling on the subject—which is unquestionably true—is easily intelligible. The facts are not known. The effects of opium are concealed, except in the

case of the comparatively rare extreme addict. Nor is it to be marvelled at that little has been done in the Provincial Legislative Councils to cope with consumption. Excise is one of the main props of the Transferred Subjects, speaking financially ; India has been through difficult years, and it is asking a great deal of a Minister who sees no immediate prospect of a diminution of the tribute the provincial exchequer pays to the central Government, to do away with one of his main sources of revenue. Moreover, there is undoubtedly a belief prevalent (and whether it is well founded or not does not affect the fact that it is there) that the central Government will not approve of any tampering with the opium question. It is a case when a strong new lead by the Government of India might have a far-reaching effect. It would, among other things, do something to bridge the gulf between Government and some at least of the popular leaders, men who do not believe that Government cares for the moral welfare of the people.

Writing before the Conference meets at Geneva, it is therefore our earnest hope that the Indian Government through its representative will decide to co-operate heartily with the programme put forward by the Americans, namely, that no use of opium save the medical and scientific should be considered legitimate, and that production should be limited to the amount ascertained to be sufficient for that use. We believe that nothing in the situation of India renders agreement to this ideal undesirable. If India holds out and insists that she cannot allow any restriction or questioning of her internal consumption, it appears to us certain that the bottom will fall out of the plan for a world restriction of production. Others will find other excuses, and the whole plan will be frittered away. A strong Indian lead would transform the outlook, and it would be welcomed by all that is best in the Indian nation.

WILLIAM PATON

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

JOHN WESLEY'S PARISH

THE HISTORY OF THE WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.
By G. G. FINDLAY, D.D., and W. W. HOLDSWORTH, B.D. In
five volumes. London: Epworth Press. 18s. each. 1921-24.

WHEN the Order of Jesuits looked back on a century's existence, it produced, in 1640, in a famous document entitled *Imago primi saeculi*, a great survey of its history and the many branches of its diverse activities. It pointed with pride to its wide mission fields and held up for comparison Protestant barrenness of response to the missionary command. The reproach was at that time deserved, although the causes given for the alienation from missionary work were incorrectly deduced. Had the Order produced a centenary survey in 1740, it would not have been possible to make such a criticism, and by 1840 Protestant missions had become a power.

The great change in the attitude of Protestantism to missions, which the above dates indicate, began in the eighteenth century. The entry into active missionary work became the cause of receiving rich blessing. The growing missionary movement spread over England and Germany and prepared the way for the founding of the societies which to-day lead in Protestant missionary work. We can descry isolated points of origin of the new spirit: the deep stimulation of spirit which resulted from the German Pietist movement is well known; the Moravians laid bare the secret of the wonderful power which can proceed from a little circle of Christians strong in faith. Alongside these must be placed the epoch-making influence of Methodism on the Anglo-Saxon world.

Methodism has exercised an influence difficult to define, but which can hardly be over-estimated. It has stirred up Christianity and brought back Christian belief to what it ought to be, namely, the private concern of each individual. It has impelled the awakened man to bear witness, and at the same time has put before him concrete tasks; while those who had become conscious of their Christianity were united in communities, which helped both to

steady the individual and to augment his strength through fellowship. Methodism has solved the problem of uniting the idea of personal Christianity with that of an organized Church. Under circumstances into which we cannot enter here, this development led to the establishing of the Methodist Church. Methodism might thereby have been deprived of its influence over other Churches, but that did not happen. On the contrary, the new religious atmosphere created by it has spread beyond the bounds of the Methodist Church. Isolated elements and forms of Methodist piety may have been discarded, yet the spirit of Methodism developed its vitalizing and propelling power wherever it penetrated and mobilized its peaceful latent forces. Its influence on English Protestantism has been far greater than the influence of Pietism on the Protestant Churches of Germany, and has also extended to other Protestant lands, so that we may say that the appearance of Methodism in the history of Protestantism leaves a deep mark. For the history of the Protestant missions of English-speaking lands it begins a new period.

The fact that the Wesleyan Missionary Society celebrated its centenary in 1913 would lead one to suppose that the work of Methodism in the mission field began in the year 1813. But the founding of this society was not the beginning of the missionary activity of Methodism; it rather closed the first period of laying foundations for the work. To this society fell the task—and the days which followed have entirely justified the undertaking—of centralizing, bringing under ecclesiastical rule and, with the aid of organization tested at the home base, strengthening and consolidating the work which, up to that time, had been directed almost entirely by Thomas Coke. The first Methodist preachers sent to North America had already shown themselves to be missionary-minded, and thereby proved the close relation of the missionary ideal to the principles underlying the original Methodist movement. Thomas Coke became a missionary who, through tirelessly pressing onwards and sparing no sacrifice for his God-given task, stimulated the founding of missionary organizations. His is a place of honour in the history of Protestant missions.

The well-known words of John Wesley: 'I look upon all the world as my parish,' were a significant characteristic of the wide range of his conception of his life work. It was a legacy to Methodism and became its policy.

The Wesleyans are found at work in America, Africa, India, China and the South Seas. They, like the Moravians, have turned their attention more especially to primitive peoples. The reason for this may be found in the historical development of the missions, perhaps also in a special talent in dealing with these primitive groups, which are peculiarly responsive to Methodist preaching. This is particularly true of the Negroes to whom the Wesleyans went, first in the West Indies (1786), then in West Africa where fields were opened up on the Sierra Leone coast (1811), in Senegambia (1821) and in the Lagos district (1843). As early as 1814 Wesleyan activities began in South Africa, and in course of time have spread from the Cape to Zululand and Bechuanaland, and as far north as Rhodesia and the Transvaal. In the same year (1814) they started their Ceylon Mission, which was soon followed (1817) by that in India. Another chapter of the Wesleyan mission work was opened among different island groups of the Pacific Ocean (1822). A generation later (1851) they entered China. These territorial extensions of the Wesleyan Mission bear witness to its truly ecumenical spirit, and prove it to be one of the missionary forces of the world.

The centenary of the founding of the Wesleyan Mission was the occasion for the writing of this comprehensive work. Dr Findlay, to whom the task was committed, died in the midst of his labours. Mr Holdsworth completed the five volumes, which present a compilation of historical material which few societies can equal. For the extraordinarily painstaking labour which has been spent in gathering this material together we owe hearty thanks to the editors. Every work of this kind requires to have its facts verified and supplemented, but this I must leave to those who have expert knowledge of the various fields.

I must permit myself to mention a not unimportant point which touches fundamental principle. The book offers sometimes more and sometimes less than its title leads one to expect. For example, on one hand, with regard to the content of the word 'Mission,' it is extended beyond its usual sense and applied to Methodist propaganda in Christian lands (vol. IV), so that mission history appears to broaden out into church history. On the other hand, the editor confines himself to such a narrow reading of the word that he traces the development of the single mission area only up to the point where independent church government (the Wesleyan 'Conference') is established. From the above it will be understood why little

or no information is given about recent times. Likewise, little is done to show the differences of method between that characteristic of Methodist missions and the method of other societies. I have not brought forward this point by way of criticism, as every writer has, of course, the right to limit his subject at his own discretion; I mention it as a distinctive feature of the book.

In the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910, that first Ecumenical Council of Protestant Christendom, we had before our eyes the embodiment of the Christian faith in missionary energies. We became conscious that Protestantism, unlike the Roman Catholic Church, can never set up as its goal ecclesiastical uniformity. Its strength lies rather in the fact that within it different entities find room. Of these, the Wesleyan Mission is one, and has its rightful place among them. The spirit breathing in the mission and its story constitute its title-deeds.

CARL MIRBT

GÖTTINGEN

ON MISSIONARY HISTORY

DIE MISSION UND AUSBREITUNG DES CHRISTENTUMS IN DEN ERSTEN DREI JAHRHUNDERTEN. VON ADOLF VON HARNACK. Vierte Auflage. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1923.

QUELLEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES PAPSTTUMS UND DES RÖMISCHEN KATHOLIZISMUS. VON CARL MIRBT. Vierte Auflage. Tübingen: Mohr. 1924.

BOTH these histories, known for the last decade, have just appeared in their fourth edition. Dr Harnack, the well-known church historian, writes the missionary history of the early Christian world, dealing in the first volume with the message and facts of missions, and in the second with their expansion. The form of the work has remained unchanged, while recent literature, including that of other countries, has been carefully consulted, as far as has been possible of late years. The section on Eastern Christianity is wholly new, and to the sections on Christianity and the building up of the Christian community in Rome are added, as appendices, the results of researches published in the course of recent years in the proceedings of the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften. On this account the fourth edition is larger than the third by about 120 pages. Dr Harnack himself says of his

work that it contains practically no hypothetical material, but is a marshalling of facts. He continues: 'One can measure how wide and rich is our knowledge of missions and the expansion of Christendom by comparing it with our knowledge of any other Oriental religion which existed in the pre-Constantine period of the Roman Empire. Of all of them put together we do not know nearly as much as of Christianity by itself—of Christianity or, more rightly, of the Christian Church.'

In missionary circles it will be regretted that Dr Harnack has not seen his way to alter the fourth chapter of the first volume (Jesus Christ, the Commission to the Disciples and World Missions), in which he expressed the view that world missions were not on Jesus' horizon. On this matter, according to my understanding of the facts, he is incorrect, and is forcing history into the mould of his own dogmatic theories. All the more thankfully one can follow him in his absolutely inspiring presentation of the missionary message in word and deed, of missionaries, missionary methods and subsidiary reactions, and one is amazed, reading on every page the account of the expansion of the Christian religion, at the industry in collecting, arranging and presenting the facts shown by this unrivalled expert in ancient missionary history. These volumes, therefore, are a mine of information for the scholar and provide opportunities, through their wealth of observation, for understanding the history, methods and outcome of early Christian missions. They afford, too, not only surprising information about the past, but a real inducement to compare missions of modern and ancient times, and to understand modern phenomena through their parallels in former days.

Dr Mirbt's book is of quite a different kind. It brings together 797 source-documents in the original languages on the history of the Papacy and Roman Catholicism—rich and valuable literary evidences, and it pays great attention to the history of Roman Catholic missions. One can thankfully recognize that our knowledge of both ancient and modern periods gains by his treatment.

From Irenæus to Benedict xv we find extraordinarily important official documents, whether it be the rules of the Franciscan order, or the call of Erasmus to foreign missions, or the Papal approbation of the Jesuit Order, or the letter of Francis Xavier to King John III of Portugal about the expansion of Christianity through world dominion, or the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, or the far

too little heeded pastoral letter, *Maximum illud* of November 30th, 1919, about the tasks before Roman Catholic missions at the present time. The index gives more than forty references under the head 'Missions' alone, and moreover, refers expressly to such words as 'Native policy' and 'Jesuit Orders.' When we realize that here we have acts and documents, formerly inaccessible, made conveniently accessible in an exact and admirable form, we can appraise the work highly, not only as a handbook for students but also as an indispensable book of reference for experts, and we admire the care and discernment of the editor who has made the writing of this book a great part of his life work.

Dr Mirbt deals with the whole growth of the Papacy and Roman Catholicism. In this portrayal missions occupy only a small, though most important, section. But what seems to me of especial value is that it becomes clear from a thorough study of the *Quellen* that missions are woven in with the very life of Roman Catholicism. Only as one considers Roman Catholic missions in this wide setting can one understand them as a whole, or judge correctly their characteristic features in the critical appreciation of their lights and shadows. It is therefore with special thankfulness that we may welcome the introduction by Dr Mirbt, into this new edition, of fresh and rich original sources for the understanding of the religious life of Roman Catholicism.

MARTIN SCHLUNK

HAMBURG

GOD'S MEN-AT-ARMS

ROBERT MORRISON: A Master Builder. By MARSHALL BROOMHALL.
London: Student Christian Movement. 5s. 1924.

ANDREW YOUNG OF SHENSI: Adventure in Medical Missions. By
J. C. KEYTE. London: Carey Press. 6s. 1924.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN AFRICAN: Retold in Biographical Form and
in the Wild African Setting of the Life of Daniel Mtusu. By
DONALD FRASER, D.D. London: Seeley, Service. 6s. 1924.

TOM DOBSON: A Champion of the Outcasts. By NICOL MACNICOL,
D.Litt. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. 6d. 1924.

THE Franciscans were the Lord's troubadours; the rank and file of the modern missionary enterprise are His men-at-arms. They may sing as Andrew Young did to prevent himself succumbing to fever, or as Daniel Mtusu did to keep his courage up

in the perils of the African jungle at night, but the main impression of their lives is of desperate encounter with evil—evil which would have overwhelmed less determined folk.

Here are the tales of the lives of four of them by comrades in arms, men who know from experience the nature of their warfare. So they are told with a soldier's direct simplicity, unspoiled by pious moralizing or adulation.

Robert Morrison is the fourth in the series of *Modern Missionary Biographies* which the Student Christian Movement is publishing for the United Council for Missionary Education. It is well worthy of its predecessors. Every one should read it. The well-known picture of Morrison with his two assistants—reproduced as a frontispiece to this volume—is misleading to those who would understand the nature and the quality of this master's work, as misleading as the Buckingham Palace sentries to those who would understand trench warfare. To those whose knowledge of missions in China is limited to the Boxer Rebellion or the National Christian Council, the difficulties under which Robert Morrison worked will seem incredible. The great building there is now in China is due more than to any other one man to the spade-work of this dogged Tynesider. Mr Marshall Broomhall evidently understands doggedness. It is the main impression of the book. Indeed 'Master Builder,' its sub-title, is in a sense misleading. Dr Morrison was a 'foundation digger,' and he was working on rock—desperately hard work, but plainly work that endures.

Andrew Young of Shensi, or more strictly 'of the Congo and Shensi,' comes from the Carey Press with all the charm of style of which Mr Keyte is master. If Andrew Young is a slighter figure than Robert Morrison, it is only because he was called to fill a less central rôle. It required no less of doggedness and courage, in some ways perhaps even more.

He had an incurable modesty; he did not take the eye of the newcomer; he was not the man to compel the breathless homage of an assembly; but he was always there, steady and reliable, wise in counsel, gracious in intention, loyal in performance (p. 136).

Whether as transport director and evangelist in the Congo, or as doctor and evangelist in Shensi, Andrew Young was 'always there.' Anyone who opens this book and sees the photograph in the beginning of it will want to know the secret of that face. He will find it in the book. And, wondering as he reads how one so sensitive and frail

can have fought so untiringly against incredible difficulties, he will be led on, where Dr Young himself would have led him, to God and the amazing power of His purpose for mankind.

Daniel Mtusu is another of God's men-at-arms. But had he been in France he would certainly have been in the band of his battalion. He knew what it meant 'to make a cheerful noise unto the Lord.' Christianity to him was essentially a joyful thing, although his life was one unending battle; the lions and leopards of the jungle, foes among his own people, or among the white invaders of his people's land, or pestilence and fever to which he was particularly subject, gave him no rest. It is a remarkable story, told originally by Daniel himself and his lifelong friend Andrew (now the Rev. Andrew Mkochi), and translated with some background additions by Dr Donald Fraser. The account of the impression made by the arrival of Christian missionaries on the mind of a boy who watched them come and settle amongst his own people is intensely interesting. That these sturdy pioneering Scots should have most impressed the Africans by their softness when touched ('like babies,' they said), speaks with unconscious eloquence of the hardness of life among the Angoni.

Daniel was a leader amongst them by birth and temperament, but most of all by fearlessness in fight. No wonder that as a Christian he became remarkable for his fearless preaching, his common-sense leadership and passionate loyalty. But one is glad to hear that he did not become 'an unfledged angel, but just a most ardent, lovable human, with many common weaknesses still clinging about him' (p. 145). Our one complaint is that this sketch of him, though not too short, is too slight. The fault may be ours for not understanding, as probably an African would, the wealth of significance that lies behind a series of rapid picture episodes.

'How Tom Dobson would have laughed if he had been told that he would have a place in a gallery of Master Missionaries.' 'It became a common saying amongst us in Poona, "When in doubt ask Dobson."' Those two sentences from Dr Nicol Macnicol's life of *Tom Dobson* are its best commendation. One can only add this: it is a plain ungarnished tale of a missionary who did his greatest work between the end of the war and 1922, when he was murdered by a passionate Arab. As a master-printer in Poona, and in Jalna as an agricultural missionary, he is the same straightforward reliable Dobson, aching all the time for the next mail from Scotland, and

preaching unceasingly his gospel of work. The chapters which describe his fight with famine, the moneylender, human nature and finally with death are quite masterly. There is an epic note in the matter-of-fact simplicity of the writing. For the plain man it is the best book of the four ; for Dobson was essentially a plain man, and the work he was doing is clamouring desperately to-day for plain men to share in it. It is a book that should go round our firesides this winter as a Fiery Cross to wake us from our lethargy.

LONDON

R. O. HALL

LINES OF ADVANCE FOR WORKERS AMONG MOSLEMS

CONFERENCES OF CHRISTIAN WORKERS AMONG MOSLEMS, 1924. Copies may be obtained from the International Missionary Council, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, and 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1. 7s. 6d.

THESE conferences were held in four outlying centres at Constantine (Algeria), Helwan (Egypt), Brumana (Syria), Baghdad (Iraq), followed by a General Conference in Jerusalem. The scope of them is fairly represented by the membership of the Jerusalem gathering, the sixty-two members of which comprised ten from Turkey, thirteen from Egypt, eleven from Syria and Palestine, seven from North Africa, six from Persia, two from India, one from Indonesia, eight from Great Britain and America and four from Continental Europe. In addition there were eighteen representatives of missionary societies and other visitors, including the chairman, Dr Mott, and the secretary, Dr Zwemer. Briefly, the conferences represented the Near East with a touch of British and Dutch India, but without Equatorial Africa, Central Asia or China.

In these lands missionary work proper is in a backward condition, owing mainly to the repression of outside propaganda by the dominant Moslem powers. The work actually done hitherto has been chiefly among the fractional remnants of the ancient Christian Churches, and that part of it which was in the region of the Turkish Republic is largely destroyed. That in itself makes a special claim on the careful and sympathetic attention of the Christian Church. No less is this called forth by the present condition of these lands which contain the heart of Islam, its religious centre in Arabia and its political centre in the erstwhile Caliphate of Constantinople. The new orientation of the Turk and the Arab, and of their neighbours,

partly facilitates, partly opposes the entrance of Christian truth and life, and is profoundly affecting the whole Moslem world.

These conferences were carefully prepared for by the circulation of many questionnaires and especially by the admirable survey of *Christian Literature in Moslem Lands*, published in 1923. In Dr Mott the Conference had as chairman a missionary statesman who has probed the problems of the mission field at large with extraordinary insight, and in Dr Zwemer a secretary whose knowledge of the Moslem world is unrivalled. Mr Basil Mathews has given us vivid impressions of the meetings and their setting in more than one periodical; Dr Mott dealt with the Conference in the pages of this Review last July, and now we have to thank him, as publisher, for an admirable Report, faultlessly produced, and, whether for reading or for reference, full of interest and suggestion.

Naturally the main lines of discussion and suggestion as to work among Moslems cannot differ materially from those of missions generally; and indeed the bulk of work among Moslems has been done side by side with that among others, especially in India and Indonesia. One question suggested by this Report is how the work in these more advanced missions may best be co-ordinated with that in the lands of the Near East to the profit of both. In the matter of literature this is to some extent being done, and in the task of specialist training Cairo has rendered some service to the Far East. Might a trial of mutual help perhaps be made in evangelism?

From the summing up of the subjects treated in the central Conference in Jerusalem it may be best to select those of most immediate interest for construction or repair.

In the resolutions on occupation attention is drawn to two distinct things: the number and extent of territories unoccupied by evangelists, and the sparseness and weakness of missions in lands where work is being carried on. The spirit of enterprise and advance is essential, especially in the face of these very features in Islam and its propaganda. But it has to be balanced by the claims of stewardship. The twin parables of the building of the tower and the aggressive campaign of the Kingdom (Luke xiv. 28-32) apply to the making of disciples as well as to becoming disciples. The cost is to be counted and the force proportioned to the task. It is not only missions to Moslems which have disregarded this to their weakening. Unoccupied territories will be provided for more effectively by patiently

planting live Churches where we are at work than by pressing on to string out a thin line of stations in which little but the name of a mission is maintained. Concentration is the necessary balance to diffusion. Before we stretch out to fill up gaps elsewhere we must strengthen the weak places in the line for which we are already responsible.

This balance can only be maintained by an effective system of co-operation. The establishment of a Co-ordinating Committee on Christian Literature for Moslems (p. 27), as a result of the admirable survey published in 1923, is a good starting-point in this sphere, and it is to be hoped that the proposal to form a Christian Council for Northern Africa and Western Asia (p. 41) will be thoroughly successful. By keeping touch between this and the Missionaries to Muslims League in India a useful liaison might be formed. The fragmentary nature of work among Moslems in the Near East is one of its most serious hindrances, and the acid test of reality in co-operation is to be found in the relation of the missions to the native Churches. Not that co-operation is always welcomed by Orientals, but the Conference is undoubtedly on the right path when it urges that the Reformed Churches 'use every practicable means, especially that of friendship, to inspire the ancient Churches of the East . . . to take their full share in the evangelization of their Moslem neighbours.' This will do more than anything to strengthen the things that are ready to die, and if this line is followed in dealing with the independent, albeit immature, Church of Abyssinia, the effect on Islam in Equatorial Africa will be great. Islam is trying to relate its life more intimately to the principle of nationality. The Church which is called to make disciples of the nations cannot afford to neglect this relation.

It is a noteworthy and welcome feature of the Report that its climax is an urgent emphasis on the prominence of worship in the life of the missionary to Moslems. He sees it, with whatever defects, standing out as the primary thing in the religious life of the Moslem and, whilst his own spiritual power is based on prayer in secret, he becomes conscious that the spirit of prayer demands expression in the ordered worship of visible common prayer. The Report lays welcome stress on the need and method of special preparation of missionaries to Moslems for their work. Here surely devotional preparation has a necessary place, and the demands of Christian public worship in Moslem lands may help towards the attainment

of that unity among Christians, the lack of which so greatly vexes us in face of the common antagonist who can only be overcome by love.

H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON

LONDON

PAST YEARS IN AFRICA

DAYS GONE BY: BEING SOME ACCOUNT OF PAST YEARS CHIEFLY IN CENTRAL AFRICA. By J. E. HINE, M.D., D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Grantham. London: John Murray. 16s. 1924.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF LIVINGSTONE: BEING THE DIARIES AND TRAVEL NOTES MADE BY ALFRED DOLMAN. Edited by JOHN IRVING. London: John Lane. 12s. 6d. 1924.

‘**A**H me! “Chiikala chikauja.” The old days that never can come back, the bright hours that we never can forget! There the treasure is; there the heart will always be!’ Many of us will re-echo this sigh, but let it not be imagined that Bishop Hine’s twenty-five years in Central Africa were an easy time. ‘In Northern Rhodesia,’ he writes, ‘I walked over 5000 miles in five years. Altogether, in Africa, I have travelled on foot about 12,500 miles.’ He never carried a gun; never saw a lion. He paid no attention to fevers while on the march: ‘It was all in the day’s work, and I could always pull myself together after a tempestuous night of rigors and high temperature.’ He never waited for the dry season: ‘If it rains, you get wet; it does not matter; soon the sun comes out and you get dry again.’ ‘It was not the journeyings oft that wore one out in Africa; it was the constant worry and anxiety, the sick and the dying people, the care of the Churches which never grew less, and at times became, when one was a bit run down, an almost intolerable burden.’

This volume of reminiscences is packed with ripe wisdom and delightful humour. The wit is sometimes rather caustic. The future High Church bishop came of sturdy Nonconformist stock. He studied in London for the medical profession, and while in practice in Oxford read for his arts degree; he graduated B.A. Oxford, and M.D. London in the same year. We are not told what led him to abandon his medical career in England and to become a missionary; visits to Oxford of Bishop Steere and (Archdeacon) W. P. Johnson

certainly assisted him in his decision. After a year in Lincoln Theological College and a short curacy at Richmond, he sailed in January 1890 for Nyasaland to join the Universities' Mission. Archdeacon Maples—'who toiled incessantly to keep us cheerful and make us take a bright view of life'—was in charge of Likoma. The men were miserably housed in huts which cost ten pounds apiece and lasted five years. No wonder Dr Hine found plenty to do: 'There was always somebody ill.' After furlough and a short period at Zanzibar he returned to Nyasaland and for some years did pioneer work at Unangu. When Bishop Maples was drowned in 1895, Dr Hine succeeded him and ruled the diocese till 1901, when he was transferred to Zanzibar. He was succeeded there by Dr Weston in 1908. On retiring from the field, apparently for ever, Dr Hine took chaplaincies successively at Tangier and Constantinople. (In his interesting chapter on Tangier he falls into an error by placing there an excellent medical mission of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland; it really belongs to the North Africa Mission.) In 1909 he was called from Constantinople to become first bishop of the new diocese of Northern Rhodesia.

Bishop Hine appears to agree with Bishop Smythies that the Catholic Church cannot be bound to any definite district—a profound truth which, however, might in application simply mean that one mission could go where it liked. He has consistently worked in a friendly manner with other missions—the present reviewer knows this from his own experience—and he speaks in the warmest terms of Presbyterian and other missions whose methods he sometimes confesses he does not like, of men and women who 'with a great love of souls and with an earnest self-sacrificing spirit devote themselves to the service of these . . . people out of love to the Christ who would draw them to Himself.' This characteristic large-heartedness makes it certain that one sentence wrongs him: 'I had no hesitation,' he says in regard to the bishopric of Northern Rhodesia, 'in undertaking the rather difficult task of starting (if no more than that) the Christian mission in that country.' As it stands, this means that the other missions already established in the country—four or five of them, including Coillard's—were something other than Christian: and we are quite sure that Dr Hine did not intend to imply this.

Dr Hine has accumulated a vast fund of knowledge of missionary problems and methods. He gives us the benefit of his experience in some matters, but not to the extent we could wish. We would

gladly have listened to his estimate of the special contribution made to African missions by the Universities' Mission, many of whose members have been among the most able and saintly men who ever laboured in Africa. He speaks for us all when he acknowledges: 'No doubt we have made many mistakes. Our methods have not always been wise.'

Bishop Hine has always been an indomitable sight-seer: he rejoices particularly in churches; he is also a great lover of cats. For what he says about the churches he has visited and about the cats he has cherished, we must refer our readers to the book itself. It is a noble book, which leaves us thankful to God for its writer and for the great work he accomplished in Africa.

Dolman's journals offer as complete a contrast as could be conceived to Bishop Hine's reminiscences. The title is attractive but delusive. Mr Dolman made several journeys in South Africa, from 1843 when he was sixteen, to 1851 when he died mysteriously near Kolobeng, but, unless a trek to Kuruman from Cape Town be reckoned such, only on the fifth journey, when he reached Lake Ngami, can he be said to have followed in the footsteps of Livingstone—and of that trip, unfortunately, there are no available records. Nor with any greater accuracy can he be said to have followed Livingstone psychologically. The editor rightly asserts that 'nowhere in his writings can one find any trace of the visualist or dreamer.' Of Boers and Africans he speaks with contempt. He was plucky enough, but his exploits as a sportsman are not impressive. This is the sort of thing that disfigures his journal: 'Such quantity of game was there that I soon exhausted all my ammunition, leaving some half-dozen gnus hobbling on three legs, but yet going the pace.' The accounts of ox-wagon travelling are interesting but contain nothing new. There is no contribution to our knowledge on any subject whatever. The best feature of the book is the reproduction of Dolman's sketches; some of these are very good indeed. Native names are almost uniformly written incorrectly—the Dutch sentences would make a Hottentot laugh. The editor's notes contain some surprising information. At the time of his death Dolman was hurrying south to join forces with Livingstone in the exploration of Central Africa.

EDWIN W. SMITH

WALTON-ON-THAMES

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

THE NEGRO: FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA. By W. D. WEATHERFORD, Ph.D.
With Introduction by JAMES H. DILLARD, President of the Jeanes
Board and John F. Slater Fund. New York: Doran. \$5. 1924.

IMPORTANT volumes have recently dealt with racial problems as a whole. Such general studies create a need for research into specific situations in which facts can be more closely massed than is possible in works with wider outlook. An admirable example of such a source-book is the volume by Dr Weatherford to which Dr James H. Dillard writes a commendatory preface. These two names are to all acquainted with the Southern States of America a guarantee of sound knowledge and unbiased judgment.

The book in form and diction is not inspiring; in parts it is not even easy to read. But its marshalling of masses of facts makes a noteworthy contribution towards the understanding of a many-sided and urgent problem. Dr Weatherford carries his readers with him in his conviction that, owing to common language, common religion, a common economic task of subsistence from the soil, and sympathy between individuals inherited from their forefathers, the two races in the Southern States present more favourable conditions for bringing about mutual understanding than exist between black and white in any other part of the world.

In the opening chapter some causes of racial antipathy and the basis of possible mutual understanding are suggested. A survey of the social heritage of the Negro in Africa follows, for Dr Weatherford holds that there are 'vestigial remains' of his African past in the social reactions of the American Negro to-day, in spite of his marvellous progress. The two chapters on this background are germane to the argument, but they are one-sided in outlook and contribute little to the ordinary student's knowledge of Africa as it was a century ago. Chapters follow on slavery and the slave trade, with a special section on the West Indies; the rise and fall of slavery in America; plantation life during the slave régime; the 'free Negro'—a most illuminating study; and the economic failure of slavery. After a survey of present economic conditions the author deals with the health and housing of American Negroes in relation to the spread of population; their religious life; their legal status and relation to crime; their educational needs and opportunities; and their self-expression in literature, music and art. Two topics of

immediate importance are dealt with in chapters on negro leadership and self-determination, and on the promising constructive movements towards inter-racial understanding and co-operation, to further which a fine group of men—white and black and coloured—are giving their lives in the Southern States. The volume closes with a carefully annotated review of the sources available for further study.

Immense pains have been taken throughout to test and verify facts and to quote from first-hand authorities—for instance, there are numerous extracts from the reports and financial returns of plantations, and closely referenced extracts from works not in general circulation and from the current press. Students who feel that exactness of record is the best aid in the elucidation of moral and social problems will thankfully use the material brought to their hand. Those who take a vital interest in the Negro—from Africa to America—will find their faith in him and in his future deepened by what Dr Weatherford sets forth. The book, while addressed to the American situation, will also have value in every land where the Christian conscience is awakened in face of deep-seated racial misunderstanding, the stirring of racial consciousness, and the recurring and protracted injustices of a stronger towards a weaker race.

G. A. GOLLOCK

WIMBLEDON

ANNALS OF GUJARAT

RĀS MĀLĀ : HINDOO ANNALS OF THE PROVINCE OF GOOZERAT IN WESTERN INDIA. By ALEXANDER KINLOCH FORBES. Edited with Historical Notes and Appendices by H. G. RAWLINSON. With the Original Illustrations. 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press. 28s. 1924.

THERE will be many to welcome the reappearance of Forbes's *Rās Mālā*. The one-volume edition of 1878, edited by Major Watson of the Bombay Civil Service, has for many years past been marked at a high figure in second-hand book catalogues, and the only drawback to this new two-volume edition is that its price will put it beyond the reach of the very men and women who would most appreciate it—the missionaries of the European and American societies at work in Gujarat and Kathiawar. In most towns in

Gujarat, however, missionaries can now avail themselves of public libraries, and even though a library already possesses a copy of the vernacular translation of *Rās Mālā*, it is to be hoped that love of Gujarat will lead committees everywhere to put this new edition on their library shelves.

A re-reading of Forbes's richly laden pages awakes many happy memories. They breathe a quieter air than we to-day know. They speak of a larger and, in a certain sense, of a more leisured life than can ever again fall to the lot of an Indian official. In Gujarat the old practice of prolonged tours out among the villages still holds good, but what collector or superintendent to-day has the leisure which would make it worth his while to take a bard or two and a staff of pundits round with him in addition to his retinue of clerks and typists? The Indian Civil Service can boast of many members who take much more than a mere official interest in the peoples under their charge, but the very atmosphere of the new India is against that personal intimacy which alone makes work like Forbes's possible. Gujarat, and still more Kathiawar, are full of material for the historical student, and perhaps the greatest service *Rās Mālā* does for its readers is that it creates a desire to follow in Forbes's steps and to begin to lay up their own stores out of the rich treasures of Gujarati legend and romance.

Forbes died at the early age of forty-three, twenty years after the date of his first landing in Bombay. But in that brief time his love of the land and of its peoples enabled him to accomplish great things. He had a fine record as Political Agent in Kathiawar and as a judge in Gujarat and in the High Court of Bombay. But it is by his enthusiasm for everything Gujarati that he will be chiefly remembered. His love for Gujarat was contagious, and in both Ahmedabad and Bombay he set others working along the same lines as himself. Founded by Forbes in 1848, the Gujarat Vernacular Society, with its headquarters in Ahmedabad, is still a most flourishing and active body, and quite recently decided to break open a new line in vernacular literature by the publication of a Gujarati 'Men of Letters' series.

Rās Mālā serves to remind us of the deeper and more abiding side of Gujarati life—those spiritual gifts which have made the province (and in Gujarat we include Kathiawar) the birthplace of great religious leaders, a stronghold of reformed sects and a land singularly rich in hoary shrines and famous places of pilgrimage

The danger to-day is that industrialism should smother the finer feelings of the Gujarati race, and its mosques and temples be crushed out by the growing number of Gujarat's mills. But *Rās Mālā* is a witness to what is the country's true wealth, and students of religion will never fail to be interested in the legendary lore of a province which holds within its bounds such storied hills as Palitana and the Girnar, or gave to India in recent times two such reformers as Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, and Mohandas K. Gandhi, the apostle of non-violent non-co-operation. Much of the history in *Rās Mālā* is mere romance, and the legends are just what legends always are ; but the student will soon learn to separate the pure gold of precious truth from the alloy of sentiment that helps to keep it in circulation. The dark, gloomy walls of the Uparkot at Junagadh never fail to impress even the most listless spectator, but how the stones speak when one can recall all that they witnessed at the city's tragic fall when, after twelve long years of siege, Siddhraj entered it and carried off Ranik Devi, the lily-like queen. Wadhwan city and the dry bed of the Bhogawo have little about them to attract, but the *adytum*, which is all that is now left of the once great memorial temple, and even the sandy river-bed, take on a new meaning when one remembers how the lily queen rejected the advances of the conqueror and went to her husband here through the flames of the pyre which, legend loves to tell, was kindled by the sun in answer to the prayer of the royal *sati*. And so with Mount Abu and the ruins of Achalgarh and the marble glories of Dilwara—with Siddhpur and the Ratna Mala on the bank of the virgin Saraswati, and many other historic spots too numerous to mention.

Mr Rawlinson's notes are of considerable value, the recent researches of scholars enabling him to expand, elucidate, correct. But many of the new notes are taken from the relevant volumes of the well-known *Bombay Gazetteer*—books which all lovers of Gujarat already possess. And the editorial additions are disfigured by many inaccuracies and by a slovenliness in proof-reading which is out of place in a volume issuing from the Oxford Press. The first page of the memoir is enough to dishearten any reader conversant with Gujarati. The name of Forbes's poet friend is given as Dāyā, repeating Forbes's spelling of the name, Wadhwan is spelt Wadwan and while Ahmedabad is quite correctly printed with an 'e' (in accordance with the editor's own rule on p. xxii), elsewhere it is

spelt Ahmadabad. Diacritical marks are used at random. On i, p. 26 we have Ratnamāḷa, while on p. 36 we have Ratnamālā; on i, p. 37 we find Chāvḍās instead of the correct form Chāvaḍas given a few pages on. It is the same with Gujarati terms. On ii, p. 129 we have *bhāncej* given as the Gujarati word for sister's son, repeating Forbes's error in the text, while on ii, p. 395 Forbes's correct form, *bhoowo*, is gratuitously altered into *bhurā*. These are only a few examples taken at random; the special appendix inserted at the close of the first volume is thickly strewn with similar errors. Fortunately they do not touch the value of the original text, but they jar upon a reader.

One should not omit to draw attention to the last part of the two volumes, Book iv., or Conclusion. It deals with the daily life of the people of Gujarat—the castes, the land system, religious beliefs, festivals—and is of great value to all students. India is indeed changing, though slowly, and he who is most familiar with the yesterday out of which the to-morrow will spring, is best able to be her guide.

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SOME CHINESE SOCIAL CUSTOMS

CHINESE BIRTHDAY, WEDDING, FUNERAL AND OTHER CUSTOMS. By ANNIE CORMACK. Illustrated. Peking: La Librairie Française. \$3 Mex. 1923.

TO know a people one must know something at least of its customs and especially such customs as have become an essential part of the daily life of every member of that people. To understand the origins and the philosophy of such customs is a task of far greater difficulty, particularly with reference to a race like the Chinese, for whom everything traditional is *ipso facto* more or less sacred, and who, by reason of the intense conservatism of their nature, keep the letter of customs long after the spirit is extinct, just as in the cold north they must keep the coffined bodies of their dead through the long winter until the ground thaws sufficiently to return 'dust to dust.'

To those interested in China Mrs Cormack has given a book of great interest. Even those with a considerable knowledge of things

Chinese will be delighted with the attractive way in which such information is gathered together in this little book, while for teachers of study bands it should be a useful handbook. Mrs Cormack has studied the subject for many years and studied it observantly. There is a freshness about the style which accords well with the spirit of the 'childlike but not simple' people whose customs she records. It is a happy addition to the second edition to include the accounts of the marriage ceremonies of the ex-Emperor Hsüan T'ung.

Particularly interesting are the chapters on the Chinese Almanac, which contains a complete list of the birthdays of the deities, the correct days and hours for worshipping certain stars—by merchants that their profits may be increased; by scholars that they may obtain preferment; by women that they may bear sons, and so on. Are these prayers said with faith in their efficacy or superstitiously only? The reader must try to determine for himself how large a part is played by each emotion. It is said in the Book of Poetry 'The approaches of the spirits you cannot surmise—and can you treat them with indifference?' Is this merely the spirit of Athens, fearing to offend the 'unknown god'? Who shall venture to say?

Customs vary very much in different parts of China, and Mrs Cormack wisely does not attempt to go farther afield than Peking, but her book is to be recommended to all interested in North China.

E. D. EDWARDS

LONDON

SHORTER NOTICES

Hinduism. By Govinda Dās. (Madras: Natesan. Rs. 3. 1924.) This book is an eager appeal to modern educated Hindus to take vigorous action to save their religion, which has suffered grievously in its thousand years of struggle with Islam, and is now in the direst danger because Christianity and its civilization have joined in the attack. He acknowledges that 'the organism has become sick to the very core,' and he details a number of these cancerous troubles, but he believes that, if Hindus will agree to the very serious reforms which are necessary for the recovery of health, the religion can still be saved. We admire the candour and the courage of the writer, but we can scarcely understand how he does not perceive that those evils which he deploras as disease belong to the very nature and constitution of the religion, and that some

of the great reforms which he advocates would involve the excision of vital organs. Those unhealthy conditions which stare out on the modern Hindu in such ugly fashion have been there for many centuries ; it is the presence of Christianity and the clamant needs of modern times which make them stand out so vividly as menacing enemies. Every missionary who is stationed among Hindus should read this volume.

J. N. F.

Lutherisches Missionsjahrbuch für das Jahr 1923 and *Lutherisches Weltmissionsjahrbuch für das Jahr 1924*. Edited by Erich Stange. (Leipzig: Wallmann. 1923 and 1924.) These little missionary annuals contain much information and inspiration from the mission field. They give a panoramic view of the work of the German mission fields, the Lutheran Missionary Conference of North America and the Scandinavian Lutheran missions ; also a statistical summary of the German missionary societies and those of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and North America, besides a bibliography of Lutheran mission literature for the current year. These annuals show that the societies of the Lutheran Church occupy many parts of the world ; but the story of what is being done is not told fully. For instance, the *Lutheran World Almanac* for 1921 has listed 152 Lutheran foreign missionary societies ; the *Lutherisches Weltmissionsjahrbuch* for 1924 has listed only 68, and one of these is a Baptist and another is a Seventh-Day Adventist society. Why these two Reformed societies should be enumerated among the Lutherans we cannot say. Another shortcoming of the surveys is that the statistics of the German societies are not printed in tabular form, which is a great handicap, making it difficult to obtain comparative statistics. In spite of other statistical errors, the books are really inspiring for their picture of the work of a great Church on the mission field.

G. L. K.

Handbooks on the Missions of the Episcopal Church. (New York : Protestant Episcopal Church, Department of Missions. 40 cents each. 1922-24.) These four little books, on China, Japan, the Philippine Islands and Liberia, are quite admirable. Each one gives the historical and geographical setting of the mission, is illustrated by a map and photographs, has a sufficient index and a small bibliography. An attractive feature is a small pocket inside the back cover labelled : ' Keep annual supplements in this pocket,' and the earlier published booklets reached us with their 1923 supplements

duly enclosed. A clear and comprehensive view of the mission work of the Episcopal Church.

M. M. U.

Indian Emigration. By 'Emigrant.' (London: Oxford University Press. 3s. 1924.) The appearance of a statement on the facts of Indian emigration is particularly welcome in view of the widespread dissatisfaction expressed in India over the position of Indians overseas. These are found in a small book called *Indian Emigration*, one of the 'India of To-day' series of booklets, published under the general editorship of Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, Director of the Central Bureau of Information under the Government of India, which deal with the current problems of India. In it the history of Indian emigration is traced from the earliest days of adventurous activity through a thousand years of quiescence to the nineteenth century, when the abolition of slaves increased the need for cheap labour and led to the importation of Indian coolies under indenture into other parts of the British Empire. The coolies were accompanied and followed by Indian merchants and small traders, but, unfortunately for the future relations with the white settlers, there were among the Indians who came no men of education and good social position. The position in each colony separately is explained with fairness and recognition of the point of view of those who support a restrictive policy. Yet the book is written definitely from the Indian standpoint—the author signs himself 'Emigrant.' It explains the opinion of Indians who hold that citizenship of the British Empire should carry with it full freedom of movement within the Empire, and, while recognizing the right of the Dominions to regulate the composition of their population, ask in the Crown Colonies for a fair field and no favour. The seriousness of the problem is greatly enhanced by the mists of emotion and prejudice which obscure the real issues. A fair and unemotional statement like this is a valuable contribution towards the solution.

B. D. G.

China's Challenge to Christianity. By Lucius C. Porter. (New York: Missionary Education Movement. 75 cents. 1924.) This is a mission study book of a new and welcome sort. It aims at giving the reader a better understanding of the Chinese point of view regarding some of the situations and movements that mark present conditions in China, and endeavours to awaken the reader's respect and appreciation for China's long cultural heritage of rich achievement—'respect for the unique and precious characteristics of the

heritage, appreciation for the distinctive qualities of the Chinese temperament and point of view which the heritage has produced.' It makes plain that the movements of real importance are not military but rather those that express social, educational and religious awakening. The author's purpose is to encourage more sympathetic co-operation between western men and Chinese in the Christian task, and to help towards the recognition by western men of the primary place which Chinese Churches and leaders must have in the accomplishment of that task. Professor Porter was born and spent his boyhood in China. Later he served as a missionary in North China, and since the organization of the Union Christian University in Peking he has been the Dean of its Arts College. During the last two years he has been head of the Department of Chinese in Columbia University. He writes, therefore, out of a full, intimate and sympathetic knowledge of China. With a background of China's wonderful history, he sketches Chinese attitudes toward the West, the rapidly changing political, economic and social environment, the often overlooked rural majority, new tides of literary and educational movements, spiritual quests in the native religions, and the creative task of Christianity.

A. L. W.

China's Real Revolution. By Paul Hutchinson. (New York: Missionary Education Movement. 75 cents. 1924.) Recent movements among students, in factories, in home life, especially among women, constitute the real revolution of the title. The author shows in a graphic way that China has been shaken awake and has set her face towards new things. He concludes: 'Let the world rejoice because China is astir. . . . There is a fine courage in the attempt that so many Chinese are making to produce higher levels of living. . . . We salute that courage. And we pledge ourselves, in the spirit of world friendliness, to help.' A map, photographic illustrations and a short bibliography add to the value of a book which, although small, gives information about a great matter.

M. M. U.

Willard Straight. By Herbert Croly. (New York: Macmillan. \$6.00. 1924.) The development of China is not merely a matter of building railroads, extending commerce and founding new industries. It involves changes in Chinese political and social organization which will affect the lives of the people themselves. The life of Willard Straight, American Consul and later the

representative of American financial groups in China, acquires larger meaning because of his ability to see this. He recognized also the necessity for genuine international co-operation in the plans which he proposed for the true well-being of the Chinese people, and realized the difficulty of securing it. His period of service in the Far East included a term in the American Legation in Seoul, where he was a shrewd and careful observer in a position to know the facts of the strangulation of Korea's independence. He was in Peking at the time of the Revolution. This biography, largely composed of extracts from his diaries, and illustrated with his sketches, contains valuable information on these great movements, especially with reference to their economic and political background. The book is of value to the student of recent history in the Far East.

A. L. W.

The Missionary Genius of the Bible. By Vernon F. Storr. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. 6d. 1924.) *The Kingdom without Frontiers.* By Hugh Martin. (London: Student Christian Movement. 3s. 1924.) Lecturers and students at missionary training schools desire to show the Bible to be essentially a missionary book. These two books supply the need, and are written with a lucidity and simplicity of style rendering them valuable for a large circle of readers. Both, beginning with the Old Testament, trace the gradual unfolding of the missionary purpose of God, and should stimulate the missionary spirit in the Church.

C. M. W.

Christian Education in Africa and the East. With an introduction by Sir Michael Sadler. (London: Student Christian Movement. 2s. 6d. 1924.) Within the limits of each short paper of this book there is an historical background, a careful survey of the present position of education in the country dealt with, and a frank statement of problems to be faced, and the directions along which progress is to be hoped for. Miss Allan writes on Indian village education, Mr Oldham on the pressing problems of Africa, and Mr Shoran Singh gives the Indian point of view on higher education.

J. H.

African Clearings. By Jean Kenyon Mackenzie. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin. \$2.50. 1924.) Readers of the Review will recall Miss Mackenzie's vivid article on African women which appeared in January 1923. It is impossible to forget Ngana

or Lisa or the Novices. These sketches, and others which equal them in graceful and penetrating delineation of the author's African friends, are now issued in a more permanent form and will be cordially welcomed. As a gift book *African Clearings* is unrivalled.

G. A. G.

Village Preaching. By J. I. Macnair. (Madras and London : Christian Literature Society for India. 8 annas. 8d. 1924.) Mr Macnair seeks through this valuable little book, written in the first instance in Telugu, to help catechist-pastors to appreciate the difficulty of their task of reaching the slow-moving minds of simple villagers, and to learn to tell stories and to use concrete material that will appeal to minds like that of the child. Part 1 contains sound teaching on stories and story-telling; the use of the blackboard is recommended and line drawings, excellent for their simplicity, are included. Part 2 gives simple methods of sermon construction for more advanced congregations. Here too Mr Macnair insists that the daily interests and stage of development of the people determine the pastor's method of approach and choice of material. This book should prove of service to all missionaries whose work lies among village folk.

I. P. C.

India's Outcastes : A New Era. By W. S. Hunt. (London : Church Missionary Society. 1s. 6d. 1924.) 'This book is an attempt to sketch the beginning of the reign of God in these Indian souls,' says the author, and proceeds to draw pictures of the outcaste. We see him an 'untouchable,' servile, despised, poverty-stricken, worshipping his gods through fear. We see him again self-respecting, learning to be independent, entering in company with his family, his village, his district into the heritage of those who know Christ. In diverse parts of India these mass movements are taking place, and some aspects of them and of the problems they raise, notably that of education, are indicated in this simple, vivid book.

The Way of Christ in the Harvest Field. By M. L. Christlieb. (Madras : Christian Literature Society. 6 annas. 1924.) A small pamphlet written for Indian Christian evangelists and teachers, to help them in winning others to Christ. It should prove of use to all engaged in training or working with such men and women.

M. M. U.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

THE REV. GARFIELD H. WILLIAMS, M.B., B.S., is Secretary of the Missionary Council of the National Assembly of the Church of England. He formerly worked under the Church Missionary Society in India and was afterwards its Educational Secretary. He was a member of the recent Phelps-Stokes Education Commission to East Africa. His paper, and the two which follow it, were read at the Conference on Missions in Tropical Africa held near London in September, 1924.

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While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 160.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

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I. History of Missions

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Robert H. Glover. 416 pp. New York: Doran. \$2.50. 1924. I.

A useful summary of the history of Protestant missions of the last hundred and fifty years, with a section on the period before the rise of modern missions.

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(from the Senegal to the Cunene, including the West and Central Sudan)

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Industrial problems in the Far East, Europe and America, discussed by one who fails to find a Christian attitude adopted towards them and therefore demands it.

THE NATIVE RACES OF THE EMPIRE. The British Empire Series. Vol. 9. Edited and partly written by Sir Godfrey Lagden, K.C.M.G. xxiv+377 pp. London: Collins. 16s. 1924. 90.

Five chapters are given to Africa, two to North America, three to Asia, two to Australia and one each to New Zealand, the Western Pacific and the West Indies.

See also 1 (History); 46 (Indian Emigration); 91 (World Missionary Atlas); 102 (Education); 104 (Leper Work); 106 (Church Government); 133 (Islam); 142-3 (Race).

V. Works of Reference

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General

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IX. The Church in the Mission Field

CONSTITUTIONAL CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN THE DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS AND IN OTHER PARTS OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION. Henry Lowther Clarke, D.D., D.C.L., formerly Archbishop of Melbourne. xvi+547 pp. London: S.P.C.K. New York: Macmillan. 25s. 1924. 106.

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†CHINA AND THE CHINESE CHURCH. Milton T. Stauffer. A CHINESE VIEW OF THE CHINESE CHURCH. K. T. Chung. THE NEW CHRISTIAN STRUGGLE IN CHINA. Frank Rawlinson. MRW, 1924 (Oct.), 783-813. 107.

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X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity

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HINDUISM. Govinda Das. xv+445 pp. Madras: Natesan. Rs. 3. 1924. 119.

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STUDIES IN VEDANTA. Rao Bahadur Vasudeva J. Kirtikar. Edited by Mukund R. Jayakar. viii+194+xxiii pp. Bombay: Tarapaval. 14s. 1924. 120.

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A detailed exposition of the orthodox Hindu doctrine of Yoga as set forth in the great work of Patañjali and its commentaries.

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A translation of the *Gāthās* of the Avesta, hymns which scholars believe to have been composed by Zoroaster.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF INDIA: An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism. J. M. Macfie. xxiv+333 pp. Edinburgh: Clark. 8s. 1924. 124.

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Buddhism

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†THE MECCA PILGRIMAGE IN THE LIFE OF ISLAM. Arthur Jeffery. IRM, 1925 (Jan.), 73-91. 134.

†THE INFLUENCE OF THE DESERT ON EARLY ISLAM. William Harmon Norton. *Journal of Religion*, 1924 (July), 383-96. 135.

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Judaism

KOMMENTAR ZUM NEUEN TESTAMENT AUS TALMUD UND MIDRASCH. Band 2. Das Evangelium nach Markus, Lukas und Johannes und die Apostelgeschichte. Hermann L. Strack und Paul Billerbeck. 867 S. München: Beck. M. 24. 1924. 136.

Invaluable to the missionary worker.

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General

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Saussayes längst vergriffenes Lehrbuch erscheint endlich in neuer, vierter Auflage. Jede Religion von besten Sachkennern neu bearbeitet. Das erste Heft bildet den Anfang des zweiten Bandes und bringt den Hauptteil des Abschnittes 'Die Inder' aus der Feder von Sten Konow.

KRISTENDOMEN OCH RELIGIONERNA. Uppsatser och studier. Edgar Reuterskiöld. 158 S. Stockholm: Sveriges kristliga Studentrörelses Bokförlag. Kr. 3.25. 1924. 140.

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Roma: Libreria di Scienze e Lettere. 3s. 1924. 141.

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XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

RACE AND RACE RELATIONS: A Christian View of Human Contacts. Robert E. Speer, D.D. 434 pp. New York: Revell. \$3.50. 1924. 142.

An abbreviated edition was issued in the spring of 1924, and reviewed in IRM, 1924 (July), 455. A review of the important volume now issued is in preparation. It includes chapters on the origin and nature of race, the idea of race superiority, the good and gain of race distinction, the evils and abuses, the aspects and relations of race, an Indian statesman's view, the solution of the race problem and some specific race problems of to-day.

THE PROBLEM OF RACE. F. A. Cockin. 76 pp. London: Student Christian Movement. 1s. 1924. 143.

Based on *Christianity and the Race Problem* and designed for the use of study and discussion groups in church and college.

†DAS CHRISTENTUM UND DIE RASSENFRAGE. M. Schlunk. NAMZ, 1924 (Oct.), 291-305. 144.

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†UIT DE MALEISCH-SOENDANEESCH-JAVANESE PERS. MZW, 1924 (LXVIII³), 264-76. 150.

†WHAT ARE CHRISTIAN WORKERS OUT FOR? D.M.D. *National Missionary Intelligencer*, 1924 (July), 98-106. 151.

See also 28 (China); 47-8 (Opium); 53 (Indian Problems); 65, 67 (East African Problems); 71 (South Africa); 80 (Race Problems, Hawaii); 82 (Palestine); 89 (New World of Labour); 90 (Native Races); 99 (African Education).

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die Evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JIR = *Journal of International Relations*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*

MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingwetenschap*
NAMZ = *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR = *National Christian Council Review*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidsskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

CHINESE EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS WORK AMONGST STUDENTS

BY T. Z. KOO

I

THE following article is rather an interpretation of what is pending in the educational world of China than an expression of personal views. Having had the privilege of moving about China from one place to another, the writer is in a position to see the subject from a national as well as a Christian point of view.

In the olden days government or state education, as such, hardly existed in China. Education was largely a private undertaking, the Government merely providing a system of imperial examinations which was the only road to official appointments. The scholar group has always been the ruling group in China. The aristocracy of China has never been one of rank or wealth, but of learning. The modern system of government education is of comparatively recent growth, going back not more than twenty years. It owes its origin directly to the contact between

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the Chinese people and the West. At the time when the modern system began we were eager to acquire that training which would enable us to meet with the West on terms of equality; we especially wanted education leading to material equipment for war. The first five modern schools established by the Government indicate this trend of thought very clearly. They were the Imperial Technical College, the Army Training College, the Naval Training College, the Army Medical College and the Pei Yang Engineering College. This list shows with sufficient clearness why the China of those days wanted modern education. Later it was realized that training along these lines was not sufficient, and training along broader lines has gradually developed.

The actual beginning of a modern system of education for China did not come until about 1904, when the old system of imperial examinations was practically abolished. Two decades of work have provided school facilities for about 5,183,400 boys and girls. That is a very small proportion of our population (four hundred million), but we simply have not been able to overtake our educational needs in these twenty years.

It was inevitable that when the new system of education started it should be one compounded of different educational standards. Here is a bit of German, there a bit of American or British or Japanese. Moreover, different educational ideas have been fashionable at different times. In casting my mind back for ten years, I can still remember distinct periods during which one idea was very prominent in Chinese education. For instance, at one time the idea was to have a rapid short course of training. This is plainly traceable to the influence of returned students from Japan. As a result we had, for example, many schools trying to give a six months' course in medicine and especially law. At another time training for military citizenship, largely as a result of the influence of German education, was prominent in the minds of the Chinese educators. Later came the idea of training our young men in practical sciences, induced by

the great industrial development of Great Britain and America.

It will, from this, be seen that in the earlier days of these two decades our system was just a mixture of differing educational standards with no definite aim. It is only in the last six or eight years that a conscious tendency to develop towards some end has begun to emerge and, naturally, this period is a most interesting as well as a vital one for us. Thinking of the dawn of this conscious direction which our educational movement is beginning to take at the present time, let us consider what are some of the tendencies which are emerging.

The first that we see clearly is a desire on the part of our educational leaders to have a unified system of Chinese education, not just a mixture of other educational systems. How to achieve unity of spirit and unity of design is a problem that is engaging the serious attention of Chinese educators. They lay a large emphasis on the necessity for a truly national educational system.

Secondly, Chinese educators wish to develop what they call the scientific attitude of mind. That is not new. In a book recently published in China, called *The Development of Chinese Literature in the Ching Dynasty in China*, that spirit is clearly seen as the spirit which has dominated Chinese learning during the past three hundred years. The tendency has been to train in the Chinese scholar's mind this so-called scientific attitude, the attitude which endeavours to weigh evidence and refuses to accept anything blindly. But unfortunately the development of that spirit has been confined to the sphere of literary criticism, and has been used only in dealing with the ancient learning of China. Take for instance Laotse's books. Formerly these were accepted without question, but this scientific spirit has sent scholars of to-day back to old documents to make a critical study of the books of Laotse, and to get at their real value. The judgment of the writer of the book mentioned above is that we have used the spirit of enquiry entirely in digging back into our

own literature, and have not applied it to the modern side of our training, as the western people have done. Educators want to carry over that spirit into our modern system of education, applying it to modern life rather than only to our own ancient literature.

The third tendency which has emerged very clearly during the last two or three years is to emphasize national and racial consciousness through our education; the leaders want to create in our students interest and study of current political, economic, social and industrial plans alongside their education. They are, therefore, beginning to question and attack missionary education, which takes a young Chinese man at his most formative period and puts him through a system of education which they consider alien, and which therefore denationalizes him. This questioning of missionary education is very apparent to-day. Resolutions have been passed by educational bodies which show the desire for a system that would train the consciousness of being one homogeneous race, stimulating love of country and pride of race. That, I think, has come to stay in our present educational system.

The fourth tendency is to develop what is called Ching Nien Tuan or 'Group Movements.' Our educators want to train our students in self-activity in different groups. There is close correspondence between this desire and the spirit of the 'Youth Movements' that exist to-day in Europe. We want to develop in our students the ability to think and to act together while they are in college or school. That any kind of 'Group Movement' is much encouraged by our government educators is one of the reasons why the Student Christian Movement has been able to make its way into so many Chinese schools and colleges.

There is also a distinct tendency towards what is called 'Pure Education,' that is, education separated from religion, especially in primary and secondary schools. The recent resolutions passed by the National Association for the Advancement of Education on the registration of schools

in which a purely secular education is advocated, are intended to preserve the freedom of education from religion.¹

The next tendency—and this is of recent growth—is a demand that agencies other than Chinese be asked to vacate the primary and secondary school field. The same question has not yet been raised in the field of higher education, but the demand is growing that the primary and secondary schools should be entirely under the control of national groups.

Yet another tendency is the growing desire for vocational education. The veteran promoter of this type of education, Huang Yen Pei, has three times refused to become Minister of Education because he wishes to give his whole life to the promotion of this idea of vocational education. A great scholar in China, in a recent address on women's education² as he would wish to see it, indicated that he would like four things emphasized. Firstly, the training of women to specialize in Chinese history, because with the growing number of schools we lack teachers of Chinese history, and he considers women are by far better teachers of history than men. The second emphasis was the giving over to women the field of accountancy, because women are better accountants

¹ The *Educational Review* (Peking), 1924 (Oct.), pp. 471-2 gives the text of the resolutions as follows :

' 1. That the Government be asked carefully to determine regulations for the registration of schools, to be observed by all schools in the nation.

2. That there be two classes of registration, A and B. All schools and institutions of similar character should without exception be registered under class B. Those schools that comply with the minimum government requirements as to curriculum, and which on inspection show nothing out of harmony with the form of government and national spirit of China, may be registered as class A.

3. That students in schools that are not registered in class A be denied the special privileges accorded to those in class A schools.

4. That all foreigners using schools as means of aggression, when this is proved by inspection, should be restrained by the Government.'

A further resolution was referred to the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Education for their consideration :

' That kindergartens, primary and middle schools that provide religious instruction or religious exercises, be not allowed to register as class A.'

(On this resolution the votes were as follows : For the motion as it stood, 5 ; for an amendment stating the principles on which religion and education should be separated, 20 ; for reference of the resolution to the Board of Directors, 72.)

² An address given before the Peking Normal College for Women by Liang Chi Chao.

than men. The third point was the training of women in library administration, and the fourth the training of women in journalism. Contrast this clear-cut policy for higher education for women with our Christian education, and you see how far apart they are.

These things being so, we naturally ask, 'What is the future of Christian education in China?' I will indicate four lines of possible development.

As to policy: what can Christian groups do as far as policy in Christian education is concerned? I would suggest that if we are still to hold our place in the educational system of our country we need very quickly to adopt a policy of concentration. That policy has been greatly emphasized by the work of the Education Commission which came out to China in 1921. We may or may not agree with the recommendations then made, but the principle of concentration emphasized is very much needed. We Chinese see that through concentration we could get a much higher grade of work than is possible while our schools and colleges are scattered as they are at present. A day's journey from Shanghai we have three or four separate universities all quite near together, each doing much the same work that every other university is doing. The same thing is true of our theological departments. There is too much scattering of resources at present.

As to administration: I should like to see our colleges administered by a local board of control resident in China and largely composed of Chinese, rather than by a board of control residing in Great Britain or America. The bringing in of a larger proportion of Chinese workers on to the administrative and teaching staffs of our Christian institutions of learning is another very urgent matter. Early attention on these points will go far to answer the criticism of work as 'alien.'

As to support: most of the older established colleges still depend for their whole support on two sources of income, namely, fees collected from students and grants from the

sending countries. Support from the field itself has not been developed to any noticeable extent, and in some it has not been developed to any extent. Many of our Christian colleges have now a fairly prominent group of *alumni* associated with each, and an enlightened policy of development of support among our own people would put our colleges on a much firmer basis. The development of Chinese support of course predicates a certain amount of share in administration, and that is not always desired. Yet I feel that we have to go on the line of developing Chinese support. I can say from actual knowledge that many of our *alumni* would be willing not only to give money themselves but to induce their friends to give also.

As to curricula : we have come to the time when we need to determine the kind of training to be given through our Christian colleges and universities. So far it has been largely of a general nature. Take, for instance, the 201 schools touched by the Student Christian Movement. It is interesting to note that of them there are 162 teaching arts and sciences, 5 technical schools, 10 teaching medicine, nursing and pharmacy, 17 teaching theology, and 7 for teacher training. This shows the limited field of the training which we are giving to our young men and women. Now what is the great need in China to-day as we see it ? We have done most valuable work in the past in giving men and women that kind of training, and we see the fruit of that work to-day in the leading men who are taking an active part in the development of our country. The next period will be undoubtedly one of professional development, that is to say, engineering, industries, commerce and so on, and it would be wise to-day to lay much emphasis on that side of education. Formerly, when the government school system was first established, those government schools had to draw upon the Christian schools for their supply of teachers. When I left St John's I was myself engaged as a teacher by a government college. To-day the tables have been turned upon us, and we are now forced to go to the government normal colleges for

teachers for our Christian schools. That shows that in our Christian education we have not given sufficient attention to teacher training. If we had started early enough we should still be able to supply Christian teachers to government schools. But because we have not done that, we have of course fallen behind. When I was in railroad work a few years ago we employed about thirty Chinese engineers, not one of whom was trained in a Christian college in China. All had been trained in government schools or in schools abroad. If we could overtake that training and supply a stream of men for those professions, it would mean much for the Christianization of our country.

In spite of all that I have said I am not an alarmist. There are many who say that there is no future for Christian education in our country. I do not hold that view at all. Christian education could still go on in China in the old way for the next twenty or thirty years, and hold its place without much difficulty. But unless we reorganize our work we shall inevitably tread the road which will lead by degrees to Christian institutions training not the leaders of our nation, but simply a small group of workers for a Christian minority ; not the pick of China's young manhood and womanhood, but the left overs. In this sense, and in this sense alone, Christian education will have a place in China, if we shut our eyes to changing conditions in our national life. While we still have the opportunity, let us face the question squarely and with an open mind.

II

Now we come to the, to me, far more important subject of religious work among students. My interest in the whole question of Christian education is primarily from the point of view of its relationship to religious work among students. I have already mentioned that the group which counts in China is the scholar or student group, and whether we capture or lose that group is a question of great significance

from the national point of view. When we consider the religious work of the Church amongst students, we are faced with the following facts.

We have in China at present, taking only the Protestant schools, a total of 357 middle schools and colleges, with roughly an enrolment of 16,674 men and 3181 women students. Taking government schools, there are 1203 schools with an enrolment of 186,090 men and 12,461 women students. Not only do the numbers stand in that proportion but, which is more significant, the government schools are beginning to outstrip our Christian schools and colleges, not only in quality of work but also in the quality of students they attract. The high-grade students are attracted to the government schools more than to the Christian; we have been faced with that fact again and again in our summer conferences. When we gather the Christian students together we recognize that the keener groups are not from the Christian schools. What is still more significant is that the best Christian workers among students are not coming from Christian but from government schools.

We have also to recognize the fact that the development of government schools, whether in numbers or quality of work, lies still in the future. They are just at the beginning of their real development, while Christian education is almost at its summit. We cannot hope to go much further towards having more schools than we have at the present time. Whether we like it or not the field for Christian work among students will lie progressively in government rather than in Christian institutions; while in both the matter of religious work is being very seriously called in question by the government authorities. That being the case, let us survey the religious work that we are doing among our students, concentrating on a few points. In the first place, the quality of the religious work being done in Christian schools and colleges varies greatly. In some schools the religious work is of a most effective nature, in others it is indifferent. There are cases where, though a school is Christian, its influence is non-

religious or even anti-religious. One of the anti-Christian groups in China to-day was started by students from a Christian school. In 1923 I was invited to attend a meeting of the Association of Christian Colleges, where there was an interesting discussion as to whether all religious teaching should be made voluntary rather than compulsory. Only one man stood for the compulsory type of work, while all the rest of the group thought that the voluntary type would be the better form of work. I pointed out to them that while the nature of religious work among students in Christian schools is still a debatable question, in government schools it is no longer an open question; that the real question before us is not whether our work should be compulsory or voluntary; neither will succeed until we are willing to put personality behind it. As long as we have teachers who are supposed to be Christian teachers because they come as missionaries but do not do religious work, we shall not get results. Until we have made that work our own personal concern, and that simply means that we have to put more blood and sweat into it as individuals, we shall not produce Christian men and women.

Secondly, speaking generally the churches in China are not in touch with students, for which there are many reasons. Taken as a whole, the ministry of to-day is not sufficiently well trained to hold the respect of students.

Thirdly, religious work among students in the government schools is practically non-existent. With the exception of the work done through the Chinese Student Christian Movements for men and women, nothing of a religious nature is carried on. The Student Christian Movement is the only religious agency in touch with the government group of students, and it is at present in a favourable position in the government schools. As I mentioned, the number of government middle schools is 1203, while the Christian schools number 357; together we have 1560 schools. The men's Student Christian Movement to-day is in 521 of these 1560 schools. Of these 521, 201 have a Christian Union organized

in the school (of this number there must be about 160 or 170 which are Christian schools and colleges), and 320, being largely governmental, have no organized Christian Union but Christian work is carried on. In these 201 organized centres of student work last year we had 8308 students enrolled in our Bible classes conducted entirely by these Christian Unions. In the 320 government schools where we are not yet organized, there are 349 Bible classes among the students, who are 80 or 90 per cent non-Christians. These facts illustrate the great significance of the work.

The methods by which we carry this religious work into the government school field are mainly two. We pick out the principal student centres and establish wherever we can a student department with one, two or three workers to work in every school in that city. We have student departments organized for work now in nineteen cities. Again, we work towards the goal of establishing in schools and colleges indigenous units of student work self-governing and self-perpetuating in nature.

At this point I have a very definite request to make. Hitherto, the missionary societies have been sending workers out as a matter of course to their own mission field, to their own organization. I would draw attention to the fact that we have here a growing student field which is admittedly the most important field in China. Is it not reasonable to plead for help in that field? Could not men and women sometimes be sent out to us in the Student Christian Movement so that we can place them in our student departments? Sending out such men need not be the work of any one society. If different societies could join to supply us with say four men at the present time, with their support allocated between different missionary associations, to serve the common cause among students, we could make a deep impression.

My second point is not so much a request as a suggestion. Has not the time come for the missionary societies which are interested in religious work amongst students to consider

the giving of a certain number of women and men to our Christian institutions of learning, who would have but a small amount of teaching to do, and whose main work would be to co-ordinate the activities of the staff in the religious work among students? I make that suggestion largely from a practical point of view, and from experience. I have visited many Christian schools and it has seemed to me that too often the religious work is in the hands of some very busy professor who, beyond arranging the Sunday services, has no time to give to real personal religious work among the students, with the result that except for compulsory attendance at religious services very little is being done. If we could appoint a man who would have only three or four hours of teaching in the week, and let it be distinctly understood that he is to give his attention and time to developing personal religious work, we would soon see a change of atmosphere in our Christian colleges. After all, in work among students it is not method or programmes that count, it is the personal touch between students and professors. There was a group of three or four of us at St John's who have become what we are to-day, not so much because of the church services that we attended, but because of the presence of one professor there for the short period of about one and a half years. The presence of that man, the influence he exerted upon us, the interest he took in our problems, made all the difference to our lives, and the missionary societies have it in their power to do for Chinese men—and not less for Chinese women—what was done in St John's.

The mind and heart of the Chinese student is becoming rapidly set in certain directions. To those of us who can read the signs of the time this is abundantly clear. Give us men and women, consecrated and trained in student work, and we shall yet have much to say in the determination of these directions.

T. Z. Koo

THE CHRISTIAN OPPORTUNITY IN AFRICA

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE REPORT OF THE PHELPS-STOKES COMMISSION

By J. H. OLDHAM

THERE has long existed in missionary circles divergence of view regarding the place of education in the missionary programme. To some it has seemed a diversion of energy from the central obligation of preaching the Gospel. It is a sound and true instinct which insists that the primary business of Christian missions is not to teach people to read, write and count, or to improve their agriculture, or to understand the natural and social sciences, or to appreciate literature and art, necessary as all these are for the full development of human powers, but to teach religion, or, more precisely, to bring to men good news about God. The essential and distinctive task of Christian missions is to tell a story of something that happened, to spread the knowledge of One who taught and lived and died and is alive, and by preaching, teaching and example to reveal the significance of words and deeds which nineteen centuries of human experience have not been able to exhaust.

In the endeavour to carry out this primary task, missions have irresistibly been drawn into the field of education, and if Christian schools and colleges had not come into existence the story of the modern spread of Christianity would be very different from what it has been. Yet we need not hesitate to admit that Christian education has at times missed its aim. To take an extreme case, if a government sets up a system of education designed to

produce clerks to aid in the task of administration, and missions assist in the process of making clerks in order that they may add to the curriculum a period of religious instruction, it may be urged with some force that a disproportionate amount of energy is being spent on an object which, however legitimate and desirable in itself, is somewhat remote from the central purpose of missions; and it may easily happen, further, that the religious instruction, being as it were a sort of extra, receives in practice less attention and care than the subjects that have to meet the test of official examination and inspection.

If there are divergences of view and certain not wholly unjustified misgivings in regard to the place of education in the missionary programme, the reason may be that we have not made sufficiently clear to ourselves what we are aiming at in Christian education. It is consequently of the greatest advantage to the missionary movement to have in the Report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, which is about to be published under the title *Education in East Africa*,¹ a treatment of the subject which invites and stimulates us to give fresh consideration to our objectives.

It is especially opportune that the question should have been raised in connexion with the situation in Africa. For in that continent missions have, speaking generally, reached a parting of the ways. Up to the present they have had throughout the greater part of the continent almost a monopoly in the education of its peoples. We are now witnessing the beginnings of the adoption by governments of a deliberate and considered policy directed to the advancement of the peoples under their care. The appointment by the Colonial Office in London of an Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa is an indication of forces the strength and momentum of which must steadily increase. The change that is taking place is gradual and

¹ *Education in East Africa*. Prepared by Thomas Jesse Jones, Ph.D., Chairman of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. New York: 101 Park Avenue. \$2. London: Edinburgh House Press, 2 Eaton Gate. 7s. 6d. (*In the Press*.)

except to those who are on the watch at times imperceptible, but it is fundamental. 'No man,' as a famous writer has said, 'can draw a stroke between the confines of day and night, yet light and darkness are on the whole tolerably distinguishable.' So it is with the old conditions in Africa which are passing irrevocably away, and the new conditions which are slowly but irresistibly taking shape. Whereas in the past missions have been almost alone in the deliberate endeavour to remould African life, they will in the future be only one among other forces consciously directed to this end. The future of Christianity in Africa must depend largely on their capacity to adjust themselves to the changed conditions.

In face of such large issues the publication of the Report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission appears providential. It was gratefully recognized by the widely representative conference of African missionaries and of mission boards held at High Leigh last September that the conception of education put forward by the Commission furnishes in a remarkable degree the guidance needed at the present time.

Up to the present approximately nine-tenths of the schools in tropical Africa have been mission schools. Now that governments are beginning to frame policies of education, that proportion is bound to change. Not only so, but if in the future missions are to continue to have a place in education at all it can only be on condition of co-operation with government.

Co-operation between government and missions is impossible, as Dr Garfield Williams forcibly pointed out in the last issue of the Review, if in education they are aiming at entirely different things. The great service rendered by the Phelps-Stokes Commission is that they put forward, if not a philosophy, at any rate a programme of education which gives promise of commending itself to governments and at the same time is not only in harmony with missionary aims, but provides the means of carrying out those aims more effectively. The Commission have

succeeded in doing this not by the method of compromise, nor by trying to bring about an artificial and external harmony, but by getting at the fundamental truth regarding the purposes of education, in which, because it is the truth, governments and missions can find common ground. The significance of the Report lies in the simplicity and directness of its outlook on the realities of human life. It summons us to a fresh appreciation of elemental things. Dr Jones' term for the main objectives of the educational policy he advocates is 'simples.' Their very simplicity and obviousness are in danger of hiding the far-reaching, and indeed revolutionary, changes to which the acceptance of the point of view of the Commission must in the end lead.

The fundamental defect which the Commission find in education as it at present exists in Africa is that it tends to limit itself to imparting the tools of knowledge and to ignore the real purposes of life of which these are merely the instruments. The tools are indispensable to progress, but the main purpose of education is to form men and women, healthy in body, growing in all the qualities which belong to true manhood and womanhood, able to control their environment and to make it contribute to human welfare, capable of enjoying and turning to good account their hours of leisure and fitted to be the makers of homes, in which the children of each succeeding generation will be guarded from hurtful influences and will learn to love what is pure and good and beautiful. The Commission ask us to consider afresh with unprejudiced minds how far our schools are contributing to these vital ends. In making this challenge they are, of course, not voices crying in the wilderness, but are in accord with the whole trend of the best thought on educational subjects. Everywhere progressive educational thought is trying to get away from what is mainly formal in education to experiences that are real and genuine. But whereas in more developed countries schools, while never losing sight of their ultimate aims, can rely on other agencies to supplement their work and are

to that extent freer to concentrate on the specific task of making their pupils efficient in the use of the tools of knowledge, education in Africa must be conceived in broader terms, since the whole life of the people has to be adjusted to meet changes that are occurring with sweeping rapidity. The significance of the Report lies in the fact that Dr Jones sees this so clearly and has so rich an understanding of what it involves. In his new Report, even more than in the former one,¹ he has succeeded in making plain the nature of the practical changes which must follow from the acceptance of the conception of education that he advocates.

The Commission have been able to retain this simplicity of outlook, and consequently to put forward a programme of education which gives promise of commanding the assent both of governments and of missions, both of Europeans and of Africans, because from first to last they have had in view the community and its human needs. Consciousness of community life, we are told in the Report, is the key to educational reform. Taught both by his native sympathies and by his training and experience to see clearly the fundamental realities of human life, Dr Jones when he went to Africa kept his eyes steadily directed towards the realities of life in that continent.

The demand made by the Commission on all who are interested in the education of African peoples is that they should take account of Africa. In the hearts of missionaries this demand must awaken a responsive chord. All that touches the lives and moulds the characters of the peoples whom they seek to serve is their concern. The chapters in the Report dealing with each of the countries visited contain an introductory section describing the natural features, the climate, the resources, the products, the means of communication, the number and distribution of the native peoples, their tribal customs, their land tenure, their health, their live stock, their village industries and

¹ *Education in Africa. A Study of West, South and Equatorial Africa.* July 1920 to Sept. 1921. See footnote *supra*, p. 174.

crafts, their recreation and their home life. All these things missions must know and understand if they are to achieve their aim of making the people of Africa Christian. For the aim must be to make them African Christians, capable of understanding the environment in which God has placed them and able to serve Him effectively in it.

The approach to the subject of education from the standpoint of the community and its needs helps to direct the policy of governments towards genuinely human ends, and so to bring it into closer harmony with that of missions, whose aims are also directed to human welfare. A policy which has as its main object to train Natives to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for white employers is as remote as can be from the Christian purpose, which seeks the full development of human personality. A policy which lays the main emphasis on the training of clerks and artisans for administrative purposes likewise falls far short of the Christian aim. A policy, on the other hand, which envisages the welfare and progress of the whole community is one with which Christian missions can find many points of contact and sympathy. Efforts to promote the health of the people can claim the hearty co-operation of the disciples of a Master who devoted a large part of His brief earthly ministry to the healing of men's diseases ; and whatever contributes to the development of the powers and capacities of manhood and womanhood is in harmony with the purpose of Him who came that men might have life and have it more abundantly.

By the same insistence on the needs and welfare of the community the Commission are helping missions in the fulfilment of their primary spiritual aims. Dr Jones is asking that religion should be made real and practical. None know better than missionaries how little is achieved by a mere head knowledge of religious facts and doctrines and by transitory emotional experiences. Yet in our haste we have been apt to be content with methods which can accomplish nothing more, and have turned aside from the harder and more laborious task of helping those who

are taught in our schools to acquire habits of right living through the faithful performance of duties repeated day after day. When the non-missionary European community passes unfavourable comment on the products of mission schools, the criticism is often based on ignorance and in many cases unfair; but, if we are honest, we shall admit that it is not wholly without grounds. The Commission's conception of education is a reminder that religion is meant to issue in a strong and disciplined character, and that this is conditioned, as that great educator, General Armstrong, recognized, 'not alone on an enlightened head and a changed heart, but very largely on a routine of industrious habits, which is to character what the foundation is to the pyramid.' The supreme witness to Christ is a Christian life, and a type of education which, because it is related to the realities of human existence, will help to form those who by their daily living are shining examples of the Christian way of life is an aid so vital to what missions are attempting to do that they cannot afford to dispense with it.

The programme of education advocated by the Commission is thus a means of enabling missions to establish their work on surer foundations, while at the same time it opens up to them an immeasurable opportunity of Christian service. It confronts them with the necessity of making a momentous choice.

They may choose to stand aside from the new influences which are making themselves felt in the life of the peoples of Africa. The inevitable result of such a choice is that they will find themselves in the end in a quiet backwater, while the powerful forces which are fashioning African life stream forward in another channel, influenced, it may be, but little by the Christian spirit. There is hardly any more difficult problem in the world to-day than that of the relations between the white and the black races; there are few weightier responsibilities resting on western peoples than that of guiding wisely the development of the primitive and backward races of the African Continent who have been

suddenly cast into the swift and fierce currents of modern civilization. The Christian Church will be in the world of the twentieth century as salt that has lost its savour unless it makes its contribution to the solution of this problem and the discharge of this responsibility.

On the other hand missions may dedicate themselves afresh to the fulfilment of God's purpose that the peoples of Africa should grow up into the full heritage of God's children and find their true place in His world. In the service of the most backward and least privileged among the races of mankind they may receive the reward of hearing Christ say to them, 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me.' They may resolve to keep in the mid-stream of development, knowing that only thus can they discharge to the full their missionary obligation. By standing boldly and unhesitatingly for a conception of education which seeks the development of the whole man and has as its governing aim the service of the community, they may influence in the right direction the policies of governments on which the welfare of African peoples so greatly depends. At the same time they may claim in the working out of these policies to be allowed place and opportunity to give that type of education which they believe to be best, because in it the principle of service finds adequate interpretation and motive in the Christian revelation of the purpose and nature of God.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission do full justice to the part played by missions in African education. Not only do they believe on the ground of principle in the vital place of religion in education, but they have been stirred to enthusiasm by what they have actually seen of the work of missions in Africa. They acknowledge their shortcomings, but are none the less full of admiration for what they have accomplished. The Report describes the best achievements as 'masterpieces of organization' and 'heroic successes,' and speaks of what Dr Laws has done in Livingstonia as 'worthy of the skill, authority and resources of a govern-

ment rather than the work of a missionary in Central Africa.' While the Commission rightly regard the education of the peoples of Africa as a task so vast that in it governments, European traders and settlers, missionaries and the Africans themselves must co-operate, they are convinced that the missionary schools are, and will for long remain, the backbone of the undertaking.

At the same time the Report makes it unmistakably clear that, if missions are to enter into the larger opportunity that awaits them and to make the indispensable contribution to African education which their Christian beliefs empower them to render, radical changes in much that is being done at present are essential. This issue needs to be faced frankly and courageously. In regard to the nature of the changes that are needed the Report is quite explicit.

In the first place, there must be a determined effort on the part of the missionary forces at home and abroad to assimilate the ideas contained in the Report. Those who will direct educational development in Africa are likely to be largely influenced by them, and unless missionary educators understand what is in the mind of the Commission, they are in danger of being left far in the rear.

This understanding will not come merely from reading the Report. Experiment on the lines which it suggests will be needed, since in this as in other things learning will come by doing. In the apprehension of any large and rich truth understanding deepens through the years. It is those who have advanced furthest who see most clearly how much further we have to go before the ideal set forth in the Report can be realized. What the Commission are pleading for is a new outlook, a conversion of the mind. Only those in whom the conversion has already begun are able to understand what this means. It is only the converted man who is able to see the difference between the old and the new ; till he is converted the new is hid from his eyes.

In order that missions may meet the new situation,

the primary need is honest and fearless criticism of their own work, a spirit of teachableness and willingness to be led into new paths. Where this spirit is found, the steps that are necessary to give effect to the new programme will become increasingly clear. Dr Jones is constantly insisting that what he is pleading for is not sweeping changes in the curriculum nor the introduction of expensive new plant, but primarily a fresh outlook on what is now being done. A small group not long ago were discussing the problems of African education. 'What we have to recognize,' said one, 'is that we cannot get very far without money.' 'That is true in a sense,' another remarked, 'but think what could be done with our existing resources, if only we had a little more imagination.' The great service of the present Report is that it quickens our imagination.

The first thing required, then, is the patient mastery by study, reflection, discussion and experiment of the view of the objectives of education set forth by the Commission and of the means by which these may be realized. The more deeply this programme is understood, the more clearly it is seen to be an expression of those Christian purposes which missions exist to further.

Secondly, the Commission urge that missions should frame and carry into effect a well-considered policy which takes account both of the needs of the masses and of the raising up of African leaders who will serve them. They attach the utmost importance to the thousands of little bush schools which have sprung up partly as the result of the extension of missionary activities and partly from the eager desire to learn on the part of Africans themselves. They regard these bush schools as 'the most important parts of the educational system.' The Report states that their 'latent possibilities have been little realized as yet by either government or missions.' It maintains that their improvement 'should be the first responsibility of the colonial authorities.' But the Commission find that some missions are quite unable to take advantage of the oppor-

tunities which their own efforts have created, because they have taken no steps to raise up a body of capable, trustworthy African teachers to direct a work which has grown altogether beyond the strength of European missionaries. On the other hand they find missions which have set up schools providing a more advanced education, but have not taken the pains to relate this to the needs of the community as a whole. The consequence is that those educated in these institutions tend to be cut off from their community, and the vital opportunity of creating leaders whose aim and purpose is to lift their people to higher levels is missed. A wise policy would take a broad comprehensive view of the community as a whole and make all that is done an integral part of this policy. Recognizing that the task of evangelizing and educating the peoples of Africa is too vast to be carried out by Europeans, the aim from the start should be to create well-trained African leaders inspired by the desire to redeem and advance their people. An essential part of the programme, as the Report points out, is to give these African leaders when trained continuous help in their work. There has often been great waste in sending out Africans, educated at large expense, to deal with conditions far too difficult for them to master without assistance.

This leads to the third demand made by the Commission, if missions are to enter into the present opportunity. It is summed up in the word supervision. Some societies have recognized its importance, but the majority, the Report says, have failed to provide it. At no point is there a more urgent need for the missions to set their house in order. The immense potentialities of the bush schools have already been referred to. But in their present condition many of them are exerting an influence which is negligible. They are a hindrance to the progress of religion itself. In the hands of teachers ignorant and untrained they can effect nothing, and may do more harm than good. It is a case of the blind leading the blind. Unless more effective direction can be provided, there is a danger that the village school

system may in some parts of Africa become completely discredited and government be compelled to intervene and restrict missionary opportunity.

Sympathetic supervision of the schools, the Report tells us, 'will improve all, double the value of a large proportion, and save many from utter failure.' The experience of America has shown how this improvement may be brought about. It is inevitable in the early stages of education among a backward people that a beginning must be made with teachers who have the most meagre equipment. Left to themselves they are unequal to their task; but given systematic help, guidance and encouragement they may become a powerful force for the advancement of the community. This help, as experience has shown, can be given by a body of visiting teachers, more highly trained than the village teacher, who will visit the school at regular intervals and show the teacher how to do things by actually doing them. The plan provides for continuous training, and so makes steady advance possible. Visiting teachers, if they are to be effective, need to be given a thorough training, and special provision will need to be made for this; in many instances it will be done most effectively by co-operation between the missions and in some cases between the missions and government. The whole discussion of the subject of supervision and of the training of teachers in the Report deserves careful study by all concerned with missionary education in Africa.

One further dominating idea in the Report remains to be noted. The title of the fourth of the general and introductory chapters is 'Units of Co-operation for Africa.' We have seen the great importance which the Commission attach to the missionary contribution. But, as they plainly see, missions are not the only influence impinging on the life of the peoples of the continent. Government, commerce and industrialism are all exerting a profound influence. How are we to judge of these other forces? Do they fall within God's purpose, or lie wholly without it? The

question has only to be asked for the answer to be given. If God is sovereign, these other forces are within the scope of His plan and are instruments of its realization. Not only is this true, but in these other agencies as well as in the ranks of missionaries, God has His servants who are seeking consciously and loyally to fulfil His will. The Commission insist that we should not lose sight of these truths.

Co-operation in the educational task, as we have already seen, is inevitable. Governments, traders and settlers, as well as missionaries, have an interest in the education of the peoples of Africa. Co-operation may become merely a matter of expediency. It may deal only with outward things. It may be purely mechanical and artificial. But that is not the co-operation for which the Commission plead. They do not ask for compromise of principle. They do not desire that what is wrong and false should be ignored. They do not suggest that those should pretend to agree who do not agree. What they plead for is the attitude of mind which sees the largeness of God's purpose and recognizes that He fulfils Himself in many ways, the capacity to appreciate the contribution of others and the willingness to learn from them. To policies which aim at promoting the welfare of the peoples of Africa, Christian missions have an indispensable contribution to make ; they can give to such endeavours a religious interpretation, motive and inspiration which will deepen and enrich them. But it would be a mistake to suppose that missions have everything to give and nothing to receive. From other agencies, just because they have a different function to fulfil in the divine economy, missions can receive that which will widen and enrich their own work.

The co-operation which the Commission advocate involves above everything else co-operation with Africans. To work exclusively *for* others is something not wholly Christian. The Christian belief in the value of every individual in the sight of God involves a working *with* those whom we seek to help and not merely *for* them. None is

quicker than the African to recognize and appreciate the difference between the two attitudes.

It remains to ask what practical steps are needed in order that advantage may be taken of the enlarged opportunities which the Report brings before us and in part helps to create.

Obviously the first step is that the Report should be read and its contents mastered both by those at home responsible for the administration of African missions and by missionaries in Africa. Missionaries should make sure that they get the Report, and home boards should see that it is made available.

Secondly, opportunity must be given to those who have to guide educational developments in Africa to qualify themselves for the task. Missionaries holding responsible positions must be allowed to study at first hand the best examples in Africa or elsewhere of the kind of work which the Report describes. The new conditions and the demands which they make must have their influence in the choice and training of candidates. While all missionaries in charge of educational work should have had the necessary educational training, it is desirable that in each mission there should be one or more missionaries who have had the very best training and widest experience that can be obtained. Boards must be willing to make necessary adjustments in work as rapidly as, in the light of growing experience, the lines of the new policy become clear.

Thirdly, the situation in Africa needs to be presented in a fresh and arresting way to the home Church. The means of doing this is furnished by the Report. Care must be taken in using the term education that it does not convey a different meaning from what is intended. To many minds the word suggests mere schooling, an affair of desks and copy-books and examinations. It awakens memories of dull and tedious experiences. That is far removed from what has been in our thoughts. The issues we have been considering involve the fate of a continent. The future of

one of the great primary races of mankind is at stake. In speaking of education we are thinking of all the helpful influences which may assist the peoples of Africa to realize their highest possibilities and achieve a full and worthy manhood and womanhood. It is a task in which every gift of heart and intellect can find the fullest exercise. It possesses an interest, an appeal, a compulsion which, rightly interpreted, cannot but result, as they already have done, in the generous offering of lives and of wealth.

Finally, a fellowship, little organized, perhaps, but real, must grow up among those who have dedicated themselves to the Christian service of Africa. Missionaries facing difficult problems must be enabled to feel that they are not alone, and that the experience and counsel of others engaged in the same work may be drawn upon. The maximum opportunity must be created for the interchange of ideas between missionaries in different areas, between missionaries and the home boards, and between missionary educators and other thinkers and workers in the educational field. Able minds in government circles will more and more devote serious thought to problems affecting the welfare and progress of the peoples for whom western governments have assumed responsibility. There is only one condition on which missions can continue to exercise a spiritual leadership in the development of African peoples. It is that they should be outdistanced by none in the thoroughness, penetration and force of their thinking about all that concerns the physical and moral well-being and social and spiritual progress of the peoples of Africa. If they are able to see as far and deep as others see and are no less alive to the results of new knowledge and fresh insight, their future is assured. They cannot be content with less, in as much as they have seen the glory of God's purpose revealed in the face of Jesus Christ.

J. H. OLDHAM

FRANK WESTON, BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR: AN APPRECIATION

By H. MAYNARD SMITH, D.D.

IN October, 1890, I met Frank Weston for the first time. He was a freshman at Trinity College, Oxford, and I was in my fourth year. I remember how he looked down on me through his gold-rimmed spectacles, and made me feel very young and foolish. I did not then know that he was very shy, though his shyness was due to diffidence and not to conceit or self-consciousness. Those who have only known him in later years, and remember the grace of his bearing, will be unable to imagine a great awkward boy who seemed to repel advances. The poor in Stratford and St Matthew's, Westminster, did not find him shy, because he was sustained by the sense of his priesthood and mission. Later in life he became a social success, not because he was self-satisfied, but because he believed so intensely in his Order. The shrinking, sensitive, self-depreciatory Frank Weston was swallowed up in the Bishop of Zanzibar, and the rich humanity of Frank Weston was liberated because of his ecclesiastical position.

His extreme sensitiveness caused him personally much suffering, but it was also the secret of his power. He suffered much from others, from criticism, rudeness and misunderstanding; but he was ever willing to suffer with others, and he had an understanding heart eager to respond to every one's needs. It was this which made him so great an orator. He could not only convert and conciliate a Lambeth Conference, which had only known him as a strange bigot from the back of beyond, he could stir and sustain the enthusiasm of a vast assembly in the Albert Hall, he could interest ward room naval officers visiting Zanzibar and he could

enthrall native women in the far interior of Africa while he told them of all that his mother had done for him, and how he owed to her the knowledge of the religion he professed. Addressing people of whatever class, he felt with them, and they felt that he was tingling and alive. He received much from his audiences, and could receive because he was himself so sensitive and his heart was so large.

His capacity for sympathy made him a great power with souls. He was a wonderful listener. As he sat in a long chair with those great eyes fixed upon you, you told him more than you had told to any other, and much more than you had intended to tell him; but you were not in consequence angry with yourself. You were glad that he knew, for you were certain that he was to be trusted.

Much of his work when itinerating as a Bishop was in deciding matters of discipline. He complained sometimes that he only saw the good people in church, and that most of his time was spent in listening to the excuses of the wicked who were presented for penance and liable to be excommunicated. Hour after hour he would sit in the veranda of a mission station, saying little but listening to 'many words.' The African has a great gift for expression, can tell a longer story than most people and has no inherited veneration for the truth. The Bishop was very patient. He let them talk and did not interrupt or cross-examine. In this way the truth generally emerged, the sinner was self-convicted and sometimes became penitent. The Bishop had a horror of sin and zeal for righteousness, but he yearned for the sinner and desired to convert him. It was the appeal of an understanding heart which so often proved irresistible. That he was sometimes too easily convinced by tears and protestations is probable. He was no rigorist in matters of penance, and his staff sometimes thought that he was too lenient. He was always anxious to believe the best of his Africans.

He was singularly free from race prejudice, and never thought of his flock with professional detachment. He hated

the arrogance of the white man, and used to repeat with pleasure the remark of an Arab friend about young Englishmen in Zanzibar : ‘ They behave here as if they were princes, but I think that they may not be so important in their own land.’ He hated the kindly patronage which some missionaries extended to their flock, and I remember his anger when at a missionary meeting the speaker spent his time in telling funny stories about his converts. ‘ How dare he turn his children into ridicule, when he has gone to them with the message that the Lord Christ died on their behalf ? ’

He had himself not only learnt to think in Swahili, but also to understand the apparently inconsequential working of the native mind. He had no wish to make Africans into imitation Europeans ; he wished rather to become himself more at one with Africans and to be really a father in their midst. The task he set himself was indeed impossible. History and tradition forbade the sacrifice. His heart went out to the black races, but they could not, however they loved him, make a full response. His was in some ways a lonely heart, yearning for a sympathy men could not give. He understood as few have understood the lonely Christ in Gethsemane. In almost all his sermons and addresses there is some reference to the bowed Figure in the Garden and to the disciples who could not watch with Him one hour.

All great men, however, must be to some extent lonely. It is the price they pay for their exaltation over others. Great saints are especially lonely, because few even aspire to accompany them on their way. But great hearts none the less go on loving, and all through Frank Weston’s life his sympathies were widening and deepening. He hated sin more and more as he discovered in the sinner some one very lovable being spoilt.

His interests were almost entirely personal. Nature, music and the arts made little appeal to him. In the long series of letters which I possess there is hardly a description of a place or thing, but dozens of pen portraits of people, and personal details admirably observed. He liked things

done decently and in order, for he had naturally a tidy mind ; he had an intellectual appreciation of ceremonial and of the influence which objective things exercised on many ; but he himself was concerned with spiritual realities which could only be apprehended by the mind and heart. Though he meditated day by day on the Gospel story, in his sermons he seldom recalled any incident except Gethsemane or Calvary ; he seldom indulged in illustrations. It was the living Christ with whom he was in communion, it was a living Lord for whom he sacrificed his life.

Though his sympathies with men widened and deepened, his intellectual position hardly varied at all. When I first knew him at Trinity he had a creed and a definite purpose in life, and he died believing in the same way. This is the more remarkable for he read everything which came to his hands, was very quick in the uptake and could get up a new subject with surprising rapidity. He read at a great pace ; he could tear the heart out of a stiff book in a morning and wanted two novels for a two hours' railway journey. But everything that he read was viewed in the light of the creed which he held so tenaciously. He did not hold that creed as a series of intellectual propositions ; it was for him an indiscernible whole. He had not received it merely on authority, nor had he arrived at it by study. His certitude was the result of experience. He had lived the life and knew the doctrine. No one, he admitted, could exhaust the unsearchable riches of Christ, but he was convinced that each might know somewhat of the truth and was bound to be loyal to what he knew. He was equally certain that God could not contradict Himself. He was as convinced that the creed was true as that two and two make four, and being so convinced it was impossible for him to approach the subject with an open mind.

It was his clear vision and certain grasp of the Faith which made him a great teacher, but it narrowed his intellectual sympathies with those who believed differently. He was very patient with the agnostic or outsider, but he was im-

patient with bishops and professors who would compromise on vital questions or minimize the Faith. Living in Africa he did not understand those who regarded theology as an interesting subject of discussion, and he did not allow for the hesitations of those whose duty it was to read irreligious books about religion. Still less did he understand the daring young man who started out to lay the foundations of religion anew, in order that it might accord with what he had recently learnt in the Greats School at Oxford. He submitted their tentative and suggestive books to an uncompromising logic, but he was sometimes unfair to them personally, as for instance when he accused some of criticizing Christ who were only criticizing actions and sayings which they thought were falsely attributed to Him.

The scornful style in which some modernists write irritated him. Their flippancy and delight in shocking old-fashioned Christians roused his anger. His sensitive loyalty to his Master was hurt by phrases which he felt were an insult to Jesus. When Weston was hurt he cried out, and his cry from the recesses of Africa reverberated throughout the world.

While this is true, his constructive books, like *The One Christ* and *The Fulness of Christ*, have a much greater value than his purely controversial writings. They may not be easy to read, but they repay study. His controversial writings are direct and forcible, but they lack sympathy and press logical conclusions in such a way that we begin to doubt the premises from which they start.

Be that as it may, we cannot but admire his courage. It was no good telling him that there was a lion in the way, because if so he felt it to be his duty to face it. That reminds me of a story which may be read as a parable if the reader pleases. He once came to a strange village whence a man-eating lion had been carrying off first one and then another of the people. He was short-sighted, a poor shot and not what is generally known as a sportsman, but he promised at once to rid them of the beast. He sent out all the men of

the place to make horrible noises and drive the lion into the pen. There he stood and described himself as entirely surrounded by the women and children who refused to go away. This made him nervous, but when the lion appeared they fled, leaving him alone. He had to wait until the east was almost upon him to make sure of his shot but the lion was killed. That as I said just now is a true tale but may be read as a parable. Weston was always conscious of his flock, and always conscious of how inadequate were his means of defending them. He had to stand alone against those who would corrupt their faith or disorder their lives as church people, against some who would enslave them or through carelessness were allowing them to be exploited. He faced many lions alone in Africa and never flinched.

This brings us to consider his practical work, and to think of another side of his character. He was by nature of an autocratic temper, a born leader and had great practical ability.

His active mind was for ever formulating schemes, and he worked them out on paper, and tabulated them in logical order with neat headings, A, B and C. But he was never content to dream; when the scheme was drafted and complete he wanted it carried out, sometimes sooner than was possible. This made it very hard for him to get on with the shops under whom he served. He saw the necessity of his plan so clearly and any postponement became the more annoying, for when Weston was sure that something ought to be done, the doing of it became a matter of conscience. So, when I read his old letters, while it is evident that he admired and revered the great qualities of Bishop Hine, he is constantly complaining that something which he thought of the first importance was not being attended to. In later years he confessed: 'When I was young I thought a slow-moving bishop, with buckets of cold water, was sometimes a fool, but I have lived to know that the younger men think much the same of me.'

During those early years he was schoolmaster at Kiungani,

and his amazing influence over boys was by some thought excessive. The boys were devoted to him although his discipline was very strict and he expected more of them than any one had done. He also organized the education of the whole diocese, and went round inspecting the schools on the mainland. Wherever he went he introduced order and method but he left others with an ideal and an expectation of what the African might be. On becoming a bishop he continued to plan. Under him, and until the end, the work was ever growing and extending, and sometimes there was consternation at the office of the Universities' Mission when they thought of the money he expected them to raise. He was always anxious to discuss his plans with others. He would talk over them again and again, receive suggestions and modify what he had intended; but when once he had come to a decision he did not brook criticism, and had a very stiff upper lip for whoever gainsaid him.

He not only called out men's loyalty, but he was ever ready to care for them. Professional soldiers in the war were amazed at the discipline of the Carrier Corps which he commanded and also at the practical thoughtfulness which he showed for his men. He marched with them, fed with them, adjusted burdens and made such plans that Headquarters could only complain that Major the Bishop moved so rapidly that it was difficult to keep in touch with him. At the end he could report that not a single case was missing.

He is sometimes accused of being very impulsive, but he believed in impulse, that is, he believed that the mighty hand of his God was upon him. Some of his impulsive actions lessened his reputation at home, but it cannot be said that he ever missed fire. Whether he was right or wrong in Kikuyan or other questions his actions woke people up to consider where they were going and to face ultimate issues. God's will in consequence we may believe was being done by one who only wished to be His servant, and was content to bear the obloquy which was heaped upon him.

He believed that the African was capable of development, but he also saw that the race was in danger. Through the advent of white men the old social system was disintegrating much quicker than it was being replaced by something better. The need which white planters had for labour and the temptation to earn big money far from home was destroying home life and primitive morality. The Native away from his tribe with its traditions and social sanctions was more likely to go wrong than Kipling's Englishman East of Suez. The morals of the coast towns and the resulting degeneracy frightened him. He was never tired of explaining that a great African population, with no social life or recognized standards, was a menace to the world.

The one Faith he knew was alone able to save, alone able to bind men together and alone able to mitigate the racial danger. He presented to Africans the Lord Christ as their King—a King who had suffered for them and was suffering with them, but a King who made absolute claims on their allegiance. The Catholic Church was for them the kingdom, and in obedience to her laws he believed that a new social life could be realized, with a possibility of indefinite progress.

Those who can enter into his vision of the future will understand his uncompromising opposition to Kikuyu proposals. These proposals were attractive to some European missionaries and were viewed with favour by Protestants at home, but he thought that they were fatal to the African Church which he was striving to build up, which should unite and consolidate native races, professing one creed, acknowledging one law and joined together in one worship.

It was this foundation of an African Church which was dear to his heart; and he knew that his African converts were God's little children who could only grow up in an ordered home under a well-understood discipline. He wanted Africans to live their own lives, to maintain their tribal system, to Christianize, wherever possible, their ancestral rites and to develop naturally apart from external influences. So he encouraged them to build their own schools,

to support their own teachers and to manage their own affairs. He worked hardest of all in training native clergy, and planned for the day when the European priest would not be necessary.

Frank Weston was not only a pioneer bishop, he was also a saint. The outstanding fact in his life was his close communion with Our Blessed Lord. He had no doubts about His presence, he lived as in His sight, he was haunted by the fear that any of his acts would cause Him pain. And yet, far removed as he was from the ordinary man, the ordinary man was happy in his society. Some men with great spiritual pretensions make other men feel small and mean, those who associated with Frank Weston, while they knew that he towered above them in the heroic virtues, went away feeling better men because they had been with him. He had attained to a spiritual humility so that he was quite unaffected. He was free from all cant or professional unction.

He had always worked too hard. He had done so at Oxford and fainted one day while in for his schools. He had broken down both at Stratford and Westminster, and in Africa he was very ascetic and hard upon himself. He complained sometimes that he could never get a holiday. In every station of his diocese there was so much to do. He wrote : ' I am only alone upon long walks from place to place. It is only then that I find time for thought or uninterrupted prayer.' He could not get a holiday in England for he was in such great demand. On his last visit home he had only two free days ; one of them he spent with his mother, and one in seeing a cricket match. ' I am oh ! so very tired,' he said to me when I saw him off for the last time at Victoria station. He died at Hegongo in his ' native ' home, a man worn out with many labours.

He was at once a great bishop and a saint, a definite dogmatist and a man with a great heart, a man of a high courage with a childlike simplicity. It is not surprising that his great endowments by nature were not completely

reconciled. He knew his capacities for rule, but he also longed for peace, retirement and a life of prayer. Twice, before he became a bishop, he tried to enter 'the religious life' but was prevented. In the last few years he was longing more and more for the life of a recluse. He would have liked to resign his see and live among Africans as their friend. He more and more withdrew from European stations. Had he lived longer the story of St Cuthbert might have been repeated, and the Bishop in some African retreat have ended as the Saint of Lindisfarne. But he knew that the Church still had need of him. He believed that Our Lord had laid a burden upon him. He bore it until the end, and it was in another world that he was to enter into his peace.

H. MAYNARD SMITH

THE SPIRIT OF WORSHIP AND REVERENCE

By GEORGE S. STEWART

THIS paper is written in support of one special aspect of the faith that, in the effective work of Christian missions, the chief element is the radiance of God shining in all the organization, and in the lives of men and women who bear His name. One is aware of tracts, in personal life and in the life of school or church, where energy is persevering and earnest, time and strength lavishly given, but the radiance of God's presence is dim, and the work bears little fruit. In addition to the many causes which steal away the radiance—lack of a disciplined life, worry, over-absorption in affairs, neglect of personal prayer and communion with God—there is one more official and general, which grows out of the graded organization of mission work and workers. A false antithesis is often established and organization, education, industrial training, medical work are set over against preaching and corporate acts of worship as requiring less spiritually qualified workers and energy less suffused with the radiance of God. This produces quite a large number of inevitable though unspoken deductions: that school prayers need not be so scrupulously reverent as prayers at the celebration of the Lord's Supper; that the sense of God's real presence need not be so thoroughly sought when the mission workshop opens as when the church receives the worshippers; that evening prayers in the boarding-house do not call for the same deep devotion as prayers in the congregation; that prayer at the beginning of a business meeting is on a somewhat different spiritual level from the prayer of a consecration service; and, by a further process of deduction, that prayer

sung in the words of a hymn may be a much more interrupted and unmannerly offering of desire to God than prayer offered upon our knees. These are unspoken deductions, but they are effective (we may sing, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty' with our hands in our pockets, but we may not say it with such indecorum), and specially effective in their power over children and young people who know no reason for the difference made, but who feel its influence. They lead to a graded reverence, which very easily spreads its pollution over every act of worship, and steals away the sense of God's real presence from worship and from life.

It has been my fortune to be brought into very intimate contact with certain congregations and schools in South Africa where reverence in worship was at a low ebb, and with certain Sunday schools and children's meetings in Scotland, where order was difficult to preserve, the educational work was poorly done and the sense of God's real presence was not felt by teachers or children. No statement is made here about the comparative frequency or infrequency of such conditions, either in Africa or Scotland, but they are frequent enough to yield a large body of evidence of the evils such conditions produce, and of the need for developing and purifying the spirit of worship in church, school and home.

This paper is a plea for deepened reverence in worship, in the hymns, prayers and offerings of day school and Sunday school, in the more homely and familiar gatherings of people for work or intercourse and in family prayers.

It is good to have a central principle to which all acts of united worship under all circumstances should conform in purpose, and towards which they may grow in practice, the principle that 'every act of worship must be treated as that which it professes to be.' The most elementary faithfulness to that principle removes at a stroke many of the customs which harmfully affect worship, and bring it back to dignity, power and reality. A simple act of imagination which pictures a visible God standing in every place

where prayer is offered as the immediate hearer of it, as receiving in His own hands every offering, as bending to meet every act of worship, in song, or silence, or word, is a wholesome corrective of all formalism, either of elaboration or of slovenly thoughtlessness. The value of all that professes to be worship is determined by its reality and by its sense of the real presence of God. Its value to God, its value to man depend on that.

In hours set apart for the instruction of children in Christian doctrine or morals, the historical foundations of the faith or the ordinary day school lessons, the direct acts of worship necessarily occupy a small portion of the time, but where they are real in their intention and offering the grace of that worship pervades all the lesson, with quickening for the intelligence and more deeply willed interest in the things of God. Yet it is just here, where the proportions of time give the place of importance to instruction, that the sense of the real presence of God is most likely to be dim and formalism to enter in. So also in business meetings of the Churches the proportions of time sometimes give a wrong sense of the values, and worship becomes a formal 'opening prayer' and the benediction a sign that the meeting is over, not a real giving and receiving of the threefold gift of God. It is supremely needful to fill occasions such as these with the immediate sense of God's real presence and guidance. It is not to be won by lengthening or elaborating the prayers, but by a reasoned sense of the supreme importance of that act of communion with God which quickens eye and ear and spirit to know and feel His presence in every phrase of the instruction and every item of the business. Every act of worship—prayer, said or heard, words sung to God or about God, 'Our Father' repeated, benediction given—which is not suffused with the reality of His presence, or at least with the earnest intention to seek Him, draws another veil between God and our life and makes the way of formalism more easy in worship.

Three instances of such unreality may be given, chosen because such things are common, and because they were done by sincere Christians.

A boy sat in a front seat of a church meeting, deeply impressed by the address and moved by the whole scene and the purpose of the meeting. The congregation was called to offer itself anew to God in the familiar hymn of acceptance or rededication, 'Just as I am.' As the boy tried to rally his faltering will to join in that prayer he became conscious that two or three of the platform party were not joining in the prayer, but were speaking with the minister, and at once he was caused to stumble. He had been growing dimly conscious that this thing the congregation was doing was of the utmost moment to all: 'O Lamb of God, I come.' It sank back into the mere singing of a hymn, with no particular meaning, because the leaders were not sharing in that sense of urgency and joining in that prayer. It was a boyish and ill-informed judgment, but it was a quite relevant judgment. One thing was being professed as worship, and those who called for this act of worship on the part of all were themselves not worshipping.

A young missionary, new to the people and ignorant of the language, stood watching a congregation as it sang a hymn. The impression he got was of a somewhat jovial mood and an exciting song of joy; the two last lines were repeated over and over as a chorus. The congregation sang with smiling faces, swaying bodies and a swing of voices to a rollicking repeating tune, and the hymn they sang in this jovial way, translated, begins (and continues in the same strain),

Father in Thy loving-kindness
Look upon my soul,
I cry, weeping before Thee,
'Take away all my sins.'

The singing in that way of such words seemed to have no value as an act of penitence, whatever value it might

have as music which showed the sense of joy. It would be an ignorant judgment which would say it was meaningless, but as an act of worship it was quite different from what it professed to be, and so far unreal.

A minister visiting a Sunday school, and not accustomed to a habit common in Sunday schools, entered as the children began to sing a hymn and prayer to the Lord Jesus, praying for His entrance to each heart :

Thou didst leave Thy throne and Thy kingly crown
When Thou camest to earth for me;
But in Bethlehem's home was there found no room
For Thy holy nativity.
O come to my heart, Lord Jesus ;
There is room in my heart for Thee.

The superintendent hurried to him, welcomed him and urged him to come to the platform, gave reasons for that and engaged in a conversation about the school. The minister's entrance was thus made, in the eyes of the teachers and the children, a thing important enough to interrupt and stop the prayer, ' O, come to my heart, Lord Jesus ; there is room in my heart for Thee.' Here again judgment must notice the kindness of welcome and interest, and their value ; but again the act of worship was not treated as that which it professed to be, and the sense of reality was marred. With all the good that remained there was in all these an influence destructive to the sense of the reality of God's presence in the act of worship, a real offering and a real receiving ; and the loss of reality there was blinding to the vision of God elsewhere.

There is abundant testimony to the fact that when those who lead acts of common worship seek for the sense of reality there is a response on the part of the main body of the worshippers. This is specially noticeable in schools or meetings for young folk, and the less sophisticated the tribe or the social order the more immediate and deep is the response. Probably there has been no conscious reasoning as to incongruities in the professed worship, but they

have produced a sense of unreality which makes the outward act unimportant, and opens the door to inattention and evasions. When these incongruities are removed and the earnestness of even a small proportion of the worshippers gets a freer current for its outgoing, the effect is immediate and widespread. There are few more commanding and impressive religious influences to affect other worshippers and deepen their communion, or to hush the indifferent or scornful into reverence, than that which proceeds from a real act of worship, in which the outer form is made to conform with the inward spirit.

The importance of what seem little things is here very great, when these are on the line of seeking a deeper sense of reality. I have known the whole tone and temper of a Bantu congregation, and of a school of wild and restless children in what is called a mission district, as well as the earnestness of its prayers, changed greatly by a direction that all remain in the attitude of prayer for a short space of silence after the 'Amen,' to listen for any answer from God in the impulse or voice of the Holy Spirit. The effect was very wonderful because God did respond and there was quiet to note His response, and it powerfully affected class-work and preaching. Even where there seemed to be no direct consciousness of such a response there was manifestly some healthful influence of this quietness unto God.

Dean Goulburn said well :

The impression of having had an interview with the King of Kings amid the ministries of Cherubim and Seraphim should not be rudely tossed off, but gently and thoughtfully cherished. And it shall be as a nosegay of fresh flowers which a man gathers before he leaves some fair and quiet garden, a refreshment amidst the dust and turmoil of earthly pursuits.

It seems outwardly such a little thing compared with the teaching, the singing and the spoken prayers—just half a minute with bowed head; but it leavens the whole with a deeper sense of the real presence. Such a thing is quite common in many churches, but it is not so common at the

beginning of a class, a business meeting or family worship. Why ?

So there are many other harmonies of worship, even including such things as tidiness and cleanness because we are coming to an audience with God and to present our worship, which deeply affect the sense of the reality of the thing we do. Aborigines and less conventionalized people feel the need of this and respond more ardently than those who are accustomed to incongruities in the offering of worship and are less conscious of their discords. Children and young people, who are far less sophisticated than much modern talk and alleged humour assert, respond quickly and deeply to every attempt to make worship in all its outward details what it professes to be in spirit. There is great value in such simple ceremonial accompaniments as help to clear away untidiness of worship, and such ceremonial becomes filled with life, and with powers of recall from wandering thoughts, but the essential thing is that all in the church or school or worshipping group should be visibly and really intent on the thing that is being done, in utter reverence. If even one attains to that, if even the leader alone be really speaking with God face to face, the spirit of worship will spread. Man is a worshipping creature, and from childhood he responds to reality in worship. So much depends on the leader, the teacher, missionary or presiding officer; not on his ability to control the unruly or to admonish the irreverent, but on the depth of reverence in his own spirit. In another connexion Plato spoke words in praise of reverence which are yet most wise for this connexion :

Let parents, then, bequeath to their children not a heap of riches, but the spirit of reverence. We indeed fancy that they will inherit reverence from us if we rebuke them when they show a want of reverence. But this quality is not really imparted to them by the present style of admonition, which only tells them that the young ought always to be reverent. The best way of training the young is to train yourself at the same time ; not to admonish them, but to be always carrying out your own admonitions in practice.

The sense of God which reverent worship brings is

essential for every good end of educational work : morning prayers at school, the worship of the Sunday school, the call to recollection at the beginning of a class hour ; these are not just decent appendages to the day's work. They are the chief fountain of intellectual life, for the school and the individual, for the church and the congregation. They bring quickened intelligence, sound moral character and energized will. Whenever a human being gets a fresh vision of God, or enters into any simplest act of real communion with Him, alone, or as part of a worshipping company, he becomes a more intelligent human being. Nothing in missionary work is more wonderful than the new graces of thought and understanding which come to simple and ignorant men when they open their hearts to God. The Divine Logos is not narrowed to the channels of book learning but operates on the intelligence with immediate power, and also through the innumerable media which fill human life. I am continually finding the lives of children who are called stupid, and men and women who are called dull, glowing with rare and beautiful thoughts which they are receiving from God through the medium of sincere and imperfect acts of worship. When a child has spoken with God, even the multiplication table reveals a harmony which was not seen before, and memory is quickened as well as intelligence. There does not seem to be the same emphasis laid on this effect of reverent worship now as in past generations, and that perhaps is good, lest worship should turn from its true aim of offering to seek that of gain. The facts, however, are facts of God's purpose, and it may save an organizer, a teacher, a student, a missionary from some misdirection of a crowded life, if he seeks testimony and becomes assured that there is immense reinforcement of the intellectual powers through communion with God and through all we call worship, and there is also the gift, otherwise unattainable, for the individual and for the school, of what Dr Rendel Harris calls ' that subtle gift of discrimination which marks the Spirit-filled community.'

It is never a loss of time to make room in the school timetable for full and unhurried acts of worship; receptivity, memory, imagination, constructive thought are all quickened thereby.

So too in the realm of moral character, the reverence in corporate and individual worship yields rich fruits. This has been most evident to me along the line of reverence developing from a mood to a pervading spirit of life. The attitude of the spirit in the acts of worship, an attitude deliberately sought through discipline, recollection and will, as well as instinctive in humanity, stamps itself on life and develops into the natural tone and disposition of life itself in all its relationships. To be humbly kneeling before God, to feel the sense of insufficiency as His love reveals it, to realize, even very imperfectly, His nature and His will, create a reverent man or child, not just a reverent act. Reverence for God, and before God revealed in Jesus Christ, means a growing reverence for humanity, and the great sins of heathenism and of civilization rest upon irreverence for humanity. The servile and degraded position of women, cruelty, lust of all kinds, tribal jealousies, denominational prejudices, caste prejudices, all rest on this lack of reverence for human kind, which is at the heart of it lack of love. Very wonderfully this reverence for humanity grows as reverence before God fills life. And foundations of that can be laid in the hours of the school's worship more firmly than in the lesson hours. It rests on fellowship with God.

It is no far distance from a school or a class frequently hearing its teacher speaking its needs to God, as men should speak to the All Holy, to a village council deciding some measure of compassion or justice that rests on reverence for man or woman. It is no far distance from the influence of that same act of reverent worship to a lad or a girl wrestling victoriously against some sin of the flesh which would degrade or defile, or some deed of anger or cruelty which would injure one of God's creatures. The pervading sense of God's real presence is a bulwark against temptation; and

that can be revealed to the pupils of a mission school in elevated worship, more than by categorical instruction. We have emphasized the need for moral instruction, and wisely set aside periods for teaching that. Here, in the worship of the school, is the foundation of moral life to make that teaching effective.

The development of this spirit of reverence, this sense of the real presence of the All Holy, is of great urgency for the evangelizing work of a mission, as well as for its intellectual and moral training. The sense of reality develops in lives that yield themselves to it a radiance of God which is a strong evangelizing influence. Men see God in the lives of spiritual men. The missionary's work is not to explain God, but to reveal Him, and the same holds true of the humblest teacher in the mission school. This revelation of God, in nature and will, depends on a spirit which habitually lives with God, not in jaunty familiarity but in loving reverence. The deepest and also the most widespread movement of the converting spirit of God which I have seen came directly from deepened reverence of worship and life in a small community. The community was drawn into a new grace of worship before the real presence of God, and unbelievers and faithless men recognized the reality as they did not when the worship was less simple and sincere, and came impressed and earnest to seek for God.

There are a few simple deductions from the central principle of treating every act of worship as that which it professes to be, which may be mentioned in almost a tabular form. In practice the principle goes much farther than such things as these, and becomes a vitalizing spirit of all life.

There is first the obvious deduction that no act of worship should be used for other than its own professed end, e.g. the singing of praise to God as a cover for the movement of classes or for competition in musical ability, prayer as a medium of instruction or as a polemical weapon.

Then it is good to detach instruction in worship from the offering of worship. It is needful, for instance, to teach children a certain hymn, to correct their mistakes, to explain its message. That should be done as a lesson, not as part of their worship. Then the hymn, praise, petition or intercession in its contents is offered to God as worship at a different time.

It is wise to remember that the vessels of music or word in which our corporate worship is offered to God should be as beautiful as possible, and that children and simple-minded folk are very deeply affected by beauty of form. This is reality: that we bring to the All Holy, who has bid us call Him Father, the best we can give. Of the music, and the same is true of the words, Dr Hadow writes, 'With such wealth of gems at our command—far greater than we can ever make use of—why should we at any time make an offering to God of tinsel or coloured glass?'

There is influence, mental and spiritual, in the changes of bodily position in worship. A worshipper who would stand erect before his king must not slouch before his God. The traditional postures of worship, kneeling, standing, bowing—unshod feet, uncovered head, clasped hands—should not be changed when worship changes its place from church to school, from church to home. Such a change in outward form almost always produces a change in inward reality.

There is great helpfulness in simple ceremonial usages, varied sufficiently often to avoid mechanical observance, repeated sufficiently often to be perfectly familiar, so that attention to the form may not hinder the free impulses of the spirit. These in their quiet and unhurried observance preserve a certain stateliness in our corporate approach to God which deepens the sense of reality and of the greatness of the occasion. Their use prevents also many of the irreverencies which haste and lack of preparation introduce into public worship.

It would seem wise also, in calling a class or a congrega-

tion to offer prayer under the guidance of one voice, to engage their interest and their unity in worship by telling them, where that is possible, the intention of the prayer, and by giving them an opportunity of uttering their own desire to God, as in the many litanies in present use, or in some other reverent form of expression. At the least, however, they should know the intention, so that they may not only listen, but pray. When a class or a congregation is invited to join in the communion of offering a petition to God, it is not needful that it should know the words to be used, but it makes for reality when it knows what the petition is to be about and is not left to gather that from the petition itself.

These deductions are few and simple, and they may poorly illustrate the use of the principle of treating each act of worship as that which it professes to be, a real offering to God. I hope earnestly that mistake and failure in illustrating the application of the principle may not disguise its supreme value as the ultimate source of truth and beauty in the public worship of God, whether in a wattled schoolroom, a little iron church, or in the most stately of cathedrals.

GEORGE S. STEWART

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN INDIA

I. THE SYLLABUS IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: PRELIMINARY REQUISITES

BY J. H. WARNSHUIS

DISCUSSIONS and conferences on the subject of religious education usually tend towards the problem of the syllabus. It is natural that practical people should seek to find a practical outcome to discussion, and if what is taught is found to be unsatisfactory the logical conclusion would seem to follow that the syllabus should be revised or a new one be constructed. A good deal of impatience is expressed towards those who criticize and yet have nothing better to propose in the way of a syllabus. Such impatience might well be justified if religious education were merely religious instruction and the syllabus an arrangement of Bible and other stories together with a few selected doctrines.

If consideration of this important subject fails to get beyond this point much mischief is done. The self-satisfied are confirmed in their self-satisfaction and the honest critic has a task assigned him which he cannot carry out without co-operation and support from many directions, and his failure to achieve an impossible result brings discredit on his cause. Moreover, this over-emphasis upon the syllabus causes us to lose sight of other important phases of the subject. Too little consideration is given to the problem of training teachers in religion. 'We are without clear ideas of the goal of religious education, of what it is that we would make of human nature,' says Mr Oldham.¹ For, if we truly comprehended the goal of religious education,

¹ IRM, 1924 (Oct.), p. 516.

every other subject in the curriculum would yield to it in importance. It would seem idle work to devote any more time and energy to the task of framing curricula until we settle with some degree of definiteness to what end our courses are going to bring us. Certainly much of our failure in the teaching of religion lies in a too narrow definition of religion and an utter disregard of the part it is intended to play in our individual and social life.

But, in stressing the syllabus unduly, the chief evil lies in the denial or oversight of one of the truly revolutionary discoveries of modern education. Education does not mean something to be taught but some one. To use two awkward but expressive words, it is 'child-centric' not 'subject-centric.' These two points of view, apparently so diverse, need not necessarily result in conflict, as Dr Dewey long ago made clear in that sententious little pamphlet, *The Child and the Curriculum*. Those who have made the child their first consideration have found by actual experience that subject matter does not suffer but, on the contrary, benefits beyond all preconceptions. The logical order has its roots in the psychological and what the race has found worth preserving and transmitting appeals to most children of average intelligence as worth learning. But it makes all the difference between successful and unsuccessful education which stands first in order of importance in our thinking, child or subject matter. The tendency of the subject matter point of view is to forget the child completely, in fact, to forget everything else but the demands of its own logical order. To view something done to the child as the end of our classroom efforts is not to relegate subject matter to the scrap heap but to assign it its true position as a means to an end and not as an end in itself. Such an attitude is something more than a mere matter of classroom method; it implies a fundamental difference in our philosophy and theory of life.

The common consequence of this misguided emphasis on subject matter is that we sit back and feel our task is

done when a syllabus has been completed and published. 'There you are. Now all you have to do is to follow it.' The syllabus may be very excellent, but a few years later committees are revising it, perhaps discarding it, and no one knows just why it does not work, but every one is ready to throw a stone at it. Such will continue to be the history of curriculum-making until we get a syllabus in religious education whose test of success will be not the examination written at the end of the term but character and conduct. In the teaching of religion it is not the fact, the story or the doctrine that matters so much as the habit, the attitude and the capacity to appreciate that have been established.

We shall assume our premise as proved. It underlies all educational writing and practice of the day. One of the obvious implications of this principle is that we need to know more about the child whom we are going to teach before we can do so intelligently. This demands research, both in the general field of child study and in the more particular branch of the child's religious nature. There are obstacles to such research. Though the greatest part of a missionary's task is taken up with problems of religious education—the development of new converts, the nurturing of the children, the teaching of religion in his ordinary day schools, the contact with non-Christian faiths, and even the direct evangelistic preaching which depends for its success so much on gradual education in new ideas—yet there is an appalling dearth of experts in the subject, and there are very few missionaries who have given even a casual study to modern developments. There is no use resenting this appeal for specialists. If we are really in earnest in this matter, we must bring to bear upon the problem scientific methods of study and men and women specially trained to deal with it. Moreover, such specialists require a high degree of co-operation and support from all directions. Research studies on the mission field have many things to contend with not met with in America or Great Britain.

There is a deep-rooted objection to more psychology.

Some of it springs from ignorance and prejudice. Most of it comes from the man who is concerned with keeping his school going and whose children will not stop growing up while the scientist is plodding away at work which seems to have little bearing on problems urgently calling for immediate solution. This practical man wants something rough and ready, anything that will get results, and his 'trial and error' method often does get results and occasionally stumbles upon the truth. His partial success is too often one of the chief obstacles to progress. His long list of failures, sometimes very tragic failures, is forgotten or excused. He is not to be depreciated, for he is doing his difficult job in the best way he can. But if anyone is content to leave the problem of the future with him, let him turn to medical science and ask whether he prefers to let medical progress depend entirely upon the general practitioner or upon men like Ross patiently studying mosquitoes while his department scoffed at and degraded him, a man to whom the world owes an incalculable debt. We need men and women in the solution of this, our greatest, human problem who are able to get beyond the apparently obvious and the immediate. There is much that goes by the name of psychology that merits our disgust and much that passes for research which is only dogmatism in a new guise, but the remedy for bad science is not less science but more science.

More important is the objection, referred to by Mr Oldham in the article above quoted, that we are in danger of believing that we can accomplish by psychology what can only be accomplished by the faith and piety and religious insight of the teacher. But investigation which fails to include such essential factors as spontaneity, naturalness and self-forgetfulness scarcely attains to the standard denoted by the word scientific. It is to the achievement of just such necessary qualities as these that scientific inquiry must address itself. Spontaneity is no less spontaneous because we have calculated beforehand what elements must

be assembled and what conditions provided to ensure it. Certain chemical elements will explode with equal abruptness whether their juxtaposition is the result of chance or calculated intention. To a far greater extent than is generally realized we are dealing with calculable as well as incalculable elements in the human mind. Science may easily become too absorbed in mechanical details but, if this tendency is guarded against, it does not follow that it must necessarily become mechanical. Educational science of to-day finds, as Mr Oldham finds, that the most potent means, not only of religious education but of all education, is the sharing in the life of a society. It is those people who scorn educational science who are most prone to make of education a mechanical process. The liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, which is the very essence of religion, is not a freedom which ignores the law, but a freedom which makes the law our servant instead of our unconscious master. It is only a partial knowledge, a pseudo-science, which makes of psychology a mere charlatan's bag of tricks. The true scientist is very apt to be painfully conscious of human limitations and reverently humble before the imponderable. We need not fear that science may seek to go too far; rather that it shall stop short with a partial solution.

To leave this general argument, more specifically, what questions are calling for scientific study? At the outset we need to answer the question, psychologically considered, what is religion and religious behaviour? What innate capacities has the child for responding to religious instruction and education? Can a young child form a subjective idea of God and make it a controlling force in his life? All our religious education is based on a theory or a faith that our hearts are made for God and are restless until they find rest in Him. But a little reflection is sufficient to convince us that this religious instinct is not a simple God-given and God-directed thirst, but a very complex and unorganized grouping or compounding of many and diverse instincts,

some good and some bad. Religion is explained by some so-called psychologists as originating in repressions of the sex instinct and activated by the *libido*. One may scoff at such a view and be pained by it, but unquestionably the sex instinct plays a large part in the religious life of many very good people. This same religious instinct drives many perilously close to insanity and sometimes into it. To what base and degrading superstitions, to what horrors of immorality, to what mental and spiritual slavery has not man's religious instinct brought him? It is responsible for some of the most cruel and terrible episodes in human history. Religious education must examine and very carefully analyze man's innate capacity for seeking God and responding to Him.

Moreover, if children have a tendency towards God, towards righteousness, let it be remembered that they have instincts which drive them the other way as well. Children lie, they are cruel, they quarrel, they are selfish, they are nasty, and, while we may charitably explain this as unmoral rather than immoral, as transient and not essentially a part of their character, it is questionable whether such is the fact. When we begin to realize that religious education is not so much the telling of a series of stories as the balancing of instinctive tendencies one against another, we shall appreciate the overwhelming necessity for the most detailed study of these instincts. At present we are like a general in utter ignorance of the forces under his command, incapable of distinguishing friend from foe.

Not only is it necessary to discover what the instincts are upon which we intend to build, but the age at which these normally manifest themselves in average children and the process by which they develop to mature strength must be ascertained with at least a fair degree of accuracy. It is a waste of time to attempt to teach the average child of three to read and absurd to teach algebra before a child has mastered the multiplication tables, yet we commit just such blunders in our curricula in religious education. Does

the problem of origins trouble the child of five or six acutely ? Every reader will have a decided answer in his mind, but, as a matter of fact, we have no experimental data to substantiate our opinion. That ignorance, however, does not check the curriculum-maker from putting the story of creation right at the beginning of the course. What more natural thing than this ? It is found on the first page of the Bible and the fitting place to begin is at the beginning. All very good reasoning—for an adult—but a child does not begin at the beginning and is more apt to open the book in the middle than at the first page.

Nowhere do we find the influence of the recapitulation theory of the order of the appearance and disappearance of instincts so strong as in the field of religious education. This theory, so interestingly expounded by the late Dr Stanley Hall, holds that the child in his development repeats the history of the evolution of the race. Introspective and imaginative psychology has allowed itself unrestrained scope in describing the details of this process and never has a bad theory concealed and excused so much good psychology. The effective refutation of the theory was made by Dr E. Thorndike¹ long ago, but religious educationists still continue to build upon it and as a result we find child life divided and subdivided into periods of growth labelled, 'hunting stage,' 'big-Injun stage' and so on. These practices are perhaps more absurd than harmful. They probably constitute an advance over former methods which utterly ignored childhood instincts, but they stand in the way of a more rational progress and indicate that in the field of religious education we have not kept up with the developments of psychological science.

Another searching enquiry which our major premise calls for is that of the child's needs for religion. Such an enquiry is both psychological and sociological. A fundamental tenet of modern education is that you cannot teach

¹ E. Thorndike : *Educational Psychology*, vol. i, chap. xvi, 'The Order and Dates of Appearance and Disappearance of Original Tendencies.'

a lesson effectively until you have created in the learner a feeling of need for that lesson or, to use a popular phrase, 'the school must be related to life.' All knowledge is formal unless it has a direct and helpful bearing upon an immediate problem which is perceived by the pupil and, though formal knowledge may have an interest for a well-educated philosopher, it is the most utterly deadly dull thing a child can conceive of. It has been a long and hard battle to get this principle accepted in the teaching of the three R's and other subjects and there are many last sceptics still to be convinced. Let us not think the task of getting this principle adopted in the teaching of religion will be any easier. Even if we had not to reckon with prejudice, we should still find it exceedingly difficult to discover just what use religion is to a child. We might be tempted to give up the problem and take refuge in the old dodge, 'Well, anyhow, he will need it some day in his future life.' But we should still have to define what use it was going to be to him some day. Just as Dr Dewey found his attempt to relate education to the needs of life led him into the whole philosophy of democracy in his book *Democracy and Education*, so we shall find that any attempt to relate the teaching of religion to the needs of life will demand the most far-reaching enquiry into the nature of religion itself. The principles of modern education, simple though they are, were not grasped in all their implications except after many years of thinking and controversy.

To boast that our faith is the victory that overcometh the world; to realize that Jesus Christ holds the solution of all the great and perilous problems that trouble the world of to-day—the prevention of the next war (in preparing for which more money and more study is being given than we are giving to the subject of religious education), the conflict of race and class, the traffic in liquor and drugs, social and industrial injustice, poverty, disease, sex and so on; and to know that in the face of these evils the Christian Church cannot or will not summon the necessary moral energy to

meet and overcome them, is to begin to comprehend something of the task of religious education. Nor will it suffice to introduce into the syllabus such topics as the League of Nations and sexual hygiene, though they do belong there; it is rather by the child's learning to apply the forces of religion to the solution of childhood's own peculiar problems—problems which may be far removed from those we have just mentioned—that he will acquire the confidence and skill to apply the forces of religion to the solution of the other problems of his adult life later on. When he has learned that there is nothing lacking in the salvation of Jesus which is required in the saving of his village, he is likely to be inspired with the faith that this same Jesus is able to save unto the uttermost. When we shall have succeeded in establishing the government of God in one little apparently isolated Indian village, we shall know some things about the kingdom of God which we do not now know.

If, out of all that has been said above, the impression has been gained that the task of curriculum-making must be indefinitely postponed and all teaching of religion halted until we have more certain knowledge, that inference must be at once dispelled. The simple point of this article is that, when a committee is appointed to draft or revise a syllabus, or when an individual is told to prepare a better if he does not like the existing syllabus, such a task is subject to limitations which cannot be removed in a day, and which will never be removed until we take a long-distance view of the subject instead of legislating for the immediate and the urgent. Not that anyone wants to ignore the immediate and the urgent. These cannot be ignored, even though we should want to forget them. They clamour for attention and remedy; the other can only be kept before us by a watchful intelligence and a determined loyalty to a high ideal. We must continually remind ourselves that any expedient to meet the immediate need is only a partial solution and that the complete solution is to be found by

that steady evolutionary expansion of the realm of mental and spiritual conquest. Indeed, our great weakness in confronting the problems that face us is our tendency to look for 'the solution,' some peculiarly right method or principle, simple in application, which will set everything wrong right. Let that illusion be dissipated once for all. 'The solution,' when it is found, will be discovered to be the sum total of many solutions patiently and painstakingly worked out and added one to the other. Truth is not simple, but as complex as the Einstein theory. It may develop from a simple principle or law but ramifications multiply with the speed of a geometrical progression.

A syllabus is not an isolated fact. It is conditioned by the capacities of the pupils and teachers, and its success depends upon the end you have in view for the pupil and his community. It has its roots in psychology and it flowers towards the sunlight of a purpose. To fasten all our attention upon the immediate necessity for a syllabus or a revision of a syllabus, to imagine that all defects and criticisms can be met by a revision of the syllabus, to dismiss the subject from our councils and conferences by the appointment of a committee, is to take just that partial view of the problem which gets us nowhere. Study and research are called for and steps must be taken to make such investigation possible and to ensure that it conforms to the highest standards known. While we needs must yield to the inevitable in the immediate situation and take tentative measures to meet it, let us not neglect to initiate a programme which seeks to lay down bit by bit those unshakable and tested accumulations of knowledge upon which future generations can build with certainty for all time.

J. H. WARNSHUIS

II. A GRADED COURSE OF RELIGIOUS TRAINING IN MISSION SCHOOLS

BY CONSTANCE PELLY

EXPERIENCE as examiner in Scripture for two consecutive years in the local village school showed that a new syllabus for religious teaching was a necessity.

The syllabus then in use was weak in several respects. To begin with, it had been originally drawn up for European schools. A syllabus prepared for European children cannot be considered suitable for Indian Christian children. It may be argued that children being the same the whole world over the same Christian teaching should be suitable for all. It is true that children have much in common all the world over, and certain fundamental principles of teaching hold good everywhere. But there are great differences in the mental content, outlook and experience of children brought up on western lines with European traditions behind them, and of those who are Indians born and bred. The need is imperative for studying the mind of the Indian child and also of the Indian teacher. Only when they are studied and their working is known will the religious teaching given in mission schools be really effective. The day for haphazard, although earnest and devoted, teaching is past.

The following is an illustration of a second weakness of the syllabus under discussion, namely, that it was not drawn up at all from the child's point of view. The children in our local parish school had been taught the miracle of Cana of Galilee. The teaching of this story is of doubtful value in a village where drunkenness is a crying evil. Ignorant minds might understand from it that our Lord encouraged drinking. But assuming that it is to be taught it should at least be taught from the child's point of view. The people at the feast are in a difficulty, they

appeal to Jesus, He helps them. We asked the babies (the children were about five years old) why Jesus turned the water into wine, hoping for the simple answer that He did it to help His friends. No, not at all. A chorus of baby voices shouted, 'To show that He was the Son of God.' The well-intentioned teacher had put that quite unintelligible idea into the minds of those little ones, and it came out in the exact form in which it went in, a useless, because to them meaningless, formula. A doctrine which is beyond the grasp of most of us is certainly not within the comprehension of the infant class.

A third weakness was that the acquisition of Biblical knowledge, head knowledge of facts, was stressed more than the development of character and training in worship. This at least is the tendency of such an outline of work as was given in the syllabus. The actual teaching in many schools may rise above it, but a syllabus is the teacher's guide, and if the guide is not on the right track it is not surprising if the teacher goes astray. The best syllabus will not, of course, ensure perfect teaching, but we missionaries should see that good guides are provided for the teachers, themselves often little more than children, with slight knowledge of the subjects they essay to teach, the result being seen in incoherent ideas, and scrappy knowledge. For example, the village teacher of the infant class was to give a Scripture lesson. She picked up the syllabus and read the instruction, 'A few simple facts about the Creation.' She probably had but a vague idea of what she was intended to teach, so proceeded faithfully and laboriously to teach the first two chapters of Genesis verse by verse. Meanwhile the babies wriggled or went to sleep. The beauty of God's world was not unfolded before their eyes. But the poor teacher was only doing what the guide told her to do.

Contrast with this the first ten lessons given in Clayton's *Graded Bible Lessons*, Book I.¹ These lessons are all about the gifts of God, the flowers, the birds, the animals, things

¹ Madras : Christian Literature Society. 14 as.

which the child can understand. Love for and praise to the Giver will be awakened far more effectively than if he hears 'a few simple facts about the Creation' as presented above. The vast wonders of the first beginnings can be quite simply described. Children of all ages need stories rather than bare facts.

The syllabus did certainly suggest 'Stories from the Creation to the death of Joseph,' and also 'Stories from the life of our Lord.' But the village teacher asks blankly, 'Which stories?' She has small powers of discrimination, she probably knows nothing about the need to grade lessons according to the mental development of the child, so she will perhaps teach the story of the Gadarene swine or the story of Gethsemane to quite young children. Vague directions of this sort are of no practical use to the teacher. It is all very well when there is a well-educated and trained teacher in charge, but the majority of schools are not so favoured. Hence directions must be such as will help the simplest. It is unwise to prescribe for a lesson 'The Kings of Israel and Judah from the death of Solomon to the accession of Jehu.' It would result in a list of the kings being given out to be learnt by heart. During my own teaching days in India I once came upon a list of the Babylonian kings with their dates in a girl's Scripture notebook. I had never heard of the royalties there enumerated, but is my spiritual life thereby weakened?

A fourth defect of the syllabus lay in the arrangement of the memory work. That certain portions of the Bible, together with hymns and prayers, should be memorized by children, and that the best age for memorizing is between six and fourteen, are points on which all would undoubtedly agree. But when it comes to what materials should be memorized there is diversity of opinion. Professor Weigle in *Training the Devotional Life* advocates the memorizing of carefully selected passages rather than of isolated verses which are more easily forgotten, and adds that these passages should be memorized in as close correlation as is practicable

with the lesson which the child is studying. Both these principles were ignored in the syllabus. Single texts were chosen from all parts of the Bible, ideas were not connected and the whole arrangement was distinctly haphazard. The passages for memorizing included 'Psalm xc, Burial Service.' Religion to the children—as to every one—should be a glad-some thing, why should they be urged to repeat one of the gloomiest psalms? There are plenty of joyful psalms with which to store the mind.

The hymns too needed more careful selection. For example, 'Oh for a closer walk with God,' and 'Nearer, my God, to Thee,' beautiful as they are, are not within the range of school children. Some one may urge that these are only minor considerations. But why should children be required to be insincere in their worship? It leads them in later life to feel that it does not greatly matter whether what one repeats in a hymn is really true. Surely one of our chief aims is to train children in ways of perfect sincerity.

In the syllabus the Anglican Church Catechism and parts of the Prayer Book including collects were prescribed for memorizing. Modern methods of teaching do not favour the learning of the Catechism merely by heart, but our village teacher, as she again consulted the syllabus, saw the instruction, 'Catechism to end of the summary of the Creed,' and proceeded to try and push it into the children. When a boy was asked, 'What do the first four commandments tell us about?', he merely gazed blankly at his questioner, though he could repeat the four fairly correctly. Morning and Evening Prayer were dealt with in the same way, while the question, 'Why do you go to Church?' elicited no reply.

In the upper classes the teacher found she had to teach in one year, 'Holy Communion Service to the end of the third longer Exhortation,' and, in the second, 'Holy Communion Service from the shorter Exhortation, "Ye that do truly," to the end.' This is probably the first introduction that the class had to what should be the central point of their lives. I do not say that every teacher taught the service in

that way, but that is what she was told to do. She was to break up the service, without regard for sense or feeling, into arbitrary divisions. Any idea of the whole or of its meaning as a whole is lost by such a method. The Indian teacher is so apt to follow blindly any printed instruction that it behoves those who issue instructions to weigh and consider them carefully for the sake both of the teacher and of the child.

Enough has perhaps been said to show why the preparation of a new syllabus seemed a necessity. *A Graded Course of Religious Training in Mission Schools*¹ was therefore drawn up with the object of remedying at least some of the defects already noted, and of helping teachers in their all-important task of training children in religious knowledge, in spiritual development and in worship. The Course suggests outlines of work for the children, at the same time keeping in mind the needs of the teacher.

The attempt has been made to follow the natural growth and development of the child mind. For this purpose all the materials—lessons, hymns, memory portions and so on—have been carefully graded. The text-books suggested for the teacher's use are Clayton's *Graded Bible Lessons*, Books I to VIII, with *Bible Lessons for Little Beginners*, adapted for India from Mrs Cushman Haven's Lessons, for use in the two infant classes, A and B. All these books are obtainable in India and have been prepared specially for Indian children. In his introduction to the Course, Mr Annett says :

The teacher is to realize that the heart of this whole effort at religious education will be found in the vivid and thorough telling of these stories. The children are to be *fascinated*, for only thus can the emotional response be attained that is essential for their spiritual development. It is to be remembered that ideals are born in feeling.

The use of these books does not mean that the teacher will have no work to do, nor that the Bible itself will be neglected. The teacher is required to study the Scripture text as well as the story as given in the lesson book. Much

¹ Copies may be had from the Christian Literature Society, Madras, price 3 as.

careful preparation will be necessary before a successful lesson can be given. Each teacher must put his own individuality into the teaching, but by using these books he is saved from floundering among a bewildering amount of material wondering what to choose. The Bible in itself is not a text-book, though many people seem to think it is.

Mr Annett's introductory remarks make clear one of the chief features of the Course, i.e. the practical work.

One of the greatest maxims of education is that there shall be no impression without expression. Now in a religious story, told with a spiritual purpose, the natural expression should be in conduct, and therefore no material expression is suggested immediately to follow the Bible story. Only God knows what is happening in a child's soul when he has been thrilled by a story. So the advice is given that nothing follow the telling of the story beyond perhaps a discussion on how the children may imitate it in their daily life. . . . But a week later, when the story has been retold by the teacher, or perhaps occasionally by the scholars, hand-work is proposed, the purpose of which is to sharpen the outlines of the mental image in the child's mind.

In the junior classes this practical work takes the form of modelling in sand, clay or cardboard. We all learn by doing. The tendency in the Indian school is still for the teacher to teach by talking while the class sits inactive. Dalton plans and other modern methods have not yet found their way into Indian village schools. The practical work section therefore is an innovation intended to rouse a living and active interest in Bible scenes. When teacher and children set to work to model a peasant's cottage they will surely come to realize how very similar were the earthly circumstances of our Lord's life to their own, and that He is a Friend who actually shared in the daily toil and problems such as are the lot of many Christians in India to-day. Although it may be said that many things described in the Bible such as handmills, wooden ploughs, yokes and so forth are more familiar to Indian than to western children, still the fact remains that at present the Christian religion is so much associated with western ways that Indian eyes are not open to its eastern origin. One hopes that by means

of this practical work their eyes may be opened and the pages of the Bible be illuminated.

In the older classes various forms of practical work are suggested. Text-searching as a means of familiarizing the children with their Bibles is well worth the teacher's preparation beforehand. In a women's Bible class it is often useless to ask the members to read a verse or even to follow what is read because so much time is spent in searching for the place.

In the new Course no collects are given for the children to learn, but instead the children in the upper classes are encouraged to compose their own simple prayers and hymns for use in school and at home. Another form of expression work is for the older children to teach other little children, Christian, Hindu or Moslem, thus beginning at school habits of service by which alone the Church can become strong. This is also a help in consolidating their own knowledge, for until we begin to teach we do not know how much or how little we ourselves know. It is suggested that one period a week of the Scripture teaching should be devoted to a preparation class, and that the Indian Sunday School Union lessons should be used.

Training in worship forms an essential part of the Course. These lessons begin with the New Testament commandments. Next come the rules of the Church, i.e. the ten commandments (in Anglican schools classified as duty to God and duty to our neighbour). In class iv worship in church is taken. Class v studies the creed, class vi baptism, class vii confirmation and preparatory lesson on the Holy Communion and class viii the Holy Communion service, together with some lessons on church history.

The Course is for Christian children only, and having been prepared for use in schools of various denominations Anglican teaching has not been made prominent although the greater part of the Anglican Church Catechism is suggested for memorization.

In addition to giving the outline of work the Course also

contains illustrative lessons for each year's work. For example, the New Testament commandments are not merely memorized. The teacher begins by giving lessons illustrative of loving God and our neighbour, e.g. the brave disciples, Acts v, and the story of the good Samaritan. So in class v with the learning of the creed the creation story illustrates the first clause, the story of the day of Pentecost illustrates those relating to the Holy Spirit. Thus nothing is memorized without the way having been first prepared.

The memory work of the Course has been carefully graded, and only a small quantity suggested. Here again illustrative lessons are given. For example, before the beatitudes are learnt in class iii a lesson precedes each; the story of Abigail explains 'Blessed are the peacemakers.' In class iv the children learn the rules of Christian conduct as given in St Matthew vii, 7-12 and St Luke vi, 35-42. The illustrative lessons explain more fully what it means to be a Christian; for instance, a Christian treats his neighbour well, the story being Abraham and Lot. In class v the passage describing the ideal woman in Proverbs xxxi is memorized with lessons on Mary the Mother of our Lord, Dorcas, Pandita Ramabai and others. To balance this the same class learns the Christian's armour in Ephesians vi with lessons from the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The little ones begin with verses relating to the Christmas message and Jesus' welcome to children, passing on in class B to the incomparable Psalm xxiii. But first they have several preparatory lessons, so that they may clearly understand the setting of a shepherd's life.

The hymns too have been selected with the child's developing spiritual needs and understanding in view. It is, unfortunately, still necessary to suggest translations sung to English tunes for Indian children, but bhajans and lyrics are also recommended, the particular choice being left to individual teachers, so that where suitable indigenous hymns do exist they may be used in preference to translations.

Two sections are new features in a course of religious training in Indian schools. They contain lessons on temper-

ance and purity and on missionary work. How to give teaching on the subject of self-control is still a vexed question. Many shrink from touching on the subject in any way, but teaching of this kind is necessary in Indian schools. The Course includes several lessons which take the form of stories illustrating certain principles of conduct. These lessons are given only in classes vi, vii and viii. The stories are that of Joseph in Potiphar's house, his victory being the point emphasized, that of the Rechabites and that of how Samson played with temptation and fell. Other lessons follow, on temptation and its purpose and conquest, on the consequences of self-indulgence, on the controlled will, on practical religion and on holiness.

These lessons open the way for teachers to follow up in private with individual pupils what has been spoken of in class. No course of religious training can be complete which entirely neglects these important matters. Ignoring them leads directly to much weakness and evil in the life of the Christian community.

The other new feature is the inclusion of lessons on missionary work. Many children in England are familiar from early days with missionary enterprise. Many missionaries looking back can trace their presence on the mission field to-day to teaching received in childhood. Indian Christian children, however, although they know something of the missionary work in their own district and province, are often ignorant of what is being done outside that area, and especially outside India, for missionary work has not a place in their school syllabus. Hence they neither realize what others have done and are doing, nor what they themselves might do. One way of supplying this lack is to include definite teaching on world missionary work, adding to the description of what others are doing suggestions as to ways in which the children may help. The chief difficulty is the supply of suitable literature and lesson notes, but this difficulty is being met by the preparation of teachers' handbooks to accompany the Course.

The Course, then, attempts to train Indian Christian children along the lines of their spiritual growth. Knowledge of the Bible, training in worship, the memorization of inspiring passages and hymns, practical expression work, encouragement to self-control and knowledge of the Church's work of evangelization are all included in the child's religious training. The Course outlines the subjects to be taught, and a series of teachers' handbooks to be used with it is now in preparation. These books will contain lesson notes required in addition to Clayton's *Graded Bible Lessons* and the two books for the infant classes. They also give detailed suggestions for the practical work, in some cases illustrated by simple sketches. Equipped with them the teachers should find their religious teaching more of a labour of love than a laborious daily duty. The books will all be available in India through the Christian Literature Society, Madras.

The Course certainly does not claim to be the last word in the religious training of Indian Christian children. Perhaps before long some one will arise and deal with it as drastically as the syllabus has been dealt with. It does, however, claim to provide a course more suited to the children's spiritual and mental needs, and to provide greater help for the average Indian teacher. Its adoption is working well in the local village school, the children show a decided liking for the practical expression work. Whether teaching along the lines of this Course will result in a more effective living, in deeper understanding of what it means to be a Christian and in a greater desire to share Christian privileges with others time alone can prove ; that such should be the result is our most earnest desire.

CONSTANCE PELLY

III. STORY-TELLING AS A FACTOR IN MISSIONARY WORK

BY EDITH M. ANNETT

THAT the story is a powerful instrument in the hands of a teacher is an axiom among educationalists to-day; in the sphere of religious education it has an even more assured place. Perhaps the greatest argument for the use of the story here is its power to arouse emotion and stir the feelings. We are all rightly afraid of undue emotionalism in our religious services, and the evangelist who plays largely upon the emotions of his audience is always suspected. But that is not the point here. It has been well said that ideals are born in feeling, and it is certain that the creation of high and noble ideals is a large part of the aim of religious education. The well-told story always suggests an ideal—it may be a low or even a bad ideal, but the suggestion is there—and the more deeply the feelings are stirred by the story the more surely is that ideal planted in the heart and mind of the listeners.

This brings us very near to the heart of the problem which faces us in our mission schools of all grades. Children come from homes where low ideals have been imbibed and we wonder at their slowness to rise to higher levels in their thought and conduct. But ideals are born in feeling, not hammered in by the repetition of texts or by the multiplicity of Bible lessons. The boy whose soul has been thrilled with admiration for David by the vivid telling of that hero's exploits is much more likely to strive to be like him than the boy who has been wearied by the dull recital of the main facts of the reign with the names of battles and of people concerned in them. The feeling tone of a story is at once a most important and a most delicate quality.

The boys and girls in our schools are capable not only of very deep feeling but of a wide range of different emotions, and

a well-planned curriculum will make adequate appeal to all of these. Each individual story, if rightly told, will produce a variety of feelings as it proceeds. For instance, in telling the story of Jairus' daughter the first aim will be to arouse the children's interest, and the greater the interest they feel in the little girl herself the greater will be their sorrow, sympathy and anxiety over her illness. These emotions will be followed by alternating fear and hope, distress over the death, culminating in relief and joy at her restoration. It was this story that I was once telling to a class of little Hindu girls through the halting medium of a very imperfect interpreter. We were presently disturbed by the sobs of one of the children. I was told she was 'afraid of the story' and had to let her leave the room. Thus a great opportunity was missed, for a little knowledge of the language would have enabled me to tell her it would be all right in the end and she must not go till the story was finished. A great conception of the power of Jesus might thus have been imparted to her.

It is the teacher who has had his own feelings stirred by the story he is telling who alone can make the right appeal to the emotions of the children. We are often guilty of dealing with the stories of the Bible in a cold and passionless fashion that can never awaken a heartfelt response from the children. That which enters the mind without stirring emotion is quickly forgotten—the deeper the feeling produced the more permanent the result.

When an ideal is thus created through the feelings it will at once affect the conduct. We are well aware of the fact that herein lies the great danger of the bad story—a story which glorifies a bad deed produces an immediate desire to imitate it. We have only to study the results of the cinema in many a child's life to see the truth of this. But we are encouraged by the realization that the reverse is also true—a story of a good deed has the same power. While the impulses to action may always be counted upon it must, however, be remembered that the child will not

always see the best way to fit the action into his own life. In the case of Bible stories we are dealing with things which happened long ago under very different circumstances from our own, and the children will often need guidance as to how to put into practice what they learn from them. If the story has been properly told no exhortation to imitate the good deed is needed, merely a suggestion as to the act most nearly parallel to the story. The children want to imitate the Wise Men in bringing their gifts to the infant Messiah, but cannot exactly do so; another baby may be mentioned to whom they can give something for His sake. If every story thus has its outcome in conduct the characters and habits of the children are being steadily moulded in accordance with the teaching of the stories, for here, as in other departments of life, children learn by doing.

Another important consideration for the story-teller is that of the mental image produced in the child's mind. The teacher who relies upon the printed picture for this will lose a great deal, for while a picture may help to clarify or correct the mental image it can only represent one scene or detail of the story—it is the teacher's vivid description which must produce the composite image. The story-teller is the artist and the canvas is the mind of the child. The question is often asked whether it is not better to adhere exactly to the words of Scripture in telling these stories. But most of the narratives are so condensed, and action follows action with such rapidity, that the undeveloped mind has no time to form one mental image before another is suggested, and there is apt to be but a blurred impression left behind. Indistinctness in the mental image results in imperfect conception of the moral content of the story—no ideal is born, no imitation follows. The technique of the story is thus seen to be a matter of paramount importance.

The statement is often made that so-and-so is a wonderful story-teller, but investigation usually reveals the fact that while undoubted ability is there, lack of knowledge of the technique of the story renders the effort of less avail than

might be the case. The imagination is called to serve a great purpose in story-telling; but this creative function of the mind is allowed to run wild, and the story as told by the teacher bears but a scanty resemblance to the Scripture narrative. These flights of fancy are called 'local colour' and are said to make the incident vivid and lifelike, as when the prodigal son is depicted as leaving home on an elephant or surrounded by cartloads of furniture and other luggage, or as when the preacher telling of the good Samaritan went on to depict the traveller's return home, his wife's questions as to why he was so late and the quarrel which followed because he had been so foolish as to help a Jew. Such extraneous details only cloud and obscure the essential teaching of the story. There is full play for the imagination in every story told, but it must be imagination harnessed to fact—historical imagination, which does not merely invent but puts itself in the place of the hero of the story, sees what he saw and feels what he felt, with all the vivid detail and sympathy of an eye witness.

It is perhaps just in this that most careful training is needed, for few teachers seem able quickly to appreciate the point of view of the different people in a story. One teacher in telling of Abraham and Isaac described the boy as wondering why his father should be so hesitant to slay him, he himself being perfectly ready to be killed. Another teacher, however, said that he had never realized what the incident must have meant to Isaac till he let his imagination work on that aspect of the scene, and thus the story had taken on a new meaning for him. But the more frequent method of dealing with this incident is to say that Abraham's faith was so strong that it was no difficulty to him to think of sacrificing his son. There is close association between the imagination and the feelings in this matter, for it is only as the teacher, by means of his imagination, enters into sympathy with the people in the story that he will be able to stir the right emotion in his class.

The technique of the story demands absolute accuracy in

accordance with the details given in the Bible, but there must also be discretion used as to which details may be left out or very lightly dealt with as being unnecessary for the present purpose. The story which is overloaded with detail, especially for the younger children, leaves an indistinct mental image, thus reducing the effectiveness of the spiritual teaching. The teacher who, in telling the story of Samuel, began with the statement, 'There was once a man who had two wives,' probably fixed that thought in the minds of the children to the exclusion of more important details. The right emphasis, too, must be maintained—the teacher who pictured Aaron's calf as a real object of beauty was in danger of making the children feel that its destruction was a tragedy.

The notion that the moral should be carefully elucidated at the close of the story is still hard to kill. The practice has perhaps arisen from the fact that so few teachers are good story-tellers, and having failed to make the spiritual teaching clear during the course of the story they feel bound to add it afterwards; but we are coming gradually to see that it is not the attached moral but the unfolding purpose that counts with the children. The well-told story needs no explanation, its meaning is clear and evident; Tennyson rightly wrote:

truth embodied in a tale
Shall enter in at lowly doors.

A teacher was telling to primary children in a criticism class the story of the nobleman's son at Capernaum. There were many details in his method of presentation with which to find fault, but at least he attempted no explanation, merely telling the story. As the children left the room one little fellow asked an acquaintance standing in the doorway, 'Was that story really true? Did Jesus heal that boy without going to him?' It was a splendid object lesson for the rest of the class that a story will carry its own moral, for no amount of explanation could have increased that little child's wonder at the power of Jesus.

There is another sphere, besides that of the children, where the story is more and more coming into its own. The illiterate or mentally undeveloped adult can rarely understand abstract teaching; it is probably true in every land that the average villager thinks only in the concrete. In the mass movement districts in India the story method is steadily gaining ground. In the United Provinces a few years ago the headmen from a large number of Christian villages were gathered together for instruction in their new religion, in order that they might in their turn teach others. Amongst other items the story of Ananias and Sapphira was told. At a subsequent session the men were called upon to promise to undertake some particular reform in their respective villages. In responding to this one of them referred to the story which had been told and said that even with the memory of that incident in his mind he was ready to give the required promise. It was evident that he at least had been able to apply the teaching to his own case. More recently, at similar gatherings at various centres in the Panjab, four stories were selected for telling to each group. The aim here was to get these headmen so thoroughly acquainted with the stories that they would be able to re-tell them with power in their villages, and after they were told several men were called upon to repeat them at the meetings. The ability of the men was at once evident—almost every tone and gesture was reproduced, showing that the mental image was clear and the spiritual content of the story fully appreciated.

A mistake is, however, made in this connexion by supposing that a course outlined for children will necessarily meet the case of adults because it is chiefly composed of stories. It has to be remembered that, while their minds are untaught and undeveloped, they are after all grown-up people with the sins, temptations, interests and experience of the adult. The selection of stories for such people must therefore differ widely from that made for the children's syllabus, though the story method will still be used throughout.

A writer from Formosa has told of the general contentment of the average non-Christian villager without thought of spiritual things.¹ His words describe more fields than his own; he is not the only one who has sought for some means to awaken the spiritual sense in sleeping souls. Will not the story meet our need here? What such people want is a new ideal, and it is essentially the function of the story to provide one, while at the same time stimulating the impulse to strive after that ideal. Christianity must enter their minds in the concrete if it is to enter at all.

EDITH M. ANNETT

¹ 'Gentiles who never aimed at Righteousness.' Campbell N. Moody. *IRM*, 1921 (July), pp. 364-75.

THE ETHICAL TEACHING OF DR SCHWEITZER

BY A. G. HOGG, D.LITT.

THE discussion of Dr Schweitzer's *Philosophy of Civilization* offered in this and my previous article does not aim at providing a complete and formal critique, but rather at singling out for comment what may be of most significance for readers of this Review. From this standpoint the feature which the preceding article ventured to select for emphasis was a challenge which seems to be implicit in Dr Schweitzer's contentions. By implication he challenges all who may be tempted to ascribe to philanthropic or missionary endeavours any other value than what may belong to them in so far as they are 'acted prayers,' to defend themselves against the charge of departing from the ethic of Jesus Christ.

Some readers of our author's volumes may possibly feel this to be a very minor issue to drag to the front, at the price of neglecting his elaborate study of the underlying objective and (supposedly) complete collapse of modern western philosophy. Unhappily, however, I cannot consider this part of Dr Schweitzer's work (so far, at least, as it deals with the more speculative efforts of European thought) a contribution of real value. For him a particular philosophical issue—that of finding a rational justification for an activist morality—is so pre-eminently the problem of problems that, if not perhaps himself unable to contemplate the history of modern speculative thought in any other light than as its attempted solution, at any rate he tends to despise every other point of view as of merely academic interest. In my own judgment, on the contrary, this line of approach is so oblique in its angle of incidence as to render

invisible much in the historical achievement of modern philosophy that possesses deep human significance. To treat defence of the belief in progress as the leading *motif*, of which the course of speculation from Descartes onwards has been nothing but the development, may be an entertaining *tour de force*; but as an interpretation it is seriously misleading, as is evidenced by the comparatively depreciatory estimate it compels Dr Schweitzer to form of those two acknowledged philosophical giants, Kant and Hegel. If in the outcome of the philosophical development he sees nothing but failure writ large, this is partly because he has misconstrued its aims, and also partly because—as one surmises most of all from his almost unintelligible handling, at pp. 116, 230, of the relation between the ‘phenomenon’ (which he seems to convert into a second entity, additional to that of which it is phenomenal) and the reality of which the phenomenon is the more or less adequate manifestation or ‘appearing’—he has too imperfect a grasp of the related idealist concepts of ‘reality’ and ‘appearance’ in its various grades.

If one hesitatingly permits oneself to pass these disparaging comments on part of the literary achievement of a brother missionary, carried out under obstacles which render it a feat to marvel at, it is because this seems the best way to serve the cause he has at heart. For this book of Dr Schweitzer’s is a deed rather than a literary venture. He feels charged with a message that the civilized world sorely needs to hear, and one does him a service by warning readers against labouring unduly over a portion of his work, the defects of which may easily detract from the impressiveness of his main contentions. I think we may best realize the importance of what Dr Schweitzer is trying to say to us, if we treat his painstaking attempt to appraise the achievement of modern philosophy as a mere episode in a work whose value lies in another direction.

Our author’s real contribution consists not so much in proffering a fresh solution of a problem over which European

thought has laboured in vain, as in raising and professedly answering a question which this thought has scarcely troubled to ask. And it is a question, possession of a clear answer to which should be an important asset to any missionary to the Orient. In effect the question is this: With what right does the man of moral earnestness in the West reckon it a duty to toil for the betterment of the world, when more probably he would, had he only been bred in the East, have counted it almost his only ethical obligation to maintain a collected poise of soul and to further his own spiritual development? 'To live in unrest because of our active relation with the world when we could have rest by withdrawing into ourselves: this,' says Dr Schweitzer, 'is the burden laid upon us by the deeper world- and life-affirmation.' What philosophical right have we to the attitude of world and life-affirmation which lays this burden upon us? How can we escape the contrary attitude of world-negation which is typical of Indian reflection? Dr Schweitzer's originality lies in feeling this to be the question of questions, and in his highly individual way of answering it. To have brought it explicitly to the forefront in so arresting a manner is in itself a distinguished service.

If I were to attempt an answer of my own to Dr Schweitzer's question, trying like him to do so without drawing upon any religious convictions for which I may be unable to put up a philosophical defence, possibly the answer might begin as follows: Why do I count it a duty to toil for the uplift of humanity, for the betterment of its conditions of existence and the perfecting of its institutions? Because, in spite of every drawback, I am both experimentally aware and reflectively convinced of a worth in humanity, as organized under its current institutions, which is worthy of being conserved, and because this worth is of such a kind that only in one way can it be conserved, namely, by an unrelenting endeavour to develop it further. One can be loyal to its worthiness only by reaching forth after new

achievements, in the realm of thought, of conduct and of institutions, such as will express still more adequately those ideal loyalties, the present expressions of which render our human life-fellowship an experience of undeniable worth.

In formulating in this manner the beginning of my answer, I am deliberately avoiding the tendency of English idealistic ethics to make endeavour after an unattained goal a primary feature of morality. To my thinking that feature is secondary or consequential. What is primary is loyalty to experienced values, and it is because, under time-conditions, these values can remain real only through constant development, that aspiration after the unattained becomes so prominent a feature of human moral activity. Were it otherwise, how could God be moral? There was wisdom in Hegel's emphasis on *Sittlichkeit*—on the real degree to which ethically developed manhood finds itself already at home in our organized social world.

This can be only the beginning of my answer. For there lies in wait the misgiving by which Dr Schweitzer has been so painfully haunted: How do I know that all my toil to better the world is not a waste of effort, a fruitless, and therefore morally reprehensible, squandering of spiritual energy? Science is so far from being able to give any guarantee that the physical universe, which holds our human race so helplessly at its mercy, has any special kindness for it, that it tells on the whole a contrary story. 'Any raising or lowering of the earth's temperature, the slightest eccentric motion of a star or planet, any elevation of the ocean's surface, or any alteration of the composition of the atmosphere would make an end of its existence; or the earth itself may become a victim of some cosmic catastrophe as has happened to many another heavenly body.' Why labour, then, at the perfecting of a social order which, long before it can be perfect, may be blotted out of existence and become a forgotten incident in a cosmic process for which it never had any importance?

I might reply that, even if this be a true estimate of our

race's predicament, still I need not cease to seek the uplift of humanity. For the actuating motive of this moral endeavour is not the dreamed-of future, which may be snatched from me, but the worthy present which I am loyally developing. Let the world-catastrophe come if it will; still, I shall have lived and I shall have been loyal.

But this is not my whole answer. Undeterred by Dr Schweitzer's scoffing, I fall back upon those fundamental reflections which it has been idealism's particular service to clarify and elaborate. What has been alleged above about the precarious situation of our race, zoologically regarded, is perfectly true. Nevertheless it cannot be true that our moral and spiritual achievements and loyalties take rank in the cosmic process as an episode of no importance. For to fear that the case may be so is to ignore the far-reaching import of certain undeniable facts—notably this obvious one, that it is from the womb of Nature that man has sprung. Nature, in which the special methods of science necessarily fail to detect demonstrable purpose, reason, soul—this Nature has produced purposeful, reasoning, soulful man. Therefore this Nature simply cannot be merely and only what science knows it as. There must needs be more to it than what perceptual knowledge can detect or experiment can measure. Man, of whose genesis the physical obviously can give no adequate account, is nevertheless rooted in Nature. Therefore to know Nature in physical terms cannot be to know her through and through. Reason and purposefulness may be her inmost marrow, and yet may elude all scientific demonstration. Nor is it man's genesis alone that points this reflective moral. The same lesson is taught by the daily commonplace miracle of true knowing—by the pregnant fact that the temporal event called a thought-process, spatially conditioned by a tiny patch of brain-matter, can conjure forth timeless truth valid of the whole universe.

By paths such as these reflective thought may be led to a grounded faith that for all values that are really worthy

the universe must have a kindness. Surely the world of reality, however inscrutable may be its sensuously perceptible countenance, cannot be less admirable, less concerned about worth, truth, beauty, than its human children. Even if it allow an earth-catastrophe to destroy what at present we mean by our human race—a particular terrestrial zoological species, it will still be worth while to have striven in the service of our human fellowship; for the rationality at the heart of things will not suffer true values to be nullified.

Something like the foregoing is the answer I myself might make to Dr Schweitzer's question. Such, roughly indicated, are the reflective grounds I might adduce for a world- and life-affirming ethic. Evidently this ethic, however enthusiastic it might be, is not the ethic of a shallow optimism. It needs not that belief in automatic progress—in a necessarily victorious upward drive of the terrestrial time-process which philosophy has not been able, if indeed it has ever very seriously tried, to demonstrate. Neither part nor lot does it have in the Enlightenment's generous dreams of a world skilfully led to a man-made Utopia; none either in that idolatry of the clearly practicable which cast so much greyer a shade over the labours of a pre-war Germany for a regimented national well-being. But not the less may it be an enthusiastic ethic, for it is grounded in an optimistic-ethical world-view.

Is the conjecture too precarious that two factors may have worked very strongly to determine Dr Schweitzer's ethical outlook: the one factor, an impulse of reaction from that pre-war culture just alluded to, with its self-sacrificing but soul-crushing toil to achieve a regimented felicity; the other, the testimony of the African forest to the littleness of man and the mightiness of Nature? At any rate the type of world-view against which he is in revolt, and the validity of which he rightly denies, is an outlook on life and Nature which seems to be derived much more from Darwinism and from that bastard child of Hegelianism,

Real-Politik, than from the great Idealists. Rightly he insists that science affords no warrant for the assumption, so dear to popular evolutionism, that the nature-process moves steadfastly upwards toward a destiny conformable to human ideals; but one fails to see why admission of this obvious fact should exclude the possibility of an intellectually defensible, optimistic-ethical world-view.

Dr Schweitzer himself, however, has no doubts. If the methods of science cannot yield data exhibiting a unitary purposiveness in Nature, then 'we must make up our minds to renounce altogether any optimistic-ethical interpretation of the world,' and must surrender all hope of explaining it 'in any way which will give meaning to the ends and aims of the activities of men and of humanity.' Our author believes himself 'the first western thinker who has dared to acknowledge as truth this crushing intellectual conclusion, and to be absolutely sceptical with regard to our knowledge of the objective world, without at the same time renouncing world and life-affirmation and ethics.' This is because it seems to him that only through such despair of any attempt to comprehend the world intellectually can we reach 'a world-view which will put us in touch with reality and inspire us to action.' For the world- and life-affirmation which intellectual knowledge cannot justify 'are both given in our will-to-live,' and they become articulate in it in proportion as it becomes reflective. Thus Dr Schweitzer summons us to a 'new rationalism,' which 'leaves the question of knowledge of the objective world undecided, and gives all its attention to the effort to attain clarity about the will-to-live which exists in us.' Through becoming reflectively aware of an 'inner necessity to be true to itself, and to remain consistent with itself, our will-to-live enters into a relation with its own self and with all the phenomena of the will-to-live which surround it, which is determined by the disposition to reverence for life.' In such reverence for life knowledge passes over into experience. 'My life bears its meaning in itself. And this meaning is

to be found in living out the highest and most worthy idea which my will-to-live can furnish . . . the idea of reverence for life.' True world-affirmation, which is also true ethics, is affirmation of the will-to-live which appears in phenomenal form all around me, and this is possible for me only in that I give myself out for other life. 'Without understanding the meaning of the world I act from an inner necessity of my being so as to create values and to live ethically in the world and exerting influence on it. For in world- and life-affirmation and in ethics I fulfil the will of the universal will-to-live which reveals itself in me. I live my life in God, in the mysterious ethical divine personality which I cannot discover in the world, but only experience in myself as a mysterious impulse.'

For the ethical attitude at which this is Dr Schweitzer's way of arriving, I feel profound reverence; fundamentally, indeed, it is much in line with the attitude which I sketched above. But for the terms and conceptions in which he has formulated it I have no manner of use; and at his way of reaching it I rub my eyes in bewilderment.

To take the last point first—to my thinking the most ambitious castles in the air that speculative Idealists have reared begin to look solid beside the gossamer fabric on which Dr Schweitzer is content to found his ethical construction. What is this will-to-live? So far as anything that deserves the name of knowledge can tell us, it emerges for the first time in man; for to adopt life, its maintenance and its development, as a conscious aim requires some measure of reflection. Outside its application to reflective beings the concept of a will-to-live is a mere abstraction. Animals do not will to live; they will (if willing it can be called) to eat, to sleep, to seize what catches their fancy, to escape what causes them terror, to do this, that and the other thing in particular. It is our abstracting intellect which, leaving out of these activities the particularity of aim which for the animal is their whole meaning, generalizes

them under the formula of a will-to-live—a formula which, being arrived at by such elimination of all particular colouring, ought to be kept strictly colourless, and therefore empty of any claim upon reverence. So complete an abstraction is Dr Schweitzer's concept of the will-to-live that without hesitation or argument he ascribes it to crystals. And he seems possessed somehow of inside information that what science, or rather semi-scientific usage, calls forces are really, in their non-perceptible inwardness, nothing but will-to-live.

For our author will-to-live is something more serious and less credible than a symbol or metaphor for a sort of non-mechanical *vis inertiae*—a tendency to remain unchangedly alive when living and unchangedly defunct when dead. We are told not only that 'the essential nature of the will-to-live is found in this, that it is determined to live itself out,' but also that 'it bears in itself the impulse to realize itself to the highest possible degree of perfection. In delicate blossoms, in the manifold wondrous forms of the jelly-fish, in a blade of grass, in the crystal; everywhere it strives to reach that perfection which is implicit in its own nature. Imaginative power, determined by ideals, is at work in all that is.' Dr Schweitzer must forgive us for asking, in sincere perplexity, how he knows all this. Is it through an inner deliverance of some mystical faculty? The following passage can hardly mean anything else: 'True philosophy must commence with the most immediate and comprehensive facts of consciousness. And this may be formulated as follows: "I am life which wills to live, and I exist in the midst of life which wills to live." This is no mere excogitated subtlety. Day after day and hour after hour I proceed on my way invested in it. In every moment of reflection it forces itself on me anew. A living world and life-view, informing all the facts of life, gushes forth from it continually, as from an eternal spring. A mystically ethical oneness with existence grows forth from it unceasingly.' Upon intimate spiritual confessions such as this one does not like to lay the scalpel of dissecting criticism. Certain I am that

Dr Schweitzer is here describing a self-certifying personal experience. But I cannot help feeling equally certain that he is describing it badly. It seems transparently obvious that that with which he is in mystical touch is for himself something so august and exalted that will-to-live becomes a perversely inadequate—I had almost said, a blasphemous—term to choose for its description. Dr Schweitzer moves through life with reverence for all that it contains because, in spite of all enigmas, he is mystically conscious of being in his Heavenly Father's house. Why, then, use the pitifully inappropriate language of a Schopenhauerian philosophy?

Yet upon one occasion our author himself applies the dissecting scalpel. Only two paragraphs earlier than the preceding quotation one is startled to read: 'I do not know what the essential nature underlying phenomena really is, but I conceive it by analogy with the will-to-live which exists in myself.' Well, if to intellect he will appeal, to the judgment-seat of intellect he must go. And the judgment is remorseless. Dr Schweitzer's analogical argument here is much on a level with the congenitally blind man's conjecture that the scarlet colour described to him must be like the sound of a trumpet. Serious analogical reasoning is from known similarities to a further similarity. But forces behave so differently from men that, even as children, we soon grow wise enough to infer that the inwardness of a force is different from that will which is the inwardness of a man. For myself I am certain, as previously explained, that the universe, truly understood, must be something much more rational or spiritual than a system of forces. But I can find no justification for supposing that the inner reality of each structurally individuated existent is a distinct will-to-live—still less a will-to-perfection.

Probably I have said enough to help readers to share my astonishment that a thinker who is so severe upon the speculative ventures of an 'epistemological idealism' should be content to rest his own ethical system upon so insub-

stantial a foundation. Since that system, as a system, must go to pieces with the collapse of its cosmological substructure, I need not discuss it in detail. As I have bluntly confessed, while I have large sympathy with Dr Schweitzer's ethical attitude, for the conceptions and terms in which he has formulated it I have no manner of use. Until we have before us the fuller discussion promised in his next volume, it is premature to pass any final judgment on the possibility of developing a complete ethic out of the single principle of reverence for life; but the anticipative sketch in the closing chapter of Vol. II does nothing to allay my suspicion that only by some intellectual juggling can that principle be made to yield the needed criteria of value and progress. Indeed, I fear that it is only by inadvertently using the terms 'life' and 'live' in a question-begging 'eminent' sense that our author contrives to make even a plausible beginning with his ethical construction. It might be an acid test to re-read his later chapters, substituting everywhere 'effort-to-survive' for 'will-to-live' and 'survival' for 'life,' and to ask oneself how much of the persuasiveness of his argument remained. If I myself have some reverence for all life, it is because life is always so much more, as well as often also less, than will-to-live in the strict sense of endeavour to remain alive.

Another matter which badly needs fuller explication than these chapters supply is Dr Schweitzer's conception of the relation between the ethical and the purposive, or between rightness and utility. He talks quite freely of a necessity of being less than rigorously faithful to the moral claim of reverence for life. In spite of his own assertion that the only moral good is the preservation of life and the only moral evil its destruction, he frankly recognizes the necessity of incurring guilt by destroying life. To myself such ethical teaching appears utterly inconsequent. If to destroy any life is to incur guilt, then for a moral being such destruction cannot be truly necessary; if it is truly necessary, it cannot be a guilty act. For what renders some ethically unwelcome decisions morally necessary is simply the

indefeasible moral obligation to be practical; in other words, the obligation to express our loyalty to our ideals in the only way—often most unsatisfactory—which in the circumstances will at all promote them, instead of remaining impotently inactive because the circumstances provide no more ideal way of promoting these ideals. Guilt enters when this necessity—this immanent logic of our purposeful loyalties—is flouted, not when it is obeyed. Is Dr Schweitzer's seeming denial of this apparently self-evident moral truth due to some use of a specialized terminology of his own that refuses to identify the ethical and the morally obligatory? Or does it imply that, with full consciousness, he rejects the principle, so fundamental for idealist ethics, that although moral worth does not consist in mere purposiveness, yet no act can be morally right which does not promise to be of some real use?

In spite of what appears to me to be an insufficient grasp by Dr Schweitzer of the inwardness of the relation between the right and the useful, or the ethical and the purposefully planned, it is nevertheless precisely here, as indicated in my previous article, that I find his thought most suggestive. Only by going into this matter can I explain why to a work, with perhaps five-sixths of which I am in somewhat violent disagreement, I ascribe unusual practical importance.

I take it that Dr Schweitzer's own personal morality has always been of the enthusiastically activist type. This type of moral tendency, when wedded with an ethically optimistic interpretation of the world of nature and history, finds its most distinctive expression in that purposefully constructive service of Causes (spelt with an initial capital) which wins for the Age of Enlightenment Dr Schweitzer's warm appreciation. Now purposefulness involves planning, and in order effectively to devise projects for the uplift of humanity we require to understand the objective world-order within which our plans have to be carried out, and to the dominant scheme of which consequently they have to be

adjusted. But Dr Schweitzer has become painfully aware, as we all ought to be aware, that no such dominant scheme is scientifically discoverable. Present-day science goes far to suggest that Nature has no special interest in man—that if she possesses any unity of scheme, at any rate it is not a scheme to which our human aspirations after a terrestrial New Jerusalem afford any key. And since a world-order to which we do not possess the key is, for us, all the same as a world of disorder in which we do not know what a day may bring forth, it follows that all our diligently planned service of Causes is a mere gambler's fling. Such a discovery threatens to rob activist morality of its enthusiasm by stultifying that self-expression in purposively constructive philanthropic endeavour which is its natural outlet. In Dr Schweitzer's opinion it is precisely this discovery that has paralyzed European civilization.

What, then, is the means of escape from this impasse which opens for him the way to a new ethical gospel? In principle it is very simple. For the unitary teleology of the objective world, which science denies him, he substitutes an infinity of diminutive teleologies. In some obscure manner he persuades himself that if Nature has no unitary ethical will, at any rate each structurally individuated existent possesses a will-to-perfection (for no less than this is what he means by will-to-live). And in some further obscure way he is persuaded that all these wills-to-perfection somehow express or embody or have continuity with a supreme Will-to-perfection—with that God whose nature is truly revealed not in the objective world but in the human ethical will. In the natural world we witness the tragedy of the will-to-perfection at war with itself, each separate will struggling for its own hand. In our ethical selves we find the will-to-perfection ready to sacrifice itself for other will-to-perfection. Though incapable of demonstrably efficient service of far-reaching Causes, we are capable of helping any other will-to-perfection that comes within our range of influence. Whether our acts of helpfulness will have 'any permanent

effect on the courses of the universe ' we cannot tell, but this does not matter. It is enough that, in an objective world where the will-to-perfection is in contradiction with itself, we have done service to other will-to-perfection, and thereby have entered into loyal communion with the infinite Will-to-perfection. Of a truly grounded activist ethic the fundamental principle is 'self-sacrifice for the sake of other life [? perfection] motivated by reverence for life [? perfection] itself.'

I have already complained that this ethical gospel rests upon the merest speculation. Even were the case otherwise, its defects would still be serious. Dr Schweitzer does well to remind us that purposiveness easily over-reaches itself, and that the value of all far-flung enterprise is precarious. But the new teleology which he substitutes is too microscopically pulverized—is so minutely elusive as to be almost fatal to purposefulness. Even to be able to help the individual lives that come within my range of influence I must understand something of their function in a wider teleological whole. Otherwise how can I know whether what I do for them is really helpful rather than hurtful? Helping other life cannot mean merely co-operating with that life's momentary endeavour, else I shall not know whether to help the spider catch the fly or the fly to escape the spider. To be able to help my individual fellow-men I must understand them; I must understand also the inwardness of those institutions, such as marriage, the family, the economic system, the State, to which they are tempted to play false or against which they are disposed to rebel. Hence the ethical value of that study by Hegel of the reason which is at work in the un-reason of property, punishment, abstract right and so on, of which Dr Schweitzer is so contemptuous but which is so profoundly instructive. If ethics has confined itself too exclusively to our duties toward our fellow-men, this has been due less, I think, to narrow hard-heartedness than to our lack of any inner understanding of non-human life. Certainly it is not due to an idolizing of rules and laws; for in regard to the principle that genuine morality cannot

be reduced to rule, the difference between Dr Schweitzer and modern idealist ethics is simply that what it grants as a truism, he urges with passion.

Yet when all defects have been noted, our author's ethically constructive chapters remain profoundly educative. The curtain which hides from him any cosmic purpose has made him more intensely alive than most of us to the near-by values. His vivified consciousness of our human puniness has quickened his fellow-feeling with the still punier life around us. His inability to find a God who plans and organizes has rendered him more responsive to a God who inspires and indwells. Dr Schweitzer can teach us to move more reverently about our Father's house. He can help us to a new regard for what is individual, and to a wise distrust of that kind of so-called organizing which is really mechanization. And—what I would emphasize above all—he can teach us that all our conduct should be an acted prayer.

Through the curtain which hides from Dr Schweitzer any cosmic purpose some of us may think that we know of peep-holes. But whether we do or not, it remains a vital fact that the curtain is there. The cosmic programme we do not, cannot, perceive. And therefore our noblest plans are all ventures; for us there can be no assured achieving-by-contrivance. It is our duty, I believe, to plan as carefully as we may; but our reliance must ever be, not on the aptness of our planning, but on the agreement between the ends for which we plan and the spirit of the universally-indwelling Will Divine. Our actions must try to be useful, for the reason that only so can they be morally in earnest. Yet the value of the contribution which they can be trusted to make to the achievement of the Kingdom of God—a Kingdom which Dr Schweitzer reminds us to be wider far than any merely human fellowship, no matter how perfected—is measured not by their appearance of utility or well-calculated efficiency but by that assonance with the living Spirit of God which renders them an acted prayer.

A. G. HOGG

EASTERN TURKESTAN AS A MISSION FIELD

By G. RAQUETTE

NOT so very long ago Central Asia was a comparatively unknown part of the world. By the British expedition to Kashgar in 1872, and, still more, by later French, English, Swedish and German travellers we have had a new wonderland unveiled to us, far off on the other side of the Great Pamir and the Himalayas. Who would ever think that this poor unknown country in the sandy Tarim valley had actually been, when time was young, a centre of culture, while Europe was still lying in chaos as far as culture was concerned? And who, at that time, would think that the oasis between the vast sands of the Takla-Makan plain and the surrounding mountain ranges would be the starting-point of migrations which would usher in our modern historical epoch, when the Huns, after long and severe fighting, had to leave this land to the Uigurs, the forefathers of the peaceful people who still cultivate the melon fields and gather in the vintages in Eastern Turkestan? And again, who would suppose that the desert was hiding such a wonderful range of hitherto unknown languages, of an ancient centre of art in sculpture and painting, where the old Greek and Chinese schools met? Although we knew that the Nestorian Church, about 600 A.D., had had bishops in two distant places, namely Kashgar and Hami, and although Marco Polo had told us that Christian Churches still existed there in his time, yet we had not imagined that libraries concealed in the sands would reveal to us, children of a new age, such things as parts of the Gospel in Old Turki translation and other literature from the first Christian epoch in Central Asia.

After the Nestorians, whose work was stamped out by the Muhammedan forces about 1000 A.D., there had been no Christian mission in this part of the world till the missionaries of the Svenska Missionsförbundet arrived there in 1892. They found a population of Eastern Turks in the country, entirely Muhammedan but under Chinese rule, a state of things that was considered advantageous for the mission, as the mullahs would not have authority to decide whether or not the mission should be established.

The Muhammedans of Eastern Turkestan belong to the Hanifah school, except some few Shias who have come north from India, and some Chinese Muhammedans called Tunganis, who belong to the school of Shaafi. It is by no means an easy task to draw a distinct line between superstitious and religious beliefs anywhere, but it is still less easy among these children of the desert. Muhammedanism here is to a very great extent mixed with Indian mysticism and even with pure animism, and superstition grows in abundance in the waste sands of the Takla-Makan. The belief in Allah and his 124,000 prophets stands as an unshakable foundation, but evil powers, the evil eye and demons of different kinds in the desert, the road, the house and in the very man himself are also things considered just as real as the bread he eats and the water he drinks. It is no easy task to convince a young Christian mother that an amulet bound round the neck of her child or on the top of the cradle has no virtue and that its use is most discreditable for a Christian. Children are always, and have always been, protected from the evil eye by amulets, and she has much difficulty in understanding that this custom should be affected by her belief in Jesus Christ as her Saviour. She is more apt to look upon it as a kind of tutelary agency against psychical and spiritual evils, to be used somewhat in the same way as, for instance, mercurial ointment which is applied in order to keep certain germs away from the body.

One day I called on one of my Muhammedan friends whom I knew to be suffering from a bad attack of lumbago.

The servant who came to open the door was apparently much perturbed at my arrival and asked me to sit down in the courtyard, a strange kind of reception for me as I always used to be exceedingly well received in that house. But as soon as my friend learned who was the visitor, I was asked to enter the inner apartments of the house where he had his bedroom, and here I was met by a most extraordinary spectacle. The lumbago patient was lying on a bedstead, a huge loaf covering his chest, in which some eight or ten burning candles were fixed. A big cock, with legs tied, was lying at the foot of the bed, while an exorcist was running to and fro in the room, now and then shaking a long knife over the sick man, all the time reciting some unintelligible formula. At last he pretended to hit the man with the blunt point of his knife, repeating the action over all the body from head to foot, till this part of the ceremony ended by his hitting the poor cock. Now the demon was transferred to the cock, he declared, and this was taken away and killed.

Most ailments of man and beast are considered to be caused by evil spirits, and there are innumerable fantastic ceremonies used for their exorcism. Some kinds of sickness can be healed only by blood from a stolen animal, usually a hen or a sheep. The animal is brought up on to the roof of the house and killed over an aperture, in such a way as to make the blood flow down over the patient who is placed in the right position below.

Most of these Muhammedans of the Hanifah school in the districts of Kashgar, Yangi-Hissar and Yarkand belong to the Kadirî sect, although not every one leads an actual dervish life. Here, like Muhammedans all over the world, people are leading a formal religious life, but I think facts justify my holding the opinion that we must acknowledge a true piety existing here more than in most other places. And this shows that the inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan are a God-fearing and God-seeking people, although their standard of religious teaching and culture is commonly not high.

There is a dervish sheikh in Kashgar, by name Igar Khan, who has given away all his property for the benefit of the poor, and now keeps a house where he receives all kinds of distressed and destitute men. Besides conducting the dervish services and religious dances, he is engaged in collecting alms from the well-to-do and distributing the same to the needy. He succours orphans and widows, he helps people to find stolen or otherwise lost goods, he heals the sick by offering prayers for them and, last but not least, he teaches the people, as far as his understanding goes, to fear God, to repent from sin and to walk in righteousness. He is of course in part a Muhammedan fanatic, but it is to be noted that he has never given the Christian mission any trouble, although he, more than anyone else, would have been able to do so. On the contrary he has on several occasions testified in favour of the missionaries and Christians.

In the district of Dolan, between Yarkand and Maral-bashi, we find a separate local Muhammedan sect. These people believe that the Mahdi once appeared among them, but left them again. He is supposed to have gone to Peking, or China proper, from whence it is believed he will return when the end of the age draws nigh.

The Tajiks living in the mountain regions in the south-west all belong to the Ismaili sect. They believe in God's incarnation. There has always been an incarnation of God on the earth. Jesus was God, so were Muhammad and Ali, and at the present time the Agha Khan of Bombay is supposed to be God revealed in the flesh.

The language spoken in Eastern Turkestan is an old Turki dialect very much resembling the classical Uguri. This is a wonderful language, combining simplicity with richness, and R. B. Shaw rightly says in his *Sketch of the Turki Language*:

It may seem strange that a language developed by the rude and nomad tribes of Central Asia, who in their own home have never known how to reduce it to rule (or rather to distinguish the laws through which they

themselves had unconsciously formed it), should present in fact an example of symmetry in complexity such as few of the more cultivated forms of speech exhibit.

This is not the place for entering upon details of the language, but a mere mention of the fact that any Eastern Turki primary transitive verb-root is capable of giving rise to no less than 28,000 different forms will be enough to give an idea of what the human mind has been able to produce, when left to itself in the desert regions of Central Asia.

The first difficulty that met the missionaries on their arrival at Kashgar was, of course, this language. Very little preliminary work had been done on it and they had to pick it up from the lips of the people. It took a long time, therefore, before such things as school books, a hymn book and translations of the Scriptures could be produced. These pioneer missionaries, however, were practical people, who did not merely sit down pondering on a language they could not master, nor start attacking a religion they did not understand. Their first aim was to find some way to get into direct contact with the people and, as far as possible, acquire their confidence. In teaching them to build better houses, to put glass in the windows and to make useful pieces of furniture, as well as in helping women and children to knit socks and jackets, opportunities were found to give spiritual teaching at the same time. But all this did not go far enough.

One day there came a poor fellow suffering from ague and asked the missionaries if they could possibly do anything for him. They had brought no medicines with them, except a small supply for themselves, but the man nevertheless got a dose or two of quinine and was cured. The consequence was that two other sufferers were lying before the door next morning. This was briefly the way the medical mission was started in Eastern Turkestan, although at the outset there was no intention of undertaking mission work on these lines. Some years later five to ten thousand patients annually was no unusual record, and the result was that the

mission became well known all over the country, and the missionaries were received in a friendly way in the villages everywhere. By and by, during the development of the medical work, the language was mastered and the missionaries came to understand more or less the social ethics and religious beliefs of the people.

In Turkestan it is very essential, and I believe the same is true in other lands, that a missionary should know the social etiquette of the country: how to sit, how to receive the cup of tea offered him by his host, how to wash his hands before a meal and so on. It means a good deal for his work if he can sit on his heels, and knows how to use his fingers instead of a knife and fork. A European who considered this way of taking food not quite so clean and hygienic expressed himself of that opinion to a native of Turkestan. 'Well,' the man said, 'you may be right from your point of view, but we have our own opinion about it. You wash your forks and knives and so do we our fingers. The only difference seems to be that one never can know how many different people have used your fork, but as to my fingers I know that no one but myself has ever put them in his mouth.'

A missionary must know the temperament of his people, and be acquainted with their folklore and traditions. It is not by services and public addresses that the most fruitful mission work is done, but in the schools, by the sick-beds and round the fire over the teacup, when young and old come together for a chat about bazaar news and other gossip. There the missionary has an immense opportunity, if he has obtained a right understanding of the Turkestani man through the loving eye that can see the rich vein of gold beneath the rugged surface. As a rule Europeans have only a feeble understanding of the temperament of the genuine Turk, who is a very different man from the half-breed Turk of Stamboul, with his thin European veneer. A man going to Constantinople to study the character of the Turk is as far from achieving his aim as if he went to New

York to study the character of the English. And that is why so few among us have a proper understanding of the real Turk, and see what a fine fellow he is, plain and good-humoured. Start with one of their own popular tales, as for instance one of Nasr Ed Din Khoja's stories, no matter if they have heard it hundreds of times before, quote one or two lines of their poetry, and you will soon find eager ears listening to your new story, the wonderful one of the Master from Nazareth.

The Christian congregation in Eastern Turkestan can count only about sixty or seventy members, but this demonstrates only a small part of the Christian influence in the country. Christian ideas have worked their way in much more than outsiders are apt to believe. It does, however, mean something that you can hear a peasant boy working in the fields singing a Christian hymn. He has perhaps never had any contact with the mission himself, but he has learned the hymn from a school-boy from the mission school or from some one who used to attend the Sunday services. He likes the tune and he sings it with its Christian words. Once a man said to me, 'It is remarkable how much people talk about Jesus nowadays. Some ten or twenty years ago nobody knew anything about Him here, except the mullahs, but they never mentioned His name. Now His name is on the lips of everybody.' When the Great War was at its worst, the Eastern Turks were commonly disturbed by the idea that it was a sign of the last times. Then people, even those who never had cared about the Christian faith, came to the missionaries asking if they had any information from the Gospel that Jesus was coming soon. Another remarkable fact is that when a persecution against the Christians and the mission was started by the Chinese authorities and some fanatics among the Muhammedans in 1923, the mass of the Muhammedan population could not be stirred up against the Christians, as popular sympathy was on the side of the mission. All this tells a tale of advance for Christianity

in a Moslem land much more convincing and interesting than long lists of converts. The mission in Eastern Turkestan has passed through the first days of ploughing, the sowing of good seed is now going on and, as far as one can judge, the harvest time is drawing near. The Swedish missionaries have found the work worth while, so has a young English lady who went there in 1923 in association with the Swedish mission, so also have two energetic missionaries of the China Inland Mission who are stationed in the north of the province. It is sixty days' journey between this English mission and the nearest Swedish station.

It takes three months to reach Turkestan from Sweden, but who troubles about a three months' journey when going to find the pearl of great price ?

G. RAQUETTE

ON MAKING A MISSIONARY ATLAS

By CHARLES H. FAHS

I

THE *World Missionary Atlas*, just published in New York City (by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, with a British edition which bears the imprint of the Edinburgh House Press), will be critically reviewed in this journal, and it is not the purpose of this article to take over the reviewer's function. Nor is it intended to offer here an exposition of the ideals sought and processes followed in the compilation of the Atlas. Such an exposition is to be found in the Explanatory Notes which precede each section in the new Atlas. Rather is it desired that one of the editors of the *World Missionary Atlas* should provide some account of the problems involved and the difficulties encountered in the production of such a volume at this time.

It may be desirable, by way of introduction, to give a sketch of certain earlier efforts in the same field of endeavour.

More than a half-century has elapsed since Dr Grunemann, at that time cartographer at the famous Justus Perthes establishment at Gotha, published his first missions atlas.¹ After that he issued smaller missionary atlases from time to time until 1903. In Denmark, Dean Vahl, under the imprint of the Danish Missionary Society, brought out in the middle eighties a missionary atlas manual, adding to it small statistical volumes with descriptive texts during the next years. In 1902 there appeared in New York City the *Centennial Survey of Christian Missions*, by Dr James S. Dennis. Preliminary returns from Dr Dennis' statistical studies had been presented at the Ecumenical Missionary

¹ Allgemeintn Missions-Atlas, nach Originalquellen bearbeitet. Gotha, bei Justus Perthes, 1867-72. 72 Karten mit Erläuterndem Text.

Conference, held in New York City in 1900. In 1901 and 1903, under the imprint of the Student Volunteer Movement and under the editorship of the Rev. Harlan P. Beach, then Educational Secretary of that Movement, there appeared in New York City a *Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions*, the atlas being separate from the geography volume.

For the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 Commission I (on Survey and Occupation) prepared a *Statistical Atlas of Christian Missions*, this atlas later being revised and enlarged to include Latin America, and published in 1911 under American auspices with the title *World Atlas of Christian Missions*. The editors of both editions were Professor Beach, Dr Dennis and the writer of this article. In 1916, under the editorship of the Rev. Burton St John, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America published *World Statistics of Christian Missions*. On the Roman Catholic side, Father Karl Streit, S.V.D., published in 1906 the *Katholischen Missionsatlas*, and in 1913 the monumental *Atlas Hierarchicus*.

Many map studies of missions in particular fields or of particular missions or churches have been made, and also many statistical studies of world missions or of missions in particular areas. The major features, however, of recent efforts to exhibit the missionary enterprise through map and statistical representation have been shown above.

For various reasons, as far as Protestant missions are concerned, the making of statistical atlases seems to have shifted with the turn of the century from Europe to the United States, for since 1900 practically every effort of this kind has developed west of the Atlantic. Such volumes are expensive to produce and sales do not by any means cover their cost, and with the gradual coming of North America to a place of predominance in the relative sums given for missions it has been found possible to secure in America the underwriting for such an elaborate task. This, in itself, has been almost determinative. Small wonder, then, if the atlases, as these appear, should exhibit American character-

istics, though they are meant to serve the need for a statistical atlas of Protestant missions wherever this need is felt. Although the various atlases have benefited by the criticisms and constructive suggestions of British, Continental and other scholars, yet European missionary leaders would doubtless decide a multitude of questions pertaining to plan and procedure in different ways than these same questions have been decided by the editors of the *World Missionary Atlas*.

If the initiative and the underwriting in reference to statistical atlases of Protestant missions are found in North America, it should be said that commercial map making in the United States and Canada has not reached that combination of technical and artistic skill which we are accustomed to expect from London, Edinburgh or Gotha. The maps for such an atlas are best made in Great Britain or Europe. Given a decision as to map makers, the problem arises as to the division of responsibility for the adequacy or accuracy of data to be presented on the maps. Clearly the editors of the Atlas could not go into the research involved, for instance, in presenting the physical and political features of the earth. For that the map makers had to be responsible. On the other hand the Atlas editors had to decide what missionary facts were to be mapped. For reasons of expense, it was essential that maps already to hand in the geographical establishment should be used or adapted, the missionary data to be superimposed thereon by extra printings. A fairly clear line of division of responsibility for accuracy thus becomes apparent. But the issue was not so clear in certain cases, of which a single illustration must suffice.

In one regard the present Atlas has values decidedly in advance of earlier volumes in that a number of small maps of the world, on Mercator's projection, are given, these setting forth particular ranges of facts, such as climate, communications, languages of commerce, etc. One such map, included in Plate 1, is worthy of note at this point, namely, the map of prevailing religions. It will be noted that in the Explanatory Statement to the General Descriptive

Notes (p. 181 of the Atlas), a somewhat lengthy statement is made as to why the editors have not endeavoured to prepare statistical tables which should indicate the relative strength of the principal religions in the various regions of the world. Yet on Plate 1 there appears this map of the prevailing religions. This was a case where the editors found it inexpedient to attempt the task of preparing statistics of the world's religions but admitted a map showing these same religions. The situation faced was that the Edinburgh Geographical Institute had available such a map of prevailing religions which was usable for the Atlas, a map which, within its limitations, was of value for the Atlas readers. Some fair indication of the setting of the great religions of the world was offered. To make a new map was as impracticable as to compile new statistics of the religions. The choice, therefore, was to print no map at all or to use one already prepared and available for use. As in the case of the other small world and feature maps which were used, the map makers were responsible for all the map data, and the editors for the choice of the particular maps to be used for the Atlas.

Practical considerations have thus had to enter into decisions, processes and relationships at every step.

If impulse and underwriting came from North America and the maps from Great Britain, the materials to be compiled had to be gleaned throughout the world. Thousands of letters had to be written and many hundreds of documents gathered from a multitude of centres. Each society or field report was scanned for data pertinent to the maps, directory or tables. When the printed matter or correspondence received was not in English, those competent to read it were assigned the task. In some cases translations were prepared. Technical words or phrases were weighed to get their values in terms of statistical rubrics accepted for use. Ecclesiastical areas were studied in relation to the political areas chosen as the basis for statistical units. Frequently a diocese or synod or conference extends across

political boundaries, and returns had then to be redistributed as accurately as possible.

These processes were carried on with a never-ceasing wish that those who actually live with the facts were within reach for consultation. Moreover, however far afield materials were sought, new sources of information which challenged research were constantly emerging, and the work went forward under the baffling sense that others of significance must certainly be available somewhere, if only they could be discovered in time. Board or mission officials, harassed by pressure of stated duties, all too frequently sent only annual reports, when special and important studies, as of institutional work in particular fields, might have been easily available, if only conclusive thinking on Atlas needs could have been had from the overworked officials.

As the printed reports were scanned for data, many questions arose. Careful study was given these, and finally in many cases recourse was had to further correspondence for validation of statistics already compiled or for additional data. By the time replies were received the lineaments of the particular problems concerned perhaps had faded and must needs be revived by fresh study, or there had been long delay in response and the hour had struck when a decision had to be made and the general processes of compilation pushed forward. 'Nor snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor gloom of night stays these swift couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds,' is chiselled across the front of the New York post office building from which went out and at which arrived the Atlas mail. Nevertheless, even with the marvel of modern communications, there are hazards and hurdles to be negotiated when the information to be assembled for an atlas must be gathered from the ends of the earth and from all the way between. Distance does *not* lend enchantment to the activities of atlas making.

Apart from the editors, twenty-eight different people served on the office staff for considerable periods, and there were a number of others who served as temporary workers.

For many months the staff was never less than twelve in number. Of all the staff only two persons were of experience in earlier atlas or missionary statistical activities. All had to learn the work either anew or largely from the ground up, whatever may have been their previous training. The task of thinking through the atlas problems, that of assembling and compiling of data and that of training the staff had to go forward together. Out of all these processes had to be moulded the final results for publication.

II

Each significant attempt at map or statistical presentation of Protestant missions has called forth suggestions and criticism, while the shifting problems and situations to be recorded in any new atlas themselves call for adjustments and changes in method, yet there is no continuing bureau for the study of the science and technique of cartography and statistics as applied to the world-wide spread of the Gospel. Each time the demand for a new atlas becomes sufficiently vocal to call for the specific and sustained effort required, the machinery for producing results must be set up anew. Those who comprised the working staff for compiling the *World Missionary Atlas* are already scattered—to three continents, in fact. The Edinburgh Geographical Institute continues; the Missionary Research Library, with its store of information, continues; the Institute of Social and Religious Research, which made that atlas possible, continues. But the staff which produced the atlas has been dismissed and could not be reassembled. At this writing, only one or two individuals disciplined in research, and perhaps not a single clerical worker trained in the multitudinous technical details of the task, could be brought back. All the others are already fully committed elsewhere. Neither the missionary enterprise as such, nor the Christian forces of the world, have yet reached the place where continuous effort and constructive thought, fed from inter-

national springs of purpose and of scientific ideals, are applied in this field. The day for it is not here as yet, and indeed may never come. Suffice it to say that atlases and world statistics of missions are the sporadic output of the missionary enterprise.

For many years the major sources of information about missions have been the offices of societies and boards to which the reports from their missionaries were constantly being sent. These reports have been occasioned in large measure by the demand of the home base for materials which would help to keep interest keen on the part of the constituency which provided both the missionaries and their support. So far as statistics were called for by society officials from the fields the categories used were in marked measure those to which the giving constituencies were accustomed in connexion with their own church life. A widely variant technique was thus developed by the different communions. Only in part did the schemes of classification reflect conditions on the fields. Any attempt to provide world statistics of missions had to reckon with the incongruity of the returns securable from the home base offices.

An attempt to bring some sort of order out of chaos was made by a sub-committee of the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference (the Sub-committee on Securing Uniformity in Statistical Returns). This sub-committee worked for a time on the selection and definition of statistical headings that might be expected to be most useful to a science of missions. Two reports on the subject were prepared and circulated, and doubtless the annual reports of certain boards reflect currently the results of this study made after 'Edinburgh, 1910.'

The world war, however, made heavy drafts on life in the different nations affected. Board office staffs became depleted for reasons of economy or because of the demand of the war leading to the shifting of personnel. Many annual reports were cut down in size to save printers' bills. So it has come about that often neither in printed matter issued by the

societies nor through correspondence with society officers are statistical facts concerning their missions as easily obtainable as a decade ago, although the will to help has markedly developed, as shown in the temper of replies to atlas correspondence.

Again, the development on the field of interdenominational statistical activity is to be noted. *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea and Formosa* has statistical features in the annual volumes. *The Christian Occupation of China* was rich in statistics. The new statistical survey of Christianity in India, made under the supervision of the Rev. Alexander McLeish, of Ajmer, is another evidence of the same movement. In lesser measure there are similar results in other parts of Asia, Africa and the island world. These field efforts at statistics increasingly tend to exhibit the point of view of the growing Churches rather than that of the missionary societies, and the categories of classification used give evidence of this tendency.

Attempts at tabulating missionary statistics for a world atlas must make the most of what can be gathered from board offices, supplementing these returns by whatever can be gleaned from field sources such as have been already described. The problem of adjusting and unifying the figures resulting from these two different streams of effort is one that must somehow be worked out by the editors and staff.

Either of two processes may be followed in compiling statistics of missions. A set of rubrics may be chosen which have proved generally acceptable to mission boards and home base constituencies and which include the major classifications which have seemed to be pertinent for mission data. The hundreds of society and field reports which constitute the major sources to be used can then be scanned and the statistical facts gleaned can be listed under their appropriate headings, so far as the headings provide places for the facts. With a prearranged statistical scheme, and with available returns properly tucked away in the columns where

they belong, the drawing of totals for fields and continents becomes a desirable and natural outcome. The results are usable for interpretative purposes and have real significance and value. In general, this has been the plan followed as a rule in compiling world statistics of missions.

Another method would be to study the situation in each area to be presented statistically, to choose just those statistical categories which would exhibit the facts characteristic of the particular area, and then to build statistical schemes accordingly for each field. The results, thus following the particularized statistical procedure appropriate for this or that geographical unit, would better exhibit the facts. As the foci of record making, and as co-operative and union movements develop on the fields, this kind of statistical procedure will doubtless come to be more and more in evidence. The quantitative measurements of growth and development of the Christian movements will naturally tend to become as varied as the life they are used to measure. But totals for all the fields under many headings will then become well-nigh impossible to provide. Totals will be appropriate only for the particular headings which might emerge as characteristic of many fields.

The editors of the Atlas fairly faced this issue of statistical method and decided on the former procedure, on grounds of practicability. I am still of the opinion that our processes would have broken down under the sheer weight of the load to be carried had we attempted the second type of study in connexion with the present Atlas.

Given the conditions of compilation, the particular sources used and the statistical technique followed in the preparation of the Atlas, it is plain the results obtained for any particular area are likely to show marked variations from returns compiled for that same area by any group seeking light on this or that special problem. Reports of different dates are likely to be used. Additional sources may be available. Other headings for classification may be thought desirable. Yet the Atlas and any such study may each represent the

best and most thoroughgoing processes practicable under all the circumstances and for the particular objectives sought.

No question is more disturbing in gathering missionary statistics or in preparing maps of missions than that of scope. In certain fields of the Western Hemisphere (Mexico, Cuba, etc.) both foreign and home missionary societies, having their headquarters within the United States, are at work. Clearly a field cannot be judged as within or without the scope of the Atlas solely on the basis of the names of the organizations carrying on the work or on that of the label the work itself carries. Nor can the decision be made always on the basis of the place where the work is done. Thus certain Young Men's Christian Associations, as in Calcutta or Hongkong, serving groups from the West, are scarcely to be reckoned within the scope of missionary statistics, even though they are within territories usually regarded as mission fields. And if the decision as to scope is made on the basis of the kind of work done, or on that of the type of population reached, again we are in difficulties. One important church body regards work with and for the half-castes in the Cape of Good Hope Province as not being missionary, while the same church body in another part of the Union of South Africa regards work for half-castes as being missionary in nature. One British nonconformist body regards its work in the West Indies as missionary, and lists its British-born workers in Jamaica as foreign missionaries, while the Church of England leaders in Jamaica insist that Anglican clergy from Great Britain who are at work in Jamaica must be listed with the native Church.

In general, the scope of the Atlas is that of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh, namely, work for non-Christians wherever found, this being enlarged to include the scope of the work of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, which has within its purview not only the aboriginal population of Latin America along with the Asiatic immigrants, but also the nominal and lapsed Christians of the

Latin American republics. This twofold scope leaves out at least three groups of missions: efforts at church extension and aid on the continent of Europe carried on from an American or other base; home missions within the United States, and Canada other than those for American Indians and Asiatic immigrants; and the diaspora missions from so-called Christian lands among nationals of these lands who have scattered over the earth seeking homes or economic opportunity.

In spite of persistent efforts at clear definition of scope, many inconsistencies arise. Thus, work for Italians in Argentina is included, but not work for Italians in Italy or in America, because the work in Argentina is within the scope of the Committee of Co-operation in Latin America, while American work in Europe or among European immigrants in the United States is not. Mexico is included, but not work among Mexicans long resident, or only recently arrived, in the south-western states of the United States.

No treatment of the problem of scope has proved possible that is consistently inclusive or exclusive with respect to every type of mission throughout the world. Sooner or later, in order to achieve practicability of process, this or that problem has to be dealt with by fiat. Complete consistency is out of the question. It simply cannot be brought about amid present-day complexities. A reasonable approximation to it is all that can be hoped for.

The Directory of Missionary Organizations will be open to criticism both because of its inclusiveness and because of its exclusiveness. Again and again the compiler's judgment hesitated as to the limits of scope. Usefulness rather than scientific achievement in classification was regarded as the more desirable, but precision in detail was faithfully sought. What entries might reasonably be looked for in such a directory was the question asked again and again. In such fields as Japan, China and India the Christian yearbooks and directories give great help, but there are many fields for which as yet no ready handbook is available. The form of

the Directory follows, for the most part, that of the similar section in Dr Dennis' *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions*. Dr Dennis had primary responsibility for the Directory in the Atlas prepared for the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh, and the form used in the *World Missionary Atlas* continues to show the impress of his thought in this connexion. The listing of the developing church bodies on the fields and those union institutions which have each its own status as an incorporated body are for the most part new features of the Atlas just published. Neither groups are to be considered as 'missionary societies,' yet they seemed to call for presentation.

The problems of what to include in or to exclude from such a Directory shade off in the direction of relative importance as well as in that of kind. Various elements entered into the decision made in almost every case. No hard-and-fast rule was or could be applied.

A question may fairly be raised as to what values should be sought in missionary maps. The present Atlas is based on the principle of showing residence stations of missionaries. That principle has prevailed in most of the missionary atlases. The interest of Christian groups in their own personnel scattered to far places justifies this type of presentation, especially if the Atlas is primarily intended to serve the supporting constituencies in home base lands. With almost thirty thousand Christian folk who have crossed either national or racial boundaries, or both, to extend the faith, there is abundant reason for an adequate exhibit of the regional distribution of these thousands and of their places of residence. However, the trend of development in many missionary lands is away from keeping the missionary in the primary place of importance, and a basis of mapping the Christian advance which puts a red underline under some place-name to indicate the residence of a British or Continental or American missionary, but does not indicate where an Azariah or a Kagawa serves his people, fails to give needful perspective, however useful it may be for other

purposes. Yet from the point of view of the writer, to attempt the mapping of the work of the indigenous Churches in any adequate way is still impracticable. A real advance in this direction was made in *The Christian Occupation of China*, but this was achieved under unusual circumstances and pertained to only a single field. An atlas of present-day Protestant forces for all the world, or an atlas of Christianity, covering all communions for all lands, may be compiled in the years ahead, but an entirely new technique of presentation will be required. In the preparation of maps for the *World Missionary Atlas* it was not found practicable to depart essentially from the technique of the earlier atlases of the same general kind.

A feature of the *World Missionary Atlas* which occupies but little space, yet one which will probably be more widely quoted than any other section of the volume, is the table of 'Growth of Protestant Missions since 1900.' This table has been made possible by the fact that several major efforts at world statistics of missions have been made in the United States in the last quarter century, and there has been sufficient continuity and relatedness in these various efforts to make a table of comparative statistics possible. But the cost in effort of preparing that table was out of all proportion to its size. For instance, in the 1903 *Atlas of Protestant Missions*, in the column giving the number of residence stations, duplicate entries were not omitted. Thus Tokyo, Shanghai and Calcutta were counted as many times as there were different boards, which reported these places as residence stations of missionaries. To get the basis of comparison, therefore, with the atlases of 1911 and 1925, all the entries in the station index of the 1903 atlas had to be checked and classified by areas. Again, in the 1903 atlas the Turkish Empire was entered in the tables as a unit. In order to get a basis for comparison by continents for this Atlas it was necessary to eliminate from the 1903 table all work existing in Turkey-in-Europe as it then was. This was brought about by an examination of the annual reports for that

period, and the subtraction from the 1903 table for the Turkish Empire of the numbers credited in the reports to the European section of the Empire.

These are given as two samples only of adjustments made necessary in the one case by a change in editorial method and in the other by both change of method and change in historical situation. Yet it would seem to be desirable that out of these successive atlases there should come comparisons which reveal something of trend and developments otherwise perhaps not so easily discoverable. A desire to make possible comparisons from decade to decade was one consideration which led at the beginning of the preparation of the present Atlas to the decision to depart as little as possible from the column headings used in the *World Atlas of Christian Missions* of 1911.

It would be unprofitable to list further the questions that perplexed editors and staff workers as they pursued the Atlas processes. Whatever be the value of the result, the editors were faced by a challenging opportunity, and probably, all in all, did their work under the most favourable conditions possible. The results must be tested by scrutiny and use. Just as this Atlas has departed at many points from earlier procedure, so probably no editor will ever be called upon to do again just what was done this time. A changing world, shifting situations within Christian organizations and institutions, growing demands and a developing technique will doubtless call a decade or so hence for a new atlas, possibly very different in scope and method. Till then, the *World Missionary Atlas* of 1925 is available. If it serves as worthily and helpfully as did some of its predecessors, those who edited it will not feel that their labours have been in vain.

CHARLES H. FAHS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE RELIGION OF THE ṚIGVEDA

THE RELIGION OF THE ṚIGVEDA. By H. D. GRISWOLD, Ph.D., D.D.
London : Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. 1923.

THIS is a volume in the Religious Quest of India series written by one of its co-editors. The first impression produced by its title is that, at any rate as a book for scholars, it must be superfluous considering the number and the detailed character of the works written by specialists on the subject. This conclusion would, however, not by any means be justified. The author is qualified by a considerable first-hand knowledge, having begun the study of the Veda thirty-five years ago under the late Professor Weber of Berlin, and having written books on the subject since then (e.g. *Brahman*, 1900, *Varuṇa in the Ṛigveda*, 1910). He is also familiar with the ancient home of the Ṛigveda, the Panjab, having spent thirty years of his life there, and thus gained opportunities of realizing and judging of various physical phenomena known to many others only in the pale light of book knowledge. Moreover, while the rather numerous authorities on Vedic religion have limited themselves for the most part to the Indian point of view, the author has not only collated and criticized the in many cases divergent views of these writers, but has presented the subject as a much more comprehensive and comparative whole. He has also treated it in a scholarly manner and is by no means unduly dependent on his authorities. His book will therefore be of value not only to the general reader but to students of comparative religion and even to the Vedic scholar, owing to the critical and illustrative remarks supplied in the footnotes as well as in the body of the book.

There is a full and informing table of contents (seven pages), followed by four pages of an abbreviated list of authorities quoted in the volume. There is also a complete list of the passages from the Ṛigveda occurring in the book (pp. 377-80), which concludes with a useful general index (pp. 381-92). It is well illustrated with translations from the Ṛigveda. The footnotes are especially useful

owing to the numerous parallel passages quoted from the Bible. It can therefore be particularly recommended to western students who wish to gain an unbiassed understanding of Vedic religion and its affinities to their own. The volume is divided into thirteen chapters, the titles of which alone give a sufficient idea of its comprehensive character. Here it will of course be possible to touch on some of the most interesting points only.

The first chapter deals with the antecedents of the *Ṛigvedic* age. Here is given a good list of words establishing the unity of the Indo-European family of languages; e.g. Skt. *yugám*, Gk. *ζυγόν*, Lat. *jugum*, Goth. *juk*, Lith. *jungas*, Engl. *yoke*. Among many other topics treated is the custom of *Satī*, by which a wife voluntarily accompanied her husband in death, and which was practised by so many peoples in a prehistoric stage, being of course based on the burial or cremation of things useful to the dead in the next life. Again, the feeding of the dead was probably the origin of feeding the gods (p. 15). It is here shown how India, because of her isolation, is a land of archaic survivals. It is pointed out too how the later religious history of India was due to the interaction of the indigenous *Sūdra* and the conquering Aryan. The second chapter deals with the *Ṛigvedic* age. One interesting conclusion here emphasized is that the *Ṛigveda* is the purest expression on the soil of India of the Aryan spirit. In the next chapter the author treats of the *Ṛigveda* in its general character, showing how, as containing more than one-half of all Vedic stanzas, it is the great source of the other Vedas, and for Indian history, religion, philosophy and civilization is a book of origins. He also points out how Sanskrit is the foundation of Indo-European comparative grammar. Dr Griswold finally indicates in this chapter that the tendency of the best Vedic scholarship at the present time is to emphasize the largeness of the context in which the *Ṛigveda* is to be set and studied.

Chapters iv to xi deal with the religious contents of the *Ṛigveda*: the Vedic world of gods and demons; Varuṇa the ethical god; Agni the priestly god; Indra the warrior god; Soma the deified sacrificial drink; Uṣas, the goddess of dawn, and the *Aśvins*, the twin deities of the twilight; the minor gods of the Vedic pantheon; and the eschatology of the *Ṛigveda*.

The author shows how the logical goal of the polytheistic religion of the *Ṛigveda* was monotheism, but was deflected, before reaching this final development, into pantheism, which has remained the

dominating system of educated India down to the present day. Dayānanda Sarasvatī, however, the founder of the Ārya Samāj school in the nineteenth century, interpreted the Ṛigveda monotheistically, but only by means of wild and unscientific interpretation of the Ṛigvedic polytheism. In the Ṛigveda the conception of the uniformity of nature appears in the shape of *rita*, or 'cosmic order' (p. 107). This conception, we may add, never attained the position of 'natural law' like that of Greece, because the Indian mind never paid much attention to the evidence of natural science. The author also shows how closely connected even in the Ṛigveda are prayer, which persuaded the gods, and magic, which compelled them. Chapter v is, from the point of view of comparative religion, the most important. For here is shown the identity of Varuṇa, ethically much the highest of the gods of the Ṛigveda, and of Ahura Mazda, who, owing to the clean sweep of the old gods made by Zoroaster, became the only god of the Avesta. The latter is, however, only a palimpsest, in which the earlier Mithra-Ahura shows through as identical with the Mitra-Varuṇa of the Ṛigveda.

In Chapter vi we meet with Agni as a punisher and remitter of sins like Varuṇa. In the next chapter the author draws a long and detailed parallel between Indra and Yahweh as storm gods and war gods, also as protectors of their devotees, the one aiding the Jewish tribes in crossing the Red Sea and the Jordan, while the other takes Vedic clans safely across two rivers of the Panjab (pp. 189-99). Chapter x deals with the minor Vedic gods, such as Rudra (afterwards Śiva). Here it is interesting to observe that in the later Indian period the high peaks of the Himālayas came to be regarded as a seat of the gods (especially Mount Kailāsa as the abode of Śiva), like Olympus among the Greeks and Sinai among the Hebrews. This chapter contains a translation of a hymn to the forest goddess Araṇyānī, which graphically describes some of the weird nocturnal sounds heard in the jungle, such as the creaking of wheels. Here is to be found an example of the interesting illustrations that local knowledge is able to give. Thus Dr Griswold remarks that in the Panjab carts often travel by night.

The last two chapters deal respectively with the Ṛigveda and the later Hindu developments as the fulfilment of the religion of the Ṛigveda. The author mentions that the figure of the Trimūrti, or the Hindu trinity (Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu) of a later period, having a threefold head is an illustration of symbolism as the most char-

acteristic quality of Hindu religious art. As regards the origin of the possession of many arms and heads by the Hindu gods, it has been explained by the present writer as due to the necessity felt by the ancient artists of differentiating in sculpture the vague forms in which the gods were conceived in Vedic and Epic poetry, by giving them additional arms to hold the symbols characteristic of each. This plurality of heads and arms, he points out, is suggested by metaphorical expressions in the *Rigveda*, such as the epithet three-headed applied to Agni in reference to the three sacrificial fires. He has also collected the evidence showing when this innovation arose, roughly speaking about 100 A.D.

The printing of the book has been carefully done. There are indeed a good many slight errors of the press, but these never affect more than a single syllable of any word, and consist mostly in the omission of diacritical marks in transliterated words. The accent has also been wrongly marked in a good many Greek words, but several of the errors of the former, and perhaps all of the latter type, must be put down to the fact that the book has been printed in India. It has been impossible in the space available to touch on a good many important points. But the opinion of the present writer, who has studied the subject treated in this book for a long time and has written a good deal about it, is perhaps best expressed by stating that he has read it with both pleasure and edification.

OXFORD

A. A. MACDONELL

KENYA

KENYA. By NORMAN LEYS, M.B., D.P.H. London: Hogarth Press. 15s. 1924.

DR LEYS' book is a notable literary achievement. It is at the same time a political event. It will compel fresh consideration of the principles which are to prevail in British colonial administration. Into the writing of the book have gone, as Professor Gilbert Murray says, 'the experience, the emotion and the hard thinking of a lifetime.' Dr Leys tells us that the book has been preparing for fifteen years.

Dr Leys' object is to show that a state of things exists in Kenya which it is impossible to reconcile with the Christian conception of life, with the dictates of justice and with those principles of trusteeship in the government of less developed peoples to which the British

Empire is publicly committed. The early chapters are devoted to a general and historical account of Kenya Colony. These are followed by a description of the present situation resulting from the contact of black and white, and by a careful examination of the economic and social results of a system under which a large proportion of the cultivable land has been alienated to Europeans and as many of the Natives as possible are compelled by the pressure of taxation to work for white employers. Dr Leys reaches the conclusion that the results of the system are bad for practically every one concerned.

The longest chapter in the book is devoted to Christian missions. Dr Leys' attitude to organized Christianity is, on the whole, one of disappointment and mistrust. But the fulness of his treatment of the influence of Christian missions and the discussion of the historical development of Christianity and its place in the modern world, for which room is found in this chapter, are evidence of the author's profound sense of the significance of religion and of a wistful longing that in the Church of Christ might be found the means of remedying the evils which he deplors. While the chapter contains not a few severe strictures on missions, it is a strikingly fresh and penetrating study of their place in the development of Africa, and a pointed challenge to the Church to define its attitude to the forces which are impinging on the lives of African peoples.

There is no space to consider in detail how far Dr Leys makes out his case against the existing system. He assails it not with abuse, but in far more deadly fashion by the careful marshalling of facts. He makes use of official sources of information wherever they are available. He is at pains not to overstate a case, and his desire to be fair as well as accurate is manifest. This does not mean that he is invariably successful. He entirely misrepresents the views of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, and the subject is one on which misunderstanding could have been avoided, since Dr Jones' views have been set forth in his earlier Report on Education in West and South Africa. What Dr Jones wants for the African is very much what Dr Leys wants, and he has clearer and more helpful ideas based on wide experience as to how the goal may be reached. Other statements in Dr Leys' book will be challenged. One of the real difficulties in the Kenya situation is that exact and authoritative information is lacking in regard to matters in which it is of vital importance.

But whatever difference of view there may be on matters of detail, in regard to his main contentions Dr Leys has made out a case that cannot be lightly dismissed. He has succeeded in the task he set himself. He has made it impossible to ignore the issues he has raised. The question cannot be left where it is. The reputation and credit of British colonial policy are involved.

Dr Leys makes it clear that in attacking the system in Kenya he is not passing condemnation on the resident European community. With the working settler he has a manifest sympathy and recognizes that he deserves every consideration. It is no more than the due of the European owners of land in Kenya, he tells us, to state 'that they have as high a personal standard of justice in dealing with Africans as employers have in other countries.' While all this is explicitly recognized by Dr Leys, the book is in its proportions and emphasis essentially the presentation of one side of the case. It is necessary to realize this, since if any improvement is to be effected account must be taken of the point of view of the white community. That community is there; its capital and lives have been invested in the country. Its co-operation is necessary to effect any improvement. It includes men of the finest type and there is a keen local patriotism to which appeal may hopefully be made. If the facts in this book are correct, the existing state of things is a fatal hindrance to the progress of the Colony and needs to be remedied as much in the interests of the Empire as of the native inhabitants of Kenya. The fault lies, as Dr Leys sees, in the lack of clear and strong policy on the part of Government, and for this the absence of an intelligent and informed public opinion at home is responsible. If things are to be set right the people of Great Britain must make up their minds on what principles they wish the territory for which they are responsible to be administered and must insist that their wishes are carried out. To compel them to face this issue is the purpose of Dr Leys' book.

While the central issue is that of administrative policy in a particular colony, the book has a much wider interest. It presents a vivid and arresting picture of the problems which arise when an advanced civilization and the capitalistic system impinge on peoples still in the stage of barbarism. An illuminating account is given of the part played by diseases in African life. The conditions of tribal life are described with intimate knowledge. Whether one agrees with Dr Leys or not, one must be grateful to him for a book that is

out of the ordinary in the range of its interests and sympathies and in the freshness and strength of its thinking ; grateful also for his determination that justice should be done to those who are not yet sufficiently articulate to urge their own case. If the principle of trusteeship is to be not merely publicly professed, but translated into practice, it will only be, as Professor Murray remarks in his introduction, through the supply of those who are ready to face unpopularity in the exercise of vigilance and criticism for the protection of subject and unprotected races, and a country is to be counted happy in the measure that it numbers such men among its citizens.

J. H. OLDHAM

LONDON

THREE BOOKS ON SWEDISH MISSIONS

EN MISSIONERANDE KYRKA : Svenska Kyrkans Mission genom 50 år.
Av GUNNAR BRUNDIN. Illustrerad. Kr. 5.25.

SVENSK MISSION OCH INDISK KYRKA : Historisk skildring av Svenska Kyrkans arbete i Sydindien. Av HERMAN SANDEGREN. Kr. 4.25.

BLAND ZULUER OCH KARANGER : Femtio års missionshistoria från Svenska Kyrkans fält i Sydafrika. Av J. E. NORENIUS. Illustrerad. Map. Kr. 3.25. Stockholm : Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag. 1924.

IN discussing missions, just as one might speak of an Anglo-Saxon missionary type (perhaps now more specifically divided into an English and an American) and a Germanic type (really German), so one might, still more definitely, speak of a Scandinavian type. The Scandinavian type has certainly been influenced and modified from various directions, but is nevertheless quite independent and distinctive. The four Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland, have their respective national differences and each its own peculiar folk characteristics, but viewed under the main lights of racial propensities and peculiarities, the peoples of these four lands have the same tendencies in expressing their spiritual life, and build together readily in spiritual activities along lines that give to their church and missionary work a character decidedly Scandinavian in type. As the mission workers of these countries find their missionary interests and enthusiasms growing closer and their work uniting, the distinctive Scandinavian type of missionary enterprise will develop more definitely and purge itself of partisan-

ship, in order that it may play its important part in the furthering of God's plan and the perfection of His kingdom among men. In proof of this assertion we have the three books here under review. True, they treat of the missionary endeavours of only one of the Swedish missionary organizations, being published in honour of the fiftieth anniversary of the Board of Missions of the State Church of Sweden, but they give not only a trustworthy and brilliant picture of the missionary work of this Church in particular, they reveal to the reader the kind of missionary work that is general among the missionary organizations of the northern lands.

If it is true that a missionary organization's responsibility before God, and in the light of history, is to be measured by its resources of knowledge, culture and intelligence, the Swedish Church Mission has a greater responsibility in the mission field than any of its contemporary Swedish mission organizations. Nearly all its missionaries are university men and women, some of them highly trained. At home its leaders have been recruited from the ranks of the Church's ablest men in view of missionary knowledge and ability for leadership. How then has it met its responsibilities and invested its talents in the mission field during the past half century? I am convinced that a study of the book by Mr Brundin, the Swedish Church Missionary Director, will reveal to the reader that this fine organization, under a steadily growing realization of its vast responsibility, has met adequately the great task confronting it, so that God's blessing has rested on its endeavours and crowned its work with success. The work of the Swedish Church Mission in the foreign field may well serve as an example for other Swedish missionary organizations, and this not least on the administrative side, and in the direction of the native Churches. It has more and more become the policy of the Swedish missions to fit the native Churches for self-government and self-activity, bringing into the work, and using for the forwarding of Christ's kingdom, the national characteristics peculiar to the various peoples. Respect for the national characteristics of the world's various peoples has always marked the best missionary efforts of Swedish missionaries in whatever field their work has been carried on. Perhaps this respect for national peculiarities arises partly out of the fact that Sweden has no colonies and therefore remains outside the flood tide of competition for world-wide supremacy over the other nations of the earth; but no doubt in large measure it is inherent in the soul of the Swedish people, for history shows that

in all their contacts with men of other nations the Swedes have been eager deeply and understandingly to fathom their characteristics. In this special gift of understanding and adaptiveness undoubtedly lies a measure of explanation for the marked success of their missionary enterprises during their years of work in non-Christian countries.

When the Swedish Church Mission took over in 1915 responsibility for carrying on the large missionary projects of the famous Leipzig Mission in India, it was, considering the inadequacy of the missionary staff at its disposal, a real work of faith. Developments have shown, however, that as regards missions it never can be hazardous to dare great things for God. The founding of the Evangelical Lutheran Tamil Church in 1921 came about in a way that witnessed to the ripeness of judgment and prophetic vision of the leaders of that mission, and to a wonderful faith in the power of the Holy Spirit to lead the work of the native Church. It puts one in mind of the adventurous spirit of the old Vikings to read in Mr Brundin's book how, simultaneously with the assuming of the responsibilities of the large Leipzig Mission work in India, with added cares because of lack of sufficient workers on the old fields in India and South Africa, the Swedish Lutheran missionary board heeded the call to establish a high school in China and place it under the leadership of one of the ablest scholars at Uppsala University. In the overcoming of many difficulties, in its adventurous and indomitable missionary spirit, the Swedish Lutheran Church has given the world a missionary work that cannot fail to forward Christ's kingdom among men. A valuable contribution is that part of Mr Brundin's book which speaks of the administrative side of the work, revealing its progressiveness both at the home base and on the foreign field. Missionary leaders would do well to ponder it.

Dr Sandegren's book on the Church and missions in India relates in considerable detail the peculiar development of the Swedish Church missions in the land of the great jungles. It carries the reader from the first steps in missionary effort taken together with the Leipzig Mission, under whose auspices the first Swedish missionaries went to India, to the period of independence when they left the Leipzig Mission for a Swedish Lutheran enterprise, which in time was destined to expand, to take over the German field and to place its own distinctive stamp upon the whole of the Lutheran Tamil Church. Dr Sandegren was a missionary in India for several years, and as an earnest student of India's problems in the light of Christian

work is well qualified to discuss the problems which exist there. In an earlier work, *Caste and Christianity in India*, he gave a scholarly presentation of the caste problem, especially as it was manifested within the Lutheran missions, and it is only natural that this subject should be touched upon again in his new book. To the student of missions it is of importance to know that the Swedish Lutheran Church has met this problem and in what way, for the problem of caste is somewhat different to the Swede and to the German.

The work by Mr Norenus is only partly completed and treats of the Swedish Church missions in South Africa up to the year 1897, covering a period of twenty-one years of work. The second part of his work on South African missions is expected to be issued during the current year. Many have been the difficult tasks confronting the Swedish Church missions in South Africa, but the board, there as elsewhere, in harmonious understanding and co-operation with other Lutheran missions, has succeeded as in India in fostering the native Church in self-activity and independence.

J. E. LUNDAHL

STOCKHOLM

CONSTITUTIONAL CHURCH GOVERNMENT

CONSTITUTIONAL CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN THE DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS AND IN OTHER PARTS OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION. By HENRY LOWTHER CLARKE, D.D., D.C.L., formerly Archbishop of Melbourne. New York: Macmillan. London: S.P.C.K. 25s. 1924.

THIS ample volume will receive a cordial welcome from all those who are interested in the constitutional development of the Anglican Communion. The writer, Dr Lowther Clarke, while Archbishop of Melbourne, made a reputation as one of the foremost authorities on ecclesiastical constitutions in Australia. He has used the years since his resignation in 1920 in order to give, in a way which his own practical experience suggested would be useful, a comprehensive view of the growth of constitutional church government in the British Dominions and in the United States of America. The bulk of the book is composed of original documents, the actual constitutions of various provinces and dioceses, official memoranda and instruments dealing with the origin and growth of a particular

branch of the Anglican Church. In addition to these there are some useful and compact introductory sketches, dealing with synodical government, diocesan and provincial administration and the beginnings of the Church itself in different continents. The book contains a great many facts of interest and value, sometimes tucked away in an obscure or even unexpected corner, but none the less welcome. No doubt the exigencies of space, to which the author refers, proved a considerable handicap in compilation. But it is the very variety and importance of what is included that leads us to regret the absence of a really adequate table of contents, or at least a much more systematic and lucid index than that given. The table of contents is bare in the extreme; we should never know from it either the multitude of dioceses and subjects with which the book deals, or (what is perhaps even more important) what were the actual documents given in the body of the book.

Amongst other useful items there is a very clear and well-arranged list of the Bishops consecrated in Scotland and England for overseas dioceses from 1784–1923. It is interesting to note that the consecration in 1787 of the first Bishops of Pennsylvania and New York at Lambeth is the only occasion known to Dr Clarke on which the Archbishops of Canterbury and York took part in a consecration together. There are also some illuminating documents relating to, e.g., the Bishop of Pennsylvania's consecration, the appointment of Bishop Broughton (Australia), the Order of Ethiopia (South Africa), the first grant of land to the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand.

The fullest sections of the book deal, as is natural, with the Anglican Communion in Australia, Canada and South Africa. It is very instructive to watch the gradual rise of self-government in these provinces, the negotiations with the authorities at home and the not infrequent difficulties placed in the way of self-government by the existing law. These sections have a special interest at the present moment in view of the efforts being made to secure self-government for the Church in India. It is a misfortune (perhaps due in part to lack of room) that the chapters dealing with the East—India, China and Japan—are somewhat slight in character by comparison with the earlier chapters. Perhaps the publication by the S.P.C.K. of Bishop Chatterton's book on the Church in India, almost simultaneously, explains the limited space given to India by Dr Clarke. China and Japan, however, are in a different category, and present

problems of a novel character, by their circumstances interesting to the author and unusually interesting to all students of young Churches. There is, for example, the problem caused by the threefold character of the home authority, America, Canada and England, in both countries—and its influence in regulating or delaying the growth of Chung-hua Sheng Kung Hui and Nippon Sei Kokwai. But enough has been said to show the importance of this work, and there can be little doubt that for some time to come it will be a valuable volume of reference for the student. And, if we may record a final impression, the book is an impressive witness to the character of the Lambeth Conferences as a uniting force in the Anglican Communion, and to 'the present universal feeling of reverence and affection for the Primatial See' of Canterbury.

G. K. A. BELL

CANTERBURY

RACE RELATIONS

RACE AND RACE RELATIONS : A Christian View of Human Contacts. By ROBERT E. SPEER, D.D. New York : Revell. \$3.50. 1924.

IT is significant that about the time when Mr J. H. Oldham was turning aside from some of his administrative and consultative service to united missionary organizations in order to write his book on race, the same compulsion should have been felt by Dr Speer, who carries so heavy a burden in his own great missionary society. That two such men on either side of the Atlantic should feel called to dedicate their leisure to this problem, and to steal hours from immediate duty, should be a guarantee that the Church of Christ will not neglect the diseases of race antagonism. After discussing the origin and nature of race, Dr Speer takes up the idea of race superiority and follows this by two wise chapters on the good and the evil in race distinction. Chapter v, 'Aspects and Relations of Race,' might perhaps be better related to Chapter i. Then there is a long and interesting paper of twenty-six pages from the honoured Indian leader, the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. The last chapter but one attempts to find the solution of the race problem and the last discusses some half dozen of the specific race problems of to-day.

The treatment is splendidly impartial. The criticism is directed mainly upon the actions of the Anglo-Saxon peoples and, as one would expect from the author, the errors and cruelties of his own

people are those with which he feels compelled to deal most sternly. The relations of the United States with the Negro, the American Indian and the Chinese are set out with all the necessary facts upon both sides. The missionary body of the United States may feel proud to have its ideals stated by a writer of such prophetic truthfulness.

As in Mr Oldham's book, the least satisfying section is that dealing with intermarriage. The real problem is not whether it is wise to encourage intermarriage; that hardly any one would maintain. It is whether there is Christian justification for the social veto, or high racial disapproval of intermarriage which is the general impression of Dr Speer's chapter and particularly of a passage like that at the top of page 333. Those who differ most from Dr Speer will stand with him in wishing to retain everything that is individual in the races as they exist at present. What they find impossible to understand is how the Christian ideal of perfect fellowship can be accomplished if *in all circumstances* there is a veto on love and marriage across the race lines. The presence of the veto must paralyse any incipient comradeship between men and women of different races, and that at the most formative age. It is for all the world like one of those miserable houses in China, where owing to autumn floods the foundations are filled the winter long with a block of solid ice which neutralizes every effort made by the inmates to warm the house. The chill of Dr Speer's veto will nullify all his efforts to raise the temperature of interracial fellowship. Sex attraction exists. The amount of illegitimate intercourse across race lines proves that unmistakably. Vetoes have done little to reduce it. The only way to resist the evil impulse is to transform it into something higher. But the unwavering opponents of intermarriage can never permit themselves that solution. Further, the theory would seem to be unpractical in that it does not allow us to differentiate between races which (individuals excepted) are as yet too far aloof from one another for intermarriage and races which are not greatly divergent. But the subject is too large to discuss further in a review.

Dr Speer has expressly attempted to supply a 'source book' and he has succeeded well. People will turn to the book over and over again for quotations not otherwise collected—some of them as useful as they are little known—which will help them in the attempt to find and formulate the truth on these exacting problems. The

index contains a list of three hundred books or articles which are quoted, several of them more than once. Taken by themselves such figures suggest that the defect of this special quality is well-nigh inevitable. You cannot have a lavish use of quotation and at the same time the full rights of authorship. The reader experiences a certain regret that there is not more of Dr Speer's own personality and of the charm of his own writing. Here and there, after lesser men (sometimes very much lesser) have been quoted to establish a point, one feels inclined to say, 'Why don't you speak for yourself, John?' As it is, careful search is needed to isolate Dr Speer's conclusions, for amid all the jostling pronouncements of varying value they can barely secure the emphasis of *obiter dicta*. It is well to have a reserve that will keep the lamp burning, but it is not well to pile the kerosene tins so high as to cut off much of the light the lamp is meant to give. Is it too much to hope that some day we may have a book on this subject containing Dr Speer's own opinions—and nothing else?

FRANK LENWOOD

LONDON

IGNATIUS LOYOLA

IGNATIUS LOYOLA. By HENRY DWIGHT SEDGWICK. New York and London: Macmillan. \$3. 15s. 1923.

MR SEDGWICK describes his book as an attempt at an impartial biography; he believes that the time has now come when such a biography is possible. There exist already more than two hundred biographies of Ignatius Loyola, but Mr Sedgwick considers that till 1900 those who in any way concerned themselves with the founder of the Society of Jesus were not able to see clearly on account of passion and prejudice. Now he thinks the subject can be approached in a spirit of temperance, since the extensive publication of the sources for the history of the Society, sources which abound in all Roman Catholic countries, have made the facts of its history easily accessible to all students. Mr Sedgwick has certainly succeeded in his desire to be impartial, whilst he does not hide his profound admiration for the character and ability of Ignatius. He does not refrain from criticism, but it is never the criticism of a partisan or an advocate. His knowledge of the history of the time, of its literature and art, enables him to give a living and most interesting background to his picture of one whom he claims to

have been a great genius, and it would be difficult for any one to deny this claim. What is missing in the book is any critical explanation of the causes which led to the rapid growth of the Society, and of the reasons of its persistence in spite of the repeated attempts to suppress it. What was it that attracted so many to join this Society, which when it received its charter from the Pope numbered only nine, and in fifteen years had increased to a thousand, and at the time of the canonization of Ignatius numbered over 13,000? With this question, Mr Sedgwick does not concern himself. His interest is in the character of Ignatius himself, and of some of his first followers.

It is impossible not to share his interest in this remarkable man, and as a study in the qualities which make a great leader of men this book is most illuminating. Ignatius was a rare combination of the mystic and the man of practical capacity. How often does history show us that the saint, however holy, fails to accomplish much or even does harm because of his want of practical sense. Ignatius' practical genius saved himself and his Society from the mistakes of the simple saint, though no saint could have been more severe in his mortification of the flesh and his ascetic practices. He did not believe that either a clear call from God, or visions such as accompanied and followed his conversion, alone fitted him for the great task that he put before himself. He set to work to prepare himself by twelve long years of study, going to school at twenty-nine as if he were a boy. The purpose clear before him was to combat the pagan spirit of intellectual freedom which was the result of the Renaissance, by teaching and preaching the traditional dogmas of the Church. Others, both before and at the time of the Council of Trent, were working for the reform of the Church; in this Ignatius was no pioneer, but, Mr Sedgwick writes, he was 'the one genius in the Catholic party, and he laid the foundations of religious reform—where for true building it must lie—in the soul and conscience of the individual layman.' He knew how to discover and how to use all the forces that lay to his hand, he grasped the opportunities which came in his way. So it was that through observation of men and things, and with constant prayer, he formed the company which was to act as the light horse of the Church. His early military training and life had impressed upon him the need for discipline, and convinced him that the Society must be built up upon the principle of absolute obedience: 'Obedience

must be blind ; that is to say, he that is truly obedient must not look for love, nor reasonableness, nor any understanding of what fruit there may be in the work upon which he is sent.' In this spirit Francis Xavier started for India at one day's notice. As General of the Order this was the kind of obedience that Ignatius exacted, but in the early days he never acted as an autocrat and always consulted with his first followers, so that what was decided was really the work of all acting together. Lainez, one of the first band and the successor of Ignatius, ascribes Loyola's powers of leadership to

great knowledge of the things of God, and great devotion to them . . . great good sense and prudence in matters of business ; the divine gift of discretion ; great fortitude and magnanimity in tribulation ; great guilelessness in not judging others, and in putting a favourable interpretation on all things ; and great skill in knowing how to set himself and others to work for the service of God.

One of the characteristics of Ignatius which helped him to rule men was his admirable tact. He knew how to win men over by his graciousness, by avoiding a direct attack till he had prepared the way. He would help a man troubled with a perturbed conscience by telling him of a similar experience that he himself had passed through, and the remedy that he had discovered.

In these days when we talk so much of the need for leaders, and of the call to prepare for leadership, it is most instructive to study the methods by which Ignatius trained his great army and the qualities which enabled him to secure such devoted obedience. Though there may be few who would care to copy his methods, yet there is very much that all can learn from a study of them. The Church of Christ may not be an army in the sense that Ignatius meant his Society to be, but it is possible that more discipline, more recognition of the need for training, less individualism run wild, might make the free soldiers of the Cross more fit for the great work of converting the world.

In contemplating the work before his army, Ignatius made no difference between work at home and work in heathen lands, and his close connexion with Portugal made him ready to respond to the King's desire to send teachers to the heathen in his great empire. Loyola's own chief interest was in fighting heretics at home, but his followers were from the first ready to go and teach in far distant lands. Beyond telling the well-known story of Francis Xavier, Mr Sedgwick only touches slightly on the Jesuit missions to the

heathen. Except by a training which produced absolute devotion and obedience, and made men ready to go wherever they were bidden and face joyfully any suffering and hardship, Ignatius does not appear to have given much consideration to any special preparation for missions to the heathen. One thing he insisted upon that was of the utmost value, both for propaganda purposes and for the work of the Society, was the necessity for frequent and regular correspondence between all the scattered fathers and the centre at Rome where Ignatius himself always resided. He fixed the number of letters that must be written, and ordered that they must contain full information on all matters that concerned the Society. His directions are minute and explicit, and he said that every letter 'must be carefully written, twice over if need be.' The value and interest of the Jesuit correspondence which has resulted from these directions cannot be exaggerated, and Loyola knew how to use these letters to interest people in the work of the Society.

Mr Sedgwick concludes his study of Ignatius' character by an interesting chapter on his piety. He writes :

Loyola's special distinction . . . is that he not only possessed a genius for practical affairs, deep-seated piety, talents for meditation and contemplation, but also belonged to the little band called mystics.

As we read what he tells of this side of Loyola's remarkable character, we think of the words of Ribandiera, Loyola's constant companion, who describes how in his old age Loyola loved to stand on a balcony and gaze up into the sky with tears whilst he murmured : 'How contemptible the world seems when I look up at the sky.' The book is no eulogy of Loyola, but Mr Sedgwick gives us the material by which we can judge him for ourselves, and can see in him the qualities which made his Society so great a power both for good and evil. He brings Loyola and his early companions near to us, using their own words as much as possible ; it is living personalities to whom he introduces us, and the great figure of Loyola dominates all the rest. Other books praise or criticize or revile the Jesuits, this book makes their founder live before us, in his greatness and in his limitations, and if we cannot entirely admire or love, we can at least learn from a study of the qualities which enabled him to achieve so much.

HAMPTON COURT

LOUISE CREIGHTON

A MISSIONARY APOSTLE AND PIONEER

WALTER RUSSELL LAMBUTH : Prophet and Pioneer. By W. W. PINSON, D.D. Illustrated. Nashville, Tenn. : Cokesbury Press. \$1.75. 1924.

IN his interesting book *The Path of the King*, Mr John Buchan let his fertile imagination play about the idea of the many and various channels into which blue or kingly blood may flow during the centuries. Here is a case in point, for Bishop W. R. Lambuth, the subject of this biography, derived directly from the Scottish Gordons on his mother's side, and not many of them would anticipate a descendant who would be a missionary bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church. None the less, it is more than likely that Bishop Lambuth owed something of his ceaseless activity, his endless drive, through a long life, to the Gordon strain. Whether or not, the outstanding impression which this book leaves is that of an energy that would not be quelled, that took no account of obstacles and put aside such trifles as sickness with high disdain, so eager was this great soul to be on the business of the King.

For instance, it is not many men who begin as medical missionaries and finish as bishops. Lambuth, the son of an American Methodist missionary, born at Shanghai in China in 1854, was back there in 1877 as a doctor, and by 1880 had established a great opium refuge which filled his days, or would have filled them had he not done endless other work too. He was one of the pioneers of modern medical missions, and we could have read with profit more of this part of his history. But when the call came to Japan, Dr Lambuth, at the age of thirty-two, surrendered medicine (though he was a healer all his days) and turned to that country as the appointed leader of a new venture in missions. His party, which included his own father, made the journey in 1887, a year which by many people was regarded as Japan's hour of destiny. The greatest single opportunity the Christian Church ever had in Japan was probably in 1859-60, and it was lost through lack of imagination and of courage. But a second was seized by the Methodist Episcopal Church, and a great establishment was planned. It has been said of Bishop Lambuth, in a very rare criticism, that he was too much inclined to favour institutional work as against evangelistic. Perhaps an Englishman many years a missionary may be reckless enough to hazard the opinion that this is in his experience characteristic of our American

brethren, and certainly they make their institutions as efficient as human planning and consecrated intelligence and generous money grants can compass. It was always true of Bishop Lambuth that he was a statesman, and his missionary strategy in Japan has long been justified by history. Moreover, he had deep convictions on two points upon which there has been more than sufficient laxity in some quarters—he believed in the fullest possible training of the missionary, and he insisted on the learning of the vernacular. When it is realized how the Church in Japan has grown, to what heights of organization, self-support and self-government it has risen, none will be found to question the master mind which originated the plan followed in later years.

A personality such as that of Bishop Lambuth seems marked out for the work of an organizing director, and in barely five years he was back in the United States as a missionary secretary. In that post he laboured even more incessantly than before, if that were possible. We cannot follow the story in detail. It deals, amongst much else, with the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, including all the Protestant Boards of Missions in the States and Canada, and with the Student Volunteer Movement. In all of these Bishop Lambuth was an outstanding figure. He was also Vice-Chairman of Commission II of the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 on 'The Church in the Mission Field,' and those who have read the report of the Commission do not need to be reminded how valuable it is. He took an active part in the Conference, and was made a member of its Continuation Committee. This seems record enough for one man, but in 1910 he was made a missionary bishop, with charge of the Conferences of the Far West, Brazil and the projected mission to Africa. And, of course, in 1911 he was off to the Congo, where he helped to establish, two years later, one in that great chain of missions stretching from East to West Africa and staying the downward sweep of Muhammadanism.

When the Great War broke out, his opinions were not to seek, and as soon as America came in he was busily engaged in chaplaincy work and with the Y.M.C.A., until 1919 found him travelling again towards the East. He pressed up into Siberia to prospect and came into closest contact with the Chinese famine, turning aside to organize a great and successful relief campaign. He had already been responsible for opening work in Japan, Korea, Cuba and Africa, and only now did he confess, after

forty-four years of incessant labour, and stricken with mortal sickness, that he must 'slow down.' In Yokohama, on September 26th, 1921, the busy wheels stood still.

Let no one suppose that this is merely a story of hustle. That is on the surface, but below is the character of one of God's saints and heroes, a man humble, wise, sagacious, deeply spiritual, whose power to inspire and direct the Church came from his nearness to God. He had deep faith in the power of the Risen Christ to save the world, and he thought that Christians, and especially missionary officials, ought to trust more in the Holy Spirit for the development on right lines of infant Churches. His life had two centres, which were one—his Church and his home, and both were in Christ, for his wife was a consecrated missionary like himself.

This is a helpful and refreshing book. It stimulates one to realize how much a dedicated soul can accomplish for God, and it should stir the blood of the youth of the Church. Bishop Lambuth is in the great line of apostles, prophets and heroes whose name liveth for evermore.

W. J. NOBLE

LONDON

INDIAN EPIC TALES

MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF INDIA : An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism. By J. M. MACFIE. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 8s. 1924.

TALES FROM THE MAHĀBHĀRATA : Being Episodes of the great Indian Epic rendered into English Verse. By STANLEY RICE. With illustrations. London : Selwyn & Blount. 10s. 1924.

HE would be a bold man who would say that he had discovered absolutely the right way of studying Hinduism. Much might be said in favour of the plan of first mastering a sketch of the history of India, then taking an outline of the development of the religion fitted into the historical sketch and following that up with an inquiry into the theology and the practice of the sects. Probably as much might be urged in favour of beginning with a systematic study of the great beliefs, Caste, Karma and Transmigration, Release through Knowledge, and then taking up the gods, their nature and powers, their temples, images and worship, the family, society and the sects.

Mr Macfie, in presenting his volume of myths and legends as an introduction to Hinduism, suggests a fresh method. The book is a series of forty-six tales, not translations but fresh narratives

written by the author. A dozen of them are among the most famous of Hindu tales. The mass are drawn from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but eleven are found in the *Purāṇas*, a couple in the *Brāhmaṇas* and one in an *Upanishad*.

The result is that, in the pleasantest possible way, the reader absorbs the spirit of the *Epics* and *Purāṇas*, acquires without difficulty a knowledge of the chief conceptions and beliefs which lie at the foundation of the religion, and also begins to realize something of the goal and the methods of Hindu philosophy and asceticism.

Now, this would form an excellent first course, provided that two or more of other kinds were to follow. Only in this sense is it an introduction to the study; it does not introduce the reader to the whole subject, but enables him to make an easy and pleasant beginning. Many other provinces remain to be conquered after the whole of the mythology and the semi-historical narratives have been annexed.

Mr Rice has not written his book to help the student of Hinduism. He thinks very highly of Indian thought and civilization, and his purpose is to enable his readers to realize the loftiest ideals of ancient India as they are enshrined in the great heroes and the noble women of the *Mahābhārata*. He has, therefore, selected eight of its most moving tales and has re-expressed them in ten-syllabled verse. His work is distinctly pleasing if not great. The stories thus gracefully reproduced are: The Dice Match, The Birth of Śakuntalā, The Story of Nala and Damayantī, The Death of Bhīṣma, The Legend of the Flood, The Story of Sāvitrī, The Vision of the Dead, The Descent into Hell.

J. N. FARQUHAR

MANCHESTER

YOGA AS PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

YOGA AS PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION. By SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA, Ph.D. London: Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d. 1924.

THIS book by the Professor of Philosophy in the Presidency College, Calcutta, gives 'a brief exposition of the philosophical and religious doctrines found in Patañjali's *Yoga-sūtra* as explained by its successive commentaries.' The author in his *History of Indian Philosophy* has already given proof of his learning and philosophical ability. This book shows him to have made a very thorough study of the complex and subtle systems both of Yoga and of Sāṃkhya.

Yoga has been described as a combination of primitive superstition with acute psychological analysis. Patañjali's system, however, pays little attention to those extravagances of *āsana* and *mudrā*, as means to obtaining miraculous powers, with which we often identify Yoga, nor is there any mention here of Kuṇḍalinī, the Devī that lies coiled about one of the centres of occult force within the human frame. Professor Dasgupta treats of Rājayoga which seeks to present the theoretic foundation upon which Yoga practice rests.

An interesting question which divides the exponents of this system is that of the place in it of God and His relation to the process of emancipation. Necessarily, as in any system which has a doctrine of karma for its basis, God is outside the bondage which that law imposes. He is 'untouched by the afflictions or the fruits of karma.' How then can He be of any help to the bound soul in its quest for freedom? It does not appear that He as a matter of fact is very helpful. He simply follows and confirms the decisions of karma. Faith in Īśvara does no more than serve 'to pacify the Yogins' minds and fill them with the cheerful hope and confidence which are so necessary for the success of Yoga practice.' He thus would seem to be a thoroughly pragmatist deity.

The important position that Yoga has obtained in the religious philosophy of India is largely due to the denial by most of the Indian systems of the possibility of attaining by means of the ordinary consciousness to any ultimate truth. The practice of Yoga is believed to cleanse the distorting mirror of the mind and so to enable it to reflect truth. When this is the case, the soul has reached *samādhi*. The process of cleansing by which *samādhi* is attained is partly an ethical one, 'it is by *ahimsa* alone that we can make ourselves fit for the higher type of *samādhi*.' In *samādhi* the soul obtains direct knowledge, 'the ordinary consciousness has been altogether surpassed,' and so final emancipation is attained. When we read this detailed and thoroughly competent account of a subtle and intricate system, claiming, as it does, to be a religion for men to live by, we understand why in the only passage in which philosophy is mentioned in the New Testament it is summed up from the point of view of the ardent lover of men's souls as 'vain deceit.' And yet who can but admire the minds that so long ago wrestled so bravely with these problems?

N. MACNICOL

BOMBAY FOLKLORE

THE FOLKLORE OF BOMBAY. By R. E. ENTHOVEN. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 14s. 1924.

THIS is a book for which some of us have long waited. The idea of collecting folklore of the Bombay Presidency took shape in the mind of the late Mr A. M. T. Jackson some twenty years ago. He had already sent out a questionnaire to elementary school masters—a fertile source of information—when his life was suddenly cut short in 1909. The task of translating and publishing the mass of material sent in was undertaken by Mr Enthoven. *Folklore Notes of Gujarat* and *Folklore Notes of the Konkan* appeared in 1914 and 1915. Further research was made in the Deccan and the Kanarese country, and the present volume is a compilation of the whole of the material thus collected.

The author points out that 'Aryan culture has never completely displaced in Bombay the previously prevailing spirit-worship,' so that no line can be drawn dividing the worship of the traditional orthodox Hindu gods from that of the spirits and animistic deities of the old countryside; the two interpenetrate. Page after page illustrates this. The old snake worship of pre-Aryan days, the worship of various 'mother' deities and disease goddesses, have been caught up into the much more defined and elaborate Aryan system, and focussed into special festivals on appointed days marked in the calendar which are observed to-day by all castes of Hindus. On the other hand, sun worship, of Aryan origin, is now widespread among people of non-Aryan inheritance. A book such as this shows how complex is modern Hinduism. Its strands are so many, so varied, so diverse in origin and yet so closely interwoven. The book contains a wealth of facts concerning belief and custom, following in general the lines of Sir William Crooke's *Folklore Questions* (given in an appendix). The worship of natural objects occupies two chapters; others deal with the worship of trees and snakes; of ancestors, holy men and saints; of animals. Disease deities, spirit possession, witchcraft and women's rites also come under notice. The system of classification leads inevitably to a duplication of statements. Worship of the *Vad* tree, for instance, appears under Tree Worship and again under Women's Rites; worship of the smallpox goddess *Shitala* is found under Disease Deities and also under Women's Rites; the *Makar-Sankranti*

ceremonies are mentioned in different sections, and so on. The index minimizes the disadvantages of this arrangement, but cannot eliminate them.

Just enough legendary and explanatory material is introduced to make one long for more. We find sentences like the following :

After an eclipse Hindus may not break their fast till they have again seen the full disk of the released sun or the moon (p. 61).

A vow is observed by women, in honour of the Ganges, for the first ten days of the month of *Jyeshth* (p. 97).

Of the days of the week, Saturday is the most suitable for the worship of Hanuman (p. 192).

It is a custom among the Vaishnavas to draw an image of Ganpati in those vessels which are to be used for cooking food at the time of performing the obsequies of a deceased Vaishnava (p. 188),

and our whole soul rises up with the cry, Why ? It has not been the author's purpose to answer all the whys evoked by his closely packed pages, and the seeking of the answers would constitute a valuable piece of original research.

As a missionary for a number of years in the Deccan, the reviewer envies present-day missionaries starting out with the background of fact presented in this admirable volume. All missionaries of the Bombay Presidency should somehow manage to have access to it, perhaps by co-operative purchase, and the folklore path is commended to them as a sure road leading into the hearts of the people.

LONDON

M. M. UNDERHILL

LABOUR IN INDIA

LABOUR IN INDIAN INDUSTRIES: Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Science (Economics) in the University of London. By G. M. BROUGHTON. London: Oxford University Press. 9s. 1924.

WOMEN'S LABOUR IN BENGAL INDUSTRIES. Bulletins of Indian Industries and Labour. No. 31. By DAGMAR F. CURJEL, M.D. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing. 8as. 1923.

ONE of the tasks that is laid on missionaries to-day is that of creating a sense of responsibility for social conditions in the Christian communities in the lands to which they go. Those who set themselves to do this must have knowledge of the facts,

and, in the pressure of life, intimate knowledge of conditions beyond one's immediate surroundings is hard to get. *Labour in Indian Industries* is a valuable contribution to the study of industrial conditions in India. Miss Broughton's work covers a wide area. It deals with conditions in coal mines, in tea-gardens and in factories, and sets these against a background of the village life, agricultural and artisan, from which modern enterprises draw their workers. The book is of special value because it enables the reader to compare agricultural and industrial life in the different provinces, and to ascertain the way in which problems, present in and around all factories, are emphasized in varying degrees in the different congested areas. Characteristics that are prevalent in all large industrial centres in India are selected for special consideration. The encroachments on family life, insanitary housing conditions and the lack of privacy where improved sanitary conditions are provided, difficulties that arise through the illiteracy of the workers, the power thus put into the hands of overseers and the presence of young children with their mothers in factories, are pointed out as matters calling loudly for remedy if the economic gain through larger wages is not to be bought at too high a price.

The last chapter in Miss Broughton's book is given to a study of measures and activities for ameliorating conditions. A concise account of legislation is given. Beginnings of a Health Department for factory workers in some provinces; the work of the Mines Board of Health; welfare work done by employers in co-operation with the Servants of India Society, the Young Men's Christian Association, and other agencies; and the inauguration of the All-India Welfare organization are all noted and suggestions are made as to what are likely to prove the best lines of advance.

A more circumscribed study, both geographically and in subject matter, is that of Dr Dagmar Curjel. The investigation reported on by her in her Bulletin was undertaken in order to ascertain facts with regard to the effects of industrial work on the Indian woman worker, especially during the child-bearing age, and on the well-being of her child, in the factories, tea-gardens and coal-fields of Bengal. Naturally this study is chiefly occupied with the health of the workers, but it does not omit other important issues. The unsatisfactory 'shift' system, in use in jute mills in Bengal (noted also by Miss Broughton) which makes effectual inspection impossible, its injurious effects on the conditions of family life and the hard-

ships it involves for women and half-timers are emphasized. The Bulletin deals with the need for a larger body of inspectors, and for the inclusion of qualified women on the inspecting staff. This short report justifies its appeal for enlightened public opinion by the clear and interesting way in which its subject is set forth.

LONDON

J. H. KELMAN

PRIMITIVE LAW AND LABOUR

PRIMITIVE LAW. By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND. London: Methuen. 7s. 6d. 1924.

PRIMITIVE LABOUR. By L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON. London: Methuen. 7s. 6d. 1924.

MESSRS METHUEN are rendering a public service by the issue of the anthropological series to which these two books belong. Both volumes should prove useful to students and missionaries who wish to lay a foundation for sociological study. Mr Hartland's book is more to be recommended than Mr Buxton's from this point of view.

The adjective 'primitive' is open to obvious objections. Mr Hartland, recognizing that its use is 'necessarily comparative and vague,' applies it to the most backward societies, and to societies somewhat more advanced existing in the world to-day; Mr Buxton has in mind more the men of palæolithic and neolithic times, and by studying these, and by comparing them with certain actually living people, seeks to determine the natural conditions of labour—the influence of climate and locality—and the types and stages of labour. Mr Hartland, starting from the premise that primitive law is the totality of the customs of a tribe, emphasizes afresh the undoubted fact that the savage is not the free and unfettered creature of Rousseau's imagination, and that even the earliest human hordes must have possessed regulations to modify the conduct of individuals and to govern the relations between one horde and another. He goes on to consider constitutional law, personal rights, property, international relations, sanctions, procedure and legislation. These may appear somewhat grandiloquent terms to apply to the customs of barbarians, but they serve to show that among primitive peoples the germ already exists of the more complicated arrangements of civilized society.

Any author who sets out to describe all these things in a couple of hundred pages is apt to commit the common anthropologist's fallacy of generalizing from a few instances; Mr Hartland does not escape this, but he does provide an excellent basis for further study of these matters which are so extremely important for missionaries. He draws his materials from wide and trustworthy sources, though we question whether Dr Philip should be cited in support of the statement that the Bechuana 'in spite of the pressure of the white man for generations, adhere to their ancient customs.' Dr Philip wrote before 1828 when, as a matter of fact, the Bechuana had not been subject to the white man's pressure for generations. Mr Hartland thinks that 'alien religion' has effected little permanent change in native ideas and practice, 'on the surface it has produced none at all.' He says this with particular reference to West Africa, and he is surely wrong.

EDWIN W. SMITH

LONDON

PRIMITIVE NEW GUINEA

IN PRIMITIVE NEW GUINEA. By J. H. HOLMES. Introduction by A. C. HADDON. With Illustrations and Map. London: Seeley, Service. 21s. 1924.

THE scientific study of ethnology is dependent on the co-operation of travellers, government officials, missionaries and others, who furnish the material for its system of comparative theory. Among these voluntary co-operators, missionaries, as experienced observers, may be reckoned among the best, for they are accustomed to live long years in foreign lands and, by virtue of their vocation, to make a study of the manners and customs of heathen peoples in detail in order to be able to bring them the blessings of Christianity. This book of Mr Holmes, to which the well-known expert Dr Haddon has written an introduction, is among the best material which ethnology has received from the hands of missions. The author has worked for thirty years as a missionary of the London Missionary Society in British New Guinea. His vocation has brought him into close contact with two aboriginal races, the Ipi and the Namau, which belong anthropologically, ethnologically and linguistically to the Papuan stock. Both races have approximately the same way of life and the same material culture, being survivals of the Stone Age, but in their spiritual culture they show, although

neighbouring races, remarkable contrasts. The Ipi are monogamistic and totemistic, and abhor cannibalism; the Namau are polygamistic and preponderatingly animistic, and devour their enemies. Common to both races are some strict tribal institutions with regard to chiefs, initiation and demonology; among both races black and white magic are practised as professions. The author has been especially successful in his presentation of their material culture, see the chapters on Native Foods, Fishing and Hunting, Games and Pastimes, Primitive Art, Occupations, Masks. The development of social life also is graphically described, see the chapters on Heredity, Monogamy and Polygamy, Marriage and Motherhood, Domestic Life, Feasts and Festivals, Obligations to the Dead, Property Rights, Tribal Quarrels and Inter-Tribal Warfare. It is more difficult for the reader to grasp the presentation of the inner life of the soul of these heathen peoples, although the author repeatedly endeavours to do justice to the Papuan view in the matter of their mythology, e.g. in the chapters on Sorcery, Animism, Totemism, Initiation, Gods, Spirits and Ghosts. In these obscure regions of folk-psychology many questions yet remain unsolved. If it is permitted to express a wish in this matter it would be that new material might be forthcoming from the lips of the Natives themselves in the form of texts in their own language, in which they themselves would describe their mythology in detail (see the chapter on Legends, Myths and Folk-lore). Through this means a great service would also be done to the science of language which is confronted with quite new problems in the short chapter on Group Languages.

The above is written as an estimate of the book from the scientific standpoint. But also for educated people in other circles, especially for friends of missions, it is to be recommended as an informed and interesting work. Its contents are rich in variety, the comparisons and contrasts between the two tribal groups—Ipi and Namau—are stimulating, the interspersed tales drawn from the author's own experience are fascinating. One might mention in particular, wood-carving (well-illustrated), pp. 87 ff.; house and canoe building (houses two hundred feet long, twenty-five feet high with front gables sixty to eighty feet high), pp. 93 ff.; hairdressing, tattooing and so on, pp. 70 ff.; masks and dancing dress, pp. 107 ff.; nature-spirits (the author calls them 'gods'), pp. 177 ff.; oracles and ordeals at sickness and death-ceremonies, pp. 220 ff.; tabu, pp. 235 ff.; children's toys, pp. 270 ff., and so forth. The reproductions

of some eighteen photographs serve also as excellent illustrations of the contents. Above all, it is the personality of the author himself which calls out our admiration: his love of truth, so downright that he will not invent satisfying explanations for all the things he has observed; his unassumingness over the recital of incidents—often not without danger—in which he himself plays a part; and above all his devotion to his missionary calling, filling his heart with love even for these barbarous people who are soul-sick and whose sorrows, whose heathendom, can only be healed by the medicine of a true Christianity.

OTTO DEMPWOLFF

HAMBURG

ISLAM AND THE CALIPHATE

THE CALIPHATE. By SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, Litt.D. London: Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d. 1924.

THE KHILAFET. By MOHAMMED BARAKATULLAH. London: Luzac. 2s. 6d. 1924.

THE decision of the Angora Government, March 1924, to depose and expel the Caliph came to the outside world as a dramatic climax to a rapid succession of startling events. The average man in this country had certain general ideas on the position. He compared the Caliph to the Pope, seeing in him a spiritual head of the Moslem world, who had in point of fact for a long time been identified with the Ottoman Sultan of Turkey. Intrigue against him had been one of the results of the Great War. Yet from an entirely different and unexpected direction had come his final overthrow, upsetting all preconceived ideas about the effect on, for instance, Indian Moslems of tampering with the sacrosanct.

Sir Thomas Arnold's masterly survey of the history of the Caliphate from the earliest times to the present day throws a flood of light on the situation. The book should unquestionably be read by all who have any interest in the Moslem world and its reaction on contemporary history. It is a model of lucidity, and, it need scarcely be added, of learning.

The original meaning of the word Caliph (Arabic *Khalifah*) is Successor, and denoted that the holder of the title succeeded to all functions of Muhammad except the prophetic. His primary duty, therefore, was to protect the persons, property and honour of Moslems. With the early disintegration of the Moslem Empire into a number of units and the simultaneous reduction of the Caliph to a

mere puppet in the hands of temporal rulers, this became impracticable, and the Caliph found himself bereft of everything except prestige. This, though it seemed to vary inversely as the distance from him, survived to a remarkable degree. Investiture was sought from him by princes far and wide; robes of honour conferred by him were eagerly coveted, and so on. Most of all possession of his person was prized. But in proportion as the reality of his power diminished, the activity of theorists increased. So were developed doctrines about the origin of the office, its character and its functions, usually with a sublime disregard of existing facts.

Further, there came to be more than one claimant to the title, either as the result of direct rivalry, or from a generalization of the term. Thus as the conquering Mongols became Islamized, they would not deign to seek ratification of their claim on the obedience of their subjects from the insignificant Caliph in Cairo. It became customary to appeal directly to God Himself. This was duly justified by the theologians, and Timur's descendants were found to have attained by divine permission the pre-eminent rank of the Caliphate. That is to say, the Caliph was now not so much the Successor of the Prophet as the vicegerent on earth of God. By the early part of the fifteenth century the number of princes so styling themselves was considerable. It is true that in some cases the title was applied merely as a compliment, without any serious significance; but in any case it implied a break with the original theory of the position of the Caliph.

It is important to remember this point in discussing the assumption of the Caliphate by the Ottoman Sultan. The traditional story is to the effect that after the conquest of Egypt by Sultan Salim, the Caliph made a formal transference to him of his office, and in token thereof handed over the sacred relics which were believed to have come down from the days of the Prophet. Sir Thomas Arnold shows conclusively that this is a myth. So far from there being any contemporary evidence for it, the first known enunciation of the theory was in 1787, and even then no historical source is quoted. By the time of the conquest, moreover, the title had been assumed by so many insignificant princes that it no longer carried the same impressive associations as in olden days. And, further, Salim's ancestors had long before him enjoyed such prestige as still remained in the title in virtue of divine appointment.

Not till the eighteenth century do we find the Ottoman claim to

the Caliphate emphasized, and then because it was useful for foreign consumption. So, in a treaty with Catherine II of Russia, religious authority is asserted over the Tartars who were to pass under Russian rule, much as the Pope might claim the protection of Christians under alien rule. Hence arose the common error that the Caliph is the spiritual head of all Moslems, in the same way as the Pope is of all Roman Catholics, an error which it suited the notorious Abdul Hamid II to exploit to the full. Whatever the orthodox theologians thought of this development, he found support from the Moslem masses who felt deeply their growing subordination to non-Moslem rulers. And when later the Sultan's tyrannies led to the revolution of 1908 and to his own deposition, the idea was found too valuable to be readily abandoned. But it became apparent that a revival of the Caliphate was too closely allied to autocracy to be compatible with a genuine constitutional government, and the end was inevitable.

It seems unlikely that the future will produce any Caliph who will be recognized by even a moiety of the Moslem world. One aspirant has been removed even since this book was written, and it is difficult to picture any other who will overcome the lack of political unity.

Nevertheless it is cheering to meet an optimist in gloomy days. Professor Barakatullah recognizes that the days have gone when a Caliph might be looked for who could exercise temporal control over a unified Moslem world. He evidently believes that a mistake was made in the first instance when Abu Bekr was elected instead of Ali, but that in spite of that, the reign of the four orthodox Caliphs was after the Prophet's own heart. But from the time of Muawiah 'the Commander of the Faithful was in every generation a Khalif in name but an absolute monarch in reality.' In modern times the world has been so broken up that a return to unity is out of the question, and the time has therefore come when the Caliphate can be re-established as a spiritual office acknowledged by all Moslems in all lands. He has high hopes from the conference to which delegates had been invited in Cairo, March 1925, for the purpose of electing a Caliph. This conference has, however, been postponed.

The book is interesting throughout as giving the point of view of an able and devout Moslem, but the chapters devoted to a summary of the early history and essential features of the faith seem unnecessary to the main argument, and their omission would have left us with a compact and excellent monograph.

ISLAM AND APOSTASY

THE LAW OF APOSTASY IN ISLAM : Answering the Question why there are so few Moslem Converts, and giving Examples of their Moral Courage and Martyrdom. By SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, D.D. London : Marshall. 6s. 1924.

WHILE there is a growing interest everywhere in missionary work among Moslems, the question is still often asked why there are comparatively so few Moslem converts, notwithstanding all the labour and devotion of many years. In the preface to his recently issued book Dr Zwemer writes :

Among the laws that regulate the relation between the Moslem community and those who wish to leave it and join some other faith is the law of apostasy. To shew what this law is ; how it works in the community and towards the individual ; what effect it has had on the relations of Islam to Christianity ; and how it is necessary to abrogate this law, or modify it, that there may be liberty of conscience and freedom to confess Christ—such is the purpose of this little book.

The author has, however, a second purpose in view :

Recent Moslem writers, especially those of the Woking school, have attempted to show that Islam always was and is now a religion of tolerance. ‘ It can be very safely asserted that Islam does not prescribe any punishment in this world for apostasy ’ (*Islamic Review*, Nov. 1916). ‘ Neither here nor elsewhere in the Holy Koran is there even a hint of the infliction of capital or any other punishment on the apostate ’ (footnote on apostasy in his English translation of the Koran by Mohammed Ali).

After quoting such statements Dr Zwemer writes :

This little book may be considered as a presentation of the facts on the other side of this question ; and we leave the decision to the candid reader.

The subject deals with the lack of Moslem converts, the law of apostasy and its working, hidden disciples and the dawn of a new era. The author well describes the book as a presentation of facts. It is indeed very largely a series of quotations from reports, periodicals and books, as well as from recent correspondence received from missionaries in almost every land where mission work among Moslems is carried on. From these varying sources as well as from personal knowledge and experience instance after instance is given of the threatenings, persecutions and martyrdoms suffered by converts and would-be converts from Islam. The fact is clearly proved that

from the early years of Moslem history down to the present day persecution, deprivation of civil rights and in many cases martyrdom have been the lot of those who forsook the religion of Islam for the truth of Christianity.

Some of the recent apologists of Islam appear to maintain that the action of Moslem authorities and of individuals in thus persecuting or punishing by death converts from Islam is contrary to the true spirit of the religion, and at variance with the example of its founder.

To meet such statements, Dr Zwemer in chapter II shows clearly that the Koran, as understood by Sunnis and Shi'ites alike, inculcates the killing of the apostate; that Muhammed himself, according to Moslem history, acted on this principle; that this principle was accepted by all orthodox Moslem writers on interpretation and law as one of the fundamental principles governing the relation of the Moslem community towards converts or would-be converts from Islam; that reference to the negotiations between European Christian Powers and Turkey shows that the law of apostasy was enforced in Turkey and its applications somewhat modified on the protests of these Powers. (A law cannot be modified unless it exists, and there would be no need to demand its modification or its amendment if it had fallen into desuetude.) As lately as 1856 the Sultan's ministers informed the British ambassador that such a stretch of authority (as the abolishing of the law of the Koran on apostasy) would exceed even His Majesty's legal powers.

In the face of evidence adduced it will be difficult for any one henceforth to maintain that there is no punishment prescribed in Islam for the apostate. It is one thing to maintain this, and quite another to claim that the punishment of an apostate is contrary to the Koran and the spirit of its founder. Any quarrel the Working school or other reformer of Islam may have on this subject must be not with Christian antagonists but with the leaders of orthodox Islam. When the new school of Islam has gained its point and persuaded Moslem authorities to accept its view of the teachings of the Koran and the traditions on this matter, and to alter the Moslem law of apostasy, then Christian students of Islam and, above all, Christian missionaries, will be ready to acknowledge the work done for liberty and freedom of conscience, but as long as orthodox Islam maintains that there is a law of apostasy which entails many persecutions, including the death penalty, on the apostate, it is useless to speak of freedom and liberty of conscience. Dr Zwemer is to be congratulated on

having put before the English-speaking public such a full and impartial presentation of the question of apostasy in Islam in all its bearings.

In future editions it would be well to correct a few errors. In the passage quoted from the Koran iv 90-1, the word 'fight' should read 'flee their country.' The quotation from Baidhawi's commentary on this passage (p. 33) should be given more exactly. Baidhawi does not use the word *irtadda*, and the quotation should read: '(And if they turn back) from the faith shown by fleeing their country, or from shewing the faith (then take them and kill them wheresoever ye find them) like all infidels.' The words in parentheses are the Koranic text and the rest is interpretation or comment. In line 7 of this page *artadd* should be *irtadda*.

Dr Zwemer rightly refuses to accept Dr Tisdall's translation of xvi 108, though he is mistaken in supposing that the commentary of Al-Razi favours this. Al-Razi certainly says that the apostate is to be killed and lose his wife and heritage, but not because of the expression which Dr Tisdall mistranslates. In correcting Dr Tisdall's error, Dr Zwemer himself falls into another (p. 34). The sentence should read, as, in sense, in Sale and Rodwell, 'Whosoever shall apostatize from his religion and die an infidel. . . .' All the commentaries which I have consulted give this, and indeed the grammatical construction requires it.

The transliteration of Arabic words and names is irregular.

W. R. W. GARDNER

HOREHAM ROAD, SUSSEX

HAWAIIAN LEGENDS

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL LEGENDS. By W. D. WESTERVELT. With illustrations. New York: Revell. \$1.50. 1924.

AT THE GATEWAYS OF THE DAY. By PADRAIC COLUM. Tales and Legends of Hawaii, Vol. I. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. London: Milford. 11s. 6d. 1924.

IN the words of the preface to *Hawaiian Historical Legends*, 'From mist to sunshine—from fabled gods to a constitution and legislature as a territory of the United States—this is the outline of the stories told in the present volume.'

In spite of great changes in the past hundred years, there still lingers in Hawaii much of the charm of the past. The wooded

valleys and rugged cliffs, the coastal plains and varying shore-line are still peopled in imagination by the old 'vikings of the Pacific,' those brave voyagers who sailed centuries ago from Samoa and Tahiti to Hawaii and back again in their outrigger canoes. The author has caught the spirit of old Hawaii. He tells some of the most interesting stories of prehistoric days. We learn of Maui, a Polynesian demi-god who sought immortality for the human race; of Hawaii-loa, the first settler of Hawaii; of Ulu and Nanaulu who founded a dynasty of high chiefs; of Paoa, the priest who came from Samoa in the twelfth century; of the first foreigners—probably Spaniards—who reached Hawaii in the sixteenth century.

Stories of more than a century ago are told with skill and discrimination. We read of the ivory of Oahu and King Kahahana; of the Alapa regiment and its annihilation; of the naval battle in which King Ka-meha-meha defeated the fleets from the other islands; of this king's 'Law of the Splintered Paddle' ('If any man plunders or murders the defenceless or the innocent he shall be punished. The old man or the old woman or the child may lie down to sleep by the roadside and none shall injure them'); of the breaking of the tabu system. The book concludes with three chapters more vitally concerned with the civilization of the white man, namely, the first printing, the first constitution and the first flag of Hawaii.

Two years ago Padraic Colum visited Hawaii at the instance of the Hawaiian Legend and Folklore Commission to undertake a survey of the stories and legends of the islands and, to use his own words, 'to have them made over into stories for children—primarily for the children of the Hawaiian Islands.'

Mr Colum is convinced that these stories are not folklore in the strict sense of the word; they have not grown from an unlearned and popular tradition. 'The greater number seemed to me to be deliberate compositions intended for a rather select audience,' he tells us in the introduction. 'The bulk of the stories in the present volume are founded, then, on Polynesian literature rather than on Polynesian folklore.' The stories about the Menehune, the little folk resembling the brownies made famous by Palmer Cox, Maui and Hina are, however, a part of Polynesian folklore.

Hawaii is fortunate in that the tales have been put into so charming a form by so able a writer as Padraic Colum. He has changed them somewhat, rearranging, condensing, subduing, 'using the old romances as material for wonder-stories' and putting them in the

form of the European folktale, but there still remains that 'feeling for the beauty of nature, for flowers and trees, the aspect of the clouds, the look of the sea, the sight of mountains, for the beauty of the rainbow and the waterfall' which will ever be associated with Hawaii.

HENRY P. JUDD

HONOLULU, HAWAII

A WITNESS TO THE INVISIBLE

MIMOSA, WHO WAS CHARMED. By AMY CARMICHAEL. Madras: S.P.C.K.
Oxford: Mrs Streeter, 41 High Street. 2s. 6d. 1924.

THE Dohnavur books, written by Amy Carmichael, with their vivid record of missionary experience and their unique interpretation of the spiritual influences which lie at the heart of work amongst Indian women and children, are widely known. To most readers they are of supreme value, though some are not open to the particular form which their presentation of reality takes. On the whole, their effect has been deep and lasting. The latest of these volumes is amongst the most impressive of all.

Mimosa, who was Charmed, is the true story of an Indian woman who as a radiant child—'like a bird from the woods, but with eyes large, soft and gentle, more like a fawn's than a bird's'—came with her Hindu father to the mission house for one short afternoon, listened eagerly to the teaching of the missionary, and passed right out of sight and touch for two-and-twenty years. Then she reappeared, worn and weary, but the same Mimosa still, to claim Christian teaching for her little sons. Shortly after she left Dohnavur as a baptized Christian and returned to her still heathen husband, her heart set on winning him to her faith. While in the mission house the story of her life was told. Briefly it was this.

The child Mimosa, as she heard the message, had laid hold of One whose name was soon forgotten but whose love and care became the strength of her life. She worshipped Him alone. As growing girl, as bride, as mother, in the hour of bereavement, in dark days of misfortune and persecution, God was her present help. She knew Him, though her knowledge about Him was small. In times of distress she withdrew alone or with her little ones, and held out the empty end of her *sari* to Him—never in vain. His ways, so dimly known, were walked in. She taught her children of the love

and care of God. The beauty of truth and holiness became hers. The little volume is rich in instances of the coming of God to this woman who had never been taught to pray and did not know even the first letter of the Tamil alphabet. 'You know Him by learning,' she said to one in the mission house, 'I know Him by suffering.'

Those who have worked in any mission field will know how great was the joy of harvest in Dohnavur when Mimosa told her tale. But the story is for us all. It lifts the veil that hides the ceaseless working of God. It reveals the measure of what He does through us as against the greatness of what He does without us, as a satellite is seen against the sun.

G. A. GOLLOCK

WIMBLEDON

SHORTER NOTICES

The Making of Modern India. By Nicol Macnicol, D.Litt. (London: Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d. 1924.) The forces which are making modern India are of different kinds, political, social, religious and, perhaps more than all, those of personality. In these chapters, the majority of which have appeared elsewhere as separate articles, extending over a period of nearly twenty years, Dr Macnicol describes some of these forces and their action upon that India whose soul still lives, greatly aspiring and deeply brooding. We are given glimpses into that soul many times in these pages. The conclusion arrived at is that the tempestuous storms which are now shaking India will prove to be but the breath of a new life before which a great future will open out.

M. M. U.

The Sunday School and the Healing of the Nations. Edited by John T. Faris, D.D. (New York: 1 Madison Avenue. 1925.) Much of this official report of the Ninth World's Sunday School Convention, held at Glasgow in June 1924, is of interest only to members of the Convention. But the volume also contains material of value for wider circles, and especially for those engaged in missionary work. In many minds the sense is growing that the close and vital relationship between Sunday school, Church and mission needs more definitely to be recognized. All such will find it worth while to refer to this volume for authentic information not to be found elsewhere in collected form.

G. A. G.

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Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 320.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

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See also 157 (Biography); 234 (Sanskrit Dictionary); 242-3 (Education); 247 (Nursing); 248 (Literature); 261-6, 268 (Religion); 267 (Robber Castes).

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See also 271-4, 277 (Religion).

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(General)

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See also 158, 164 (Biography); 277 (Anti-Christian Literature).

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See also 275 (Islam).

East and Central Africa

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See also 154 (Dutch Reformed Church).

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The writer has had twenty-seven years of missionary service, and latterly travelled widely as representative of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America.

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See review, p. 307.

See also 254 (Worship of Dead).

The Jews

See 257 (Monotheism).

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General

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Oost- en West-Indië. *Onze Missiën*, 1924 (Nov. 4), 197-218. 232.

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See also 161 (Biography); 249 (National Churches); 278-9, 281-2 (Religion).

V. Works of Reference

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A photographic reproduction of the dictionary published by Longmans, Green & Co. in 1893. Professor Macdonell's lexicon is still the best and handiest book, not only for the beginner in Sanskrit but for all students of the language, except specialists.

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See also 195 (Directory).

VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries

†WHAT A MISSION BOARD SEEKS IN ITS CANDIDATES FOR FOREIGN SERVICE. W. N. Wysham (Candidate Secretary to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions). *Student Volunteer Movement Bulletin*, 1925 (Jan.), 6-12. 237.

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VIII. Missionary Methods**Christian Education***Japan and Korea*

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IX. The Church in the Mission Field

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- TRAINING IN WORSHIP. Edward James, D.D. 93 pp. Shanghai: China Sunday School Union. 30 cents. 1924. 250.

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- See also 215 (Ivory Coast); 233 (Map); 243a (India).

XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions

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- THE BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY AND THE WORSHIP OF THE DEAD. Vol. III. The Belief among the Micronesians. Sir J. G. Frazer. 336 pp. London: Macmillan. 18s. 1924. 254.

- FOLKLORE STUDIES: ANCIENT AND MODERN. W. R. Halliday. 192 pp. London: Methuen. 7s. 6d. 1924. 255.

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- See also 208-9 (Sudan); 214 (Ibros); 215 (Ivory Coast); 216 (Kenya).

Religions of Japan and Korea

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See also 197 (Biography); 235 (Encyclopædia).

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XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

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See review, p. 299.

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See also 173 (Conference); 213 (Congo); 224 (Pacific); 229 (Western Civilization).

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die Evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JIR = *Journal of International Relations*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*

MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NAMZ = *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR = *National Christian Council Review*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

HOW A FRENCH UNIVERSITY MAN WAS WON FOR MISSIONS

By RAOUL ALLIER, A.PH., D.D.

MY intellectual experience is strange. In 1885 I left the Ecole Normale supérieure. Naturally I looked about me at once for a subject for my thesis for the doctor's degree. In the middle of 1886 I thought I had found it. It was 'The Conception of Moral Evil.' For the treatment of this subject I decided to undertake a series of studies of the different aspects which this conception of moral evil assumes to the different categories of human beings, to men, women, children, evil-doers, etc. One day after reading some treatise on ethnology, I asked myself why the inquiry should not be extended to different peoples and races and in particular to uncivilized peoples. I sat down to the work, not only without any preconceived idea but also with no kind of method, letting my curiosity roam in all directions, collecting many small facts of all kinds, piling up most heterogeneous notes. It was thus, in the attempt to initiate myself as directly as possible, apart from the treatises of philosophical theory, into the life of the non-civilized peoples, that I opened one day the

The International Review of Missions is published by the International Missionary Council, but except where otherwise stated the writers of the articles are alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

Journal des Missions Evangéliques—the magazine of the Paris Missionary Society.

Here I must make a confession. At this date—we have arrived at the year 1888—I had never even glanced at a number of this little review. Of the work of missions I knew nothing, absolutely nothing. I knew that they existed and that was all. To complete my confession I will add this, which to-day seems to me almost incredible: I had spent the years 1880 to 1885 in Paris; now from 1880 to 1882 the heroic François Coillard, the pioneer on the Zambezi, had been holding large and stirring meetings in the capital, had moved the Protestant Churches of France by his words and had persuaded the Christians of our country to open a mission among the Barotsi. I did not go to one of these lectures. I am not proud of it, but this small fact proves how little predisposition I had towards what has become the task of my whole life.

I read the *Journal des Missions* pen in hand, making notes of the facts which seemed to me to have any bearing direct or remote upon my problem in psychology. A day came when it seemed to me that to reduce my notes to order I would have to group them under several heads: What are the actual conceptions of non-civilized peoples? How do these peoples become degraded? How do they rise again? It was the last part of what was only to be one chapter of my dream thesis that finally became the work of my whole life. This happened, I repeat, without any preconceived plan, with no premeditation. I classified my notes roughly, I reclassified them incessantly; above all, I tried by every means in my power to understand the psychological significance of what they told me.

A fortunate combination of circumstances brought me the chance of meeting some of these missionaries whose letters and reports I was studying. I questioned them with more zeal than method. Little by little, however, my impressions fell into some kind of order. At the end of 1892 an outline and somewhat formless sketch of my work was ready.

I sent a copy of this to M. Hermann Dieterlen, whom I had met in Paris and who was about to go back to the Lessonto, and another to M. François Coillard on the banks of the Zambezi. I begged them to criticize mercilessly what I had had the audacity, I had almost said the impertinence, to submit to them. They each replied to me in June 1893, and I shall never forget with what emotion I received long letters, almost small memoranda, which I now value like relics. They brought me blessed encouragement. The broad lines of my study were on the whole approved, the basic ideas which I had propounded were confirmed, the problems were formulated with almost final precision. I was urged, in short, to continue my labours.

After such a *sursum corda* there was no choice but to go forward and pursue my inquiries with new ardour. By 1898 the propositions which I propose to develop in my book had taken shape. My whole task had been to confront these theories with the facts, to have them examined, not by bookish students but by men who had penetrated deep into the very soul of this or that savage tribe, who were masters of its language, versed in its customs, its beliefs and its ways of thinking. Through long years it was my aim, not to build up a theory and then to look for confirmation, but through the medium of first-class witnesses who cared little for the defence of theories to understand the feelings of men whom I felt to be so different from ourselves, to know their cast of mind and their way of reacting to foreign teaching. Every time that a particularly competent witness came to work with me I scrupulously restrained myself from interposing the prism of theory or hypothesis between my mind and what he was displaying to me. Theories and hypotheses slowly took shape in my brain in spite of everything, but there was not one of these interviews which did not suggest to me some more or less important correction of these hypotheses or these theories. My only care has always been to put in those touches which were needed to adjust my statement to the facts themselves.

If I have let myself go in telling this little story of my work, it is because it gives its true value and meaning to my testimony. I did not study missions because I had first been won to their cause. I did it solely from an intellectual and purely disinterested curiosity. It was the missions themselves, which, in the course of a study inspired only by scientific motive, appeared to me in all their religious, moral and social interest, with their immense range, and with a part of the first importance to play in an evolution which will bring back to the bosom of the human family those races which have remained millions of years behind us. I began with sympathetic indifference, this soon changed to wonder, then to an effort to understand. This effort has been prolonged for thirty years. It is time for me to express some of the convictions at which I have arrived.

SCIENCE AND MISSIONS. Let me say at the beginning that it is full time that the problem of missions was brought at last before the scientific and psychological circles who do not even know the first word about them.

My friend Hermann Kruger, the learned professor in our school of missions, was possessed by one thought which he liked to put into the form of a paradox: 'The work of missions,' he said, 'is entering a new phase, one in which its appeal will not be mainly to Sunday schools and work parties.' The meaning of this formula should not be misunderstood. Hermann Kruger had penetrated too deeply into the realities of the religious life to scorn those very simple, very strong feelings, those basic emotions which are found to be the source of every apostolic enterprise, and he felt to the depths of his being a communion of spirit with those who know only one thing, which is, that they are the ransomed of the Christ and that they must proclaim to others the good news of salvation by grace. Furthermore, he fully appreciated the value of the sewing-parties which work for missions, and he believed that in the Sunday schools children should be initiated into the beauty of the conquest of the world for the Christ. But he held that

enthusiasm was not enough to bring in the Kingdom of God, the intellect had its part to play in this great battle between the world and God, and that it was a mistake not to bring before the cultured classes the serious problems which arise in the mission field.

Here let us note that in most parts of the globe where missionaries labour the work is no longer in the pioneer stage. It has lost, to the casual observer, some of its dramatic originality. It is no longer quite so interesting. The *Memoirs of Eugène Casalis*, for example, are as thrilling as a novel of adventure. The Basuto have not changed at bottom and are still Basutos. But what has become of the huge wagons with span of twelve oxen, with which one travelled into an unexplored Africa? The railways have penetrated into the heart of the once mysterious continent. A certain element of the picturesque is disappearing. It will be replaced by problems of singular difficulty which Christians have no right to pass by. If Africa is rapidly changing it is because of the invasion by the peoples we call civilized. What portion of the vast continent to-day is not dependent on some European government? Where is the tribe that has no concern with white administrators or that has not in its midst traders or merchants from Europe? Very often it is through these administrators, these merchants and traders alone, that the university public hears of the natives and of the matters which concern them. I do not question the honesty and the insight of certain of these men. There are among them, nevertheless, some whose sole object is to find the speediest way of exploiting the native. We must not leave to them the task of judging Christian work in pagan countries and of presenting it before the 'intellectuals.'

THE NEED FOR A SCIENTIFIC JUSTIFICATION FOR MISSIONS. My experience is that until now there has not been sufficient attention given to the task of interesting scientists and thoughtful men in missionary work. We are apt to content ourselves in their case with a simplified

apologetic prepared exclusively for popular audiences. Probably we speak of the consequences, moral, social and otherwise, of Protestant missions among uncivilized peoples. We assert that the mission is the bringer of civilization. To prove it we always take the same line. We choose a savage tribe as an example, we describe its general condition at the time when the preachers of the Gospel reached it. Then we describe its condition after twenty or fifty years of work by these men. We emphasize the transformations which have been visibly accomplished and we consider that the proof is complete. But are we sure of that? It is easy to see that a certain number of sociological phenomena are the constant accompaniments of the religious activity of the missionary. The correspondence between these social phenomena and this activity is well marked. But we do not see clearly whether this coincident relation can and ought to be presented as a relation of cause and effect. There is, doubtless, no denying this or that social transformation. But it should be made clear whether this change has been added as an outside luxury to the preaching of the Gospel or if it was of necessity implied in the specifically religious task of the missionary.

It seems to me to-day that we must resort to more vigorous methods. The psychologist must set himself to study the essential task undertaken by the preacher of the Gospel, the task which he considers at bottom to be the only necessary one, and which he calls 'conversion.' It is this phenomenon which he must study from every angle, whose course he must trace in detail, which he must bring into contact with the inmost mind of the native. Then when he has thoroughly understood and described the preliminaries, the nature and the accomplishment of this crisis, he will seek out the inevitable consequences which this fact of conversion should have for the individual and for his surroundings. Through contact with Christianity the human person realizes once more his claim to respect. When he awakens to a consciousness of his human dignity

there are collective habits which must disappear, institutions which must be replaced, liberations which must come about. It is not by accident that crimes against children are eliminated almost of themselves, that slavery is attacked and finally suppressed, that woman recovers an honourable position, that marriage is ennobled. These are not imported reforms which come as it were in the trunk of the missionary. They arise organically from the moral revelation brought about by Christianity, and are not a mere ornament applied to the surface of civilization. The psychologist thus can render signal service to missions, to religion and to science, if he can show that these reforms spring like a flower and like a fruit from the seed which has been sown in men's souls.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL SCHOOL. I wonder why this method has never yet been adopted. There is nothing more absorbing than the detailed study of the psychological process which ends in conversion. If we are really to come to grips with it we must abandon profitless generalities and probe to the depth the mentality of races which are very different from ourselves. The sociological school of which M. Lévy Bruhl is a brilliant representative even goes so far as to maintain that the non-civilized man is a stranger to our laws of thought, that his intelligence is still in a pre-logical stage. How does it happen that no missionary—within my knowledge at least—has ever crossed swords with a theory which is not without consequences for religion? It is impossible to study the psychology of conversion without being faced by this problem which is vital for the understanding of non-civilized peoples.

If the laws formulated by M. Lévy Bruhl represent truth, it is not possible to understand anything in the history of mankind. In the state in which the actual non-civilized man has been for centuries and centuries his animist mentality has hindered him from making the least progress. Intellectual initiative is almost impossible for him. He can make no step forward without an impulse from outside.

Christian missions bring to light the important part which individuals, changed to the depths of their beings, will play from then onwards in their environment for its renewal. A historian of religions, M. R. Dussaud, has uttered a profound truth. 'Taking everything into consideration the individual probably occupied a place of relatively greater importance in a primitive society than in modern times. In a state of inferior intellectual activity the rôle and influence of a man of superior gifts are infinitely more conspicuous.' What M. Lévy Bruhl gives us, for all mankind, as a necessary point of departure has perhaps been for certain races an unfortunate goal. Christian missions by regenerating individuals arouse the intellectual and moral impulses which break the magic circle in which the non-civilized are imprisoned. These impulses, according to all the evidence, have social repercussions. They act upon the masses but they are given by individuals. Missionary work is like the intervention of brothers who, having attained their majority, help their brothers who are still minors to make their way at last, after millenniums of slumber, towards their majority. They restore to whole sections of humanity the conditions which permit the resumption of the forward march. Expressed in such brief terms this might appear a little mysterious. It is a point on which Christian psychologists or ethnologists ought to insist.

THE DOCTRINE OF M. SIGMUND FREUD. This study of conversion has led me to encounter, besides the sociological school, the school of M. Sigmund Freud. The learned Viennese and I have worked independently without realizing that our researches would lead us to common ground. It is well known what a large place M. Freud gives in his analyses to dreams and in a general way to the interventions of the unconscious in the psychological life. I on my part have been led, almost from the beginning of my personal research, to realize the part played by dreams—and to a much less degree by hallucinations and voices—in the moral crises of non-civilized peoples and to try to understand these

phenomena. As early as 1893 I realized that dreams, which are so often referred to in the stories of conversions, are due to the reappearance of repressed tendencies. On a very important question there is a striking correspondence between this explanation which the study of facts suggested to me and the theories which the founder of psycho-analysis was one day to develop. There is, however, one important difference between the well-known conclusions of M. Freud and my own observations. In the dreams which he studies specially the repressed tendencies which emerge suddenly in unexpected forms belong to what is lowest in mankind. They are those which the most elementary moral considerations would impel the subject to restrain. The dreams to which I have referred and which are at the source of conversion are of quite a different nature. That which reappears in them and through them is no ancient self of gross instincts and almost bestial inheritance. It is on the contrary a new self which is in process of formation under the impulsion of an ideal as yet only half seen and which, far from representing in the subject a distant and animal past, imagines, prophesies and prepares a future which is completely human. Who knows if these analyses of conversion carried further would not lead to still further correction of Freudianism and to the discovery beneath the gross strata beyond which he has not penetrated of still further depths more mysterious and perhaps more akin to the divine.

A BANAL OBJECTION WHICH IS RAISED AGAINST MISSIONS. This study has led me personally to face from a particular angle an objection which certain persons are in the habit of making against missionary work. These persons draw attention to the fact that the fruits of Christian missions are still of inferior quality in comparison with what, it appears, they ought to be. This impression is inevitable, I recognize, for those who have not studied the question from close at hand. It is a very different thought which predominates in my mind and I ask permission to explain why.

Let us take one of these men who have experienced the conversion of which we have been speaking. He has ranged against him his whole environment. In one sense this is not essentially different from the case of the man whom we know in our own country. Here too it happens that an individual, passing through a religious or political crisis, bruises himself, even to the shedding of blood, against the opposition of his family and his surroundings. Such dramas may become terrible here as elsewhere. Nevertheless the case reaches its maximum intensity where the individual breaks with the traditions of his race and puts himself outside the social order. His moral life no longer finds the slightest support in his surroundings; his material life is threatened and becomes well-nigh impossible. But these are not the most serious difficulties. In our countries the individual, after all, belongs to a race in which the will is strong, and where the obligation to follow one's personal conviction is, if not always obeyed, at least recognized by the common conscience. Among the non-civilized peoples the moral personality properly speaking hardly exists. A native of the tropical forests or Australia has never in his life found himself in the position symbolized in the banal fable of Hercules at the cross-roads. His ordinary life is made up of customs and traditions; it is automatic and imitative. The daily round is never broken except by gusts of passion. What we call moral choice never takes place or at least is reduced to the elementary minimum necessary to distinguish the man from the animal. The non-civilized man has not even in his language a word for will which distinguishes it from desire pure and simple. He is an aspirant to the rank of human being. If we would help him to reach that rank we must free him from the inheritance of centuries which makes of him a passive being. This work demands continuous effort through many generations, piling up their successive acquisitions and capitalizing them. It is impossible without a new heredity which will gradually substitute itself for the old. The men who attack

this formidable work testify at once to an abyss between themselves and those to whom they address themselves. On no single point do the two interlocutors feel and think alike. It seems as though their faculties of thinking and feeling were radically different. This mentality which is called, perhaps falsely, pre-logical hinders those who are addressed from fully understanding those who speak to them and makes it for a time impossible for those who speak to make themselves intelligible to those whom they address. If all this becomes clear to us in its sad reality the problem no longer is : Why have the results of missions shown that tardiness which the vulgar use as weapons against them ? For us that problem is solved. We are no longer surprised at the tardiness with which the work is accomplished, we wonder that it is not even greater. We no longer ask : How is it that these devoted men have accomplished so little ? But rather : How has it been possible for a handful of men, at grips with difficulties which look like impossibilities, to reach results which if properly understood would strike us dumb ? We realize the presence there before us in action of creative power.

MISSIONS AND THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH. To keep my paper within limits I will only indicate one important point. The psychology of conversion, closely studied, raises again from the very beginning the problems which confront the missionaries. The rules which they should impose upon their Christian communities are no longer inspired mainly by the customs of Europe, by dogmatic *a priori* arguments, by ecclesiastical traditions. They must be adapted to the moral necessities of the social conditions in each place.

Looked at from this point of view missions can be seen passing through one after the other of those experiences which make up the history of Christianity. All the problems relating to slavery, to polygamy, to pagan rites, to the discipline of the community, to the authority of the Church, arise on the mission fields exactly as they have arisen down

the centuries. Missions can provide a counterpart for all the experiences of the different sections of the Christian Church since the first days of the primitive Church.

I had no inkling of all this when I opened a missionary magazine for the first time. The scientific study of facts, apart from any preconceived theories, has convinced me that missions contain in themselves the definition and the solution of the deepest problems. They explain all the past of Christianity, they show the most urgent duties of the Church of the present day, they reveal what will make the future of humanity normal. They therefore deserve from all points of view to attract the attention of university men. Their work and their methods will be renewed by thoroughly scientific study, and they themselves will enlarge and transform the problems which historians, philosophers and, above all, psychologists are studying.

RAOUL ALLIER

MISSIONARY EDUCATION AND THE LOCAL PARISH

By JOHN CLARK ARCHER, B.D., PH.D.

THE term missionary education is applied in this article to the education of the Church at home in matters relative and vital to the Church in foreign lands. In other words, we accept and hold to the idea that definite, further responsibility rests upon the home constituency of Christians to support and prosecute the foreign missionary enterprise, and that they should be appropriately educated for the task. This is the theme and emphasis of this paper, without in any way denying that Christian work both at home and abroad is a common enterprise, and that whatever border-line there is lies rather between Christian and non-Christian than between East and West, or home and foreign. Indeed it must be plainly seen, if the reader catches the writer's true perspective, that there is implicit in the paper the idea that the East has much to give and that further western missionary effort is warranted only if it be in the spirit and with the methods of co-operation. If there be any virtue in this article it inheres not so much in any theoretical discussion of the subject as in the exposition of a particular program of missionary education, formulated by the writer against the background of first-hand acquaintance with most of the mission fields, and tested through ten years of trial in various American Churches. The general plan was born, in the first place, of experience and necessity, and has taken shape and size at the call of opportunity and under the encouraging influence of pastors, church workers and leaders in missionary education. For many years the writer has attended to the program as an engaging hobby, incidental to his work

as a teacher of missions and comparative religion ; but he has lately become persuaded that more serious attention should be given to it in view of the dire need of our local parishes for education in missions, and in view of the hearty response elicited by a thorough-going missionary educational venture.

It should go without saying that the program should be educational, that it should produce abiding results in fuller stores of information, in deeper and more intelligent feeling, and in attitudes sounder, more just and more calculated to attain the ends of the great commission of Our Lord. We dare not announce above a whisper that our Churches and their constituencies are well educated in missions, for they are not. We may not call our processes and results educational until Christians here have a vivid sense of the peoples and problems of foreign fields, until the distant parts of the Kingdom are brought into the local consciousness. A great deal has been done in missionary education, it is a widely recognized field of work, many missionary societies and a great number of individual Churches have departments devoted to this subject—it does not fall within the province of this paper to review all that has been done—but, from the point of view of the local parish at any rate, the efforts have lacked co-ordination ; they have been more or less irregular and remote, and because they have not been thorough-going with respect to the local situation they can scarcely be called educational.

It is fair to ask why most of our present methods have fallen short of a just educational standard. In brief, it seems to the writer that the following must be listed among the reasons. In the first place, our materials have been supplied from without. That is, programs have been formulated at general missionary headquarters and distributed to the local Churches. Such procedure is necessary and wise, if the program takes the local Church as such into account as the chief consideration. Usually, however, the program is organized from the point of view of the general

office which is charged with the primary task of raising funds. The way out is not to abolish such procedure altogether, but to devise ways and means by which the local parish may express itself to the full in co-operation with the general headquarters. Local initiative must be considered, inspired and developed. Obviously much must come from without, but obviously, too, the full interests of education cannot be served apart from self-expression within the local units.

In the second place, our missionary education has been something of a program in itself, conceived and operated apart from whatever general religious educational program there may have been in operation. Those charged with missionary education in any parish have had to watch for their opportunity to introduce their work; missions have too often been extra-curriculum. Consequently, their work has been piece-meal, and inevitably it has affected only a minority of the members of the parish. The way out is to conceive of missionary education as essentially an integral part of religious education, and to formulate an actual program on such a basis. The writer's own plan began with this conception. His problem was to incorporate missionary education into the work of a large parish well-organized in regard to religious education.

A third reason issues from the second; so few of our parishioners have actually been reached by our efforts, nor have the efforts been sustained for long. Even the missions institutes or church schools of missions have occupied comparatively little time and have enrolled comparatively few people. Furthermore, they have been made up mostly of lecture or study periods. It is a well-known fact that the subject of missions has not been considered interesting by the men; they have even thought of the matter as an activity for the women alone. In actual practice missionary affairs within the average parish have usually been in the women's hands. On the whole it may be seen at this point also that our work has been more super-

ficial than intensive and more fractional than complete. On the other hand, missionary education is a proper undertaking for the whole parish, not merely for certain societies, circles and guilds within the parish. It is broader and worthier than its treatment has often indicated. The solution of our difficulty here lies in the direction of a parish-wide program which comprehends all types and classes of persons within the parish, the leavening of the whole lump. In summary it may be said that our missionary program, in order to approximate to a proper educational ideal, should be more a product of parish life than a course to which it merely subscribes, should be part of the general program of parish education and should be widely diffused throughout the extent of the parish.

How then shall we proceed to gain these desirable ends? Take first the second matter just mentioned, the question of integrating missionary education with religious education. This is not to lose sight of missionary education, by any means. Rather, it is to give it a larger place. It will not only interpret the Bible as a missionary book, but it will apply the Scriptures to specific modern mission fields and problems and interpret Christianity as a missionary religion. To this end we build missionary education around and within the field of Biblical study, which is, in particular, the Sunday school—or better, the church school. The method proposed is not left to work itself out at random; we assume something of expert guidance for the individual teacher and officer, in the form of a bulletin, syllabus, or book. This method calls for a weekly use of missionary material for several months each year, in connexion with the regular lessons in the school, whether they be of the Uniform Series, the International Graded Series, or other lessons. This material is not in itself intended for lesson material, but as illustration, or for comparative use. If the title of a lesson should be ‘Stephen the First Martyr,’ it will be readily seen how it lends itself to some consideration of other martyrs, in China for example (references to whom are provided for

the teacher and the pupil). An example in detail of the correlation of current China materials with the regular Sunday school lessons may be seen in the writer's *China in the Local Parish*,¹ pages 16-33. It may be objected that this method provides only fragments. The reader is reminded that we are writing now merely of one aspect of a parish-wide program. With proper handling there is valuable cumulative effect in the weekly presentation of bits of material—even fragments have been known to require baskets for collection. The effect upon the pupil is salutary, especially if he is set the task of studying the references, and the benefit to the teacher is real, quite apart from any use made of the references in class. The method lends itself in the hands of an alert teacher to more ways of working that this paper has space to recount.

Considering missionary education as a whole and seriously, and before going further, the question might be raised as to the source and character of our materials. It is a matter of the content or the literature of missionary education, and a great deal might be said about it. It is obvious, when one stops to think critically, that the materials used for correlation or for any other purpose should be reasonably reliable, with reference not only to the facts themselves but also to the temper and attitude produced by their use. Are the materials, we ask, truthful interpreters of the actual conditions which they mean to portray? And do they make us, and more properly so, more missionary minded? The average teacher and the average pupil are not only ignorant of foreign missionary facts and problems, but many things which they do know are superficial and therefore of little consequence, or are inaccurate or altogether false and therefore hurtful both to themselves and indirectly to the people misrepresented. During many years the writer has had occasion to examine critically hundreds of books and pamphlets devoted to missionary education in Sunday schools and Churches, and he is convinced that

¹ New York : Missionary Education Movement, 1924.

many indispensable things are left to be desired. He has discovered much irenic and worthy material, not only wholesome in interpretation but of real educational value. He has found much of another sort also. He has been dismayed to find it stated that the sacred scripture of a certain non-Christian people bids you 'spit three times over the left shoulder to keep a bad dream from hurting you,' dismayed because the statement is untrue. Again, in a comparatively recent and widely-used booklet for advanced pupils in the schools of a large American denomination, this paragraph on Hinduism occurred: 'The religion of the greater part of India. This religion teaches that man has no real soul; it teaches of no saviour, no salvation. It believes in the murder of girl babies and in child marriage. . . . The most terrible crimes are committed in the name of religion. The leaders or priests of this religion, called Brahmins, are wicked, selfish, dangerous men.' And all this, ironically, is represented as the statement of a scholarly and well-known India missionary of that denomination who certainly would have challenged it had he known of it. Even taking what there is of truth in the paragraph we are reminded that there has been a too prevalent habit of drawing pictures 'deepened to an agreeable gloom.' So often the worst in other faiths has been compared with the best in our own. A book which gives an account of some Indian children has this in it: 'A true Christian as you well know is one who would scorn to tell lies, or steal, or cheat, or act in any dishonourable way. But this is not so in India; a man who is considered as most religious, and is even called holy, may steal, lie, cheat, besides being horribly dirty and wearing his hair filthy and matted.' (Do not fail to appreciate that parting shot at the immorality of dirt.) But, seriously, the vile *sadhu* is exhibited as the true type, with no intimation whatever of the presence in India of a better and more typical class of ascetics. And the following quotation shows nothing so much as the author's superficial acquaintance with Islam, unless indeed it betrays

a common temptation to the use of flippant phrases: 'Islam—a man-made faith, planned to include features of Judaism, Paganism and Christianity. The genius of Mohammed mixed old ingredients into a new panacea for humanity, sugar-coated it with an easy-going morality, and forced it down by means of the sword.' One has no need of labouring the harm done by such missionary educational materials. This is worse than ignorance. Some one has said that one of the chief courses of instruction in Great Britain was ignorance of India. By the same token we may accuse ourselves of teaching a great deal of ignorance of the mission fields. Let us beware of unconscious perversion of the truth. We may guard ourselves by exercising exacting care in the choice of our materials. And, further, we may provide criteria of judgment, and develop such a broad-minded and sympathetic attitude that, inevitably and naturally, we may see things in true perspective and at their best. To discuss this lies beyond the reach of this paper, but fairness demands that the issue be faced.

We have left the matter of integrating missionary educational material with the general religious program somewhat incomplete, in that reference was made only to the church school lessons, but we have established the principle as far as space would permit.

Let us consider now the development of initiative within the local parish (the first named of the three major ends). This involves both materials and methods as well as personnel. The personnel must, like the materials furnished and the methods used, be adapted to local conditions. To be specific, the missionary educational program should teach missions through the activities, physical as well as mental, of the members of the parish. Not only must the program as such be as if indigenous to the local parish, but also the processes of education should discover and develop capacities for missionary activity within the lives of the parishioners. Something about or within the individual should be the reason for his enlistment in the missionary

enterprise—for example, his trade or profession, his interest in literature, music or art, his ability as a story-teller and so on. This is education by doing, which may be most easily discussed in terms of projects or of the Grand Project. Among lesser projects, for example, might be mentioned the making of a miniature well in connexion with such a lesson as that on Rebekah at the well, or Jesus and the woman of Samaria; or the making of foreign boats, shrines and implements in appropriate connexions. Such manual work may be made to serve high educational ends. This is common practice which might be more widely adopted, for example, in week-day schools of religious education. As a phase of the program these projects are valuable, especially if they be true projects; that is, if they induce activity toward a worthy end, if they serve to create a sense of problem which the pupil is interested in solving, if they enlist the rational processes of the pupil as well as his memory, if on the whole they bring the distant scene into the local consciousness. The project goes a long way toward fulfilling what we consider missionary education to be, namely, an interpretation of the essential character (the origins, complexity, development and fruits) of the non-Christian orders, with a view to understanding and appreciating them, of co-operating with them in service to humanity and of making them and our own selves Christian in the highest sense of the term. We must enlist both youth and their elders in tasks which will impress upon them the real nature of missions. No one method or plan can be sufficient for these things. In continuing the discussion of local initiative in terms of the Grand Project the writer merely hopes to illustrate a principle which appears to him to be involved.

The Grand Project is the climax of the program, the conclusion in any one year of the several months' study in school and elsewhere, the conclusion toward which the minor projects as well as the study have pointed. For the most part this Project is 'life-size.' An appropriate atmo-

sphere is provided by a carefully prepared physical setting of houses, shops or shrines in which exhibits of various sorts are displayed, and against the background of which several days' activities are staged. Among the activities are scenes from temple, school and home. Representative figures from the foreign field, such as tailor, carpenter, priest, farmer, are trained for their respective rôles. All this may seem at first glance quite familiar to many readers. As a matter of fact the Grand Project as here proposed is not an isolated event. It is that to which the parish has looked forward during its period of study. The class which enacted an afternoon tea scene, the class which dramatized the witch-doctor episode, the children who made models of houses in the week-day school of religion, the group of boys who prepared the school scene and others had in mind the inclusion of their projects in the final exhibit and laboured to make their efforts worthy of it. Furthermore this Grand Project aims to be educational by the use of local talent. It is not something set up by outside professionals, but is the work of hand and mind of men who are members of the local parish. An architect prepares himself to design in faithful detail the general setting, of whatever land. An artist studies Buddhism and designs a Buddhist pagoda. A musician studies Hinduism and Hindu music and makes a contribution through song and instrument. Children learn the games which foreign children play and display their skill at them during the days set apart for the Project. Story-tellers study foreign folklore and delight the children with their acquired store of typical tales. The possibilities are almost unlimited. Whatever is done should be well done in every respect. It is altogether a serious educational venture and not a show. Real incentive is furnished for discrimination in dealing with strange peoples and things. The reader's imagination can readily picture the educational possibilities of such a program. Among the remarks which the writer has heard made, and which indicate something of the larger results, might be mentioned: 'If that is what

those people really believe they surely do need Christianity,' and 'If that is what you mean by missions, I am for them.' It has been the writer's policy so far to devote each program to one field or one religion each year.

We have yet to say just a word about the third end, the extent to which an adequate program of missionary education should carry. It should reach to the outermost bounds of the parish. It should be a community enterprise. The writer knows of at least one community in which all the churches recently undertook in co-operation the plan he has been discussing. It is to be expected that some part of any program will appeal to every one. Such in fact is the deliberate intent. Among the many who will take an interest and give their support are men and women who had not been at all concerned with missions and who, perhaps, had seldom attended the church services. There is a legitimate appeal in behalf of general culture and world-mindedness, and there is a fair chance that the ultimate result will be Christian. Paul plants, Apollos waters, and God giveth the increase. For the experienced workers of the parish the program furnishes a new horizon, and freshens as well as broadens their view. Missions appear in new perspective and a certain joy is found in the very extent of the missionary program.

We have considered only the main points of the program. It is well, however, to remind ourselves that there are other phases of it. There is place for the occasional lecture, the mission study class and the missions institute, and all these take on larger meaning as they fall into place in the general scheme of things. We have in mind a program by which all missionary activities may be unified, and yet a program which is entirely flexible. Given a proper plan built upon a flexible idea, the contents of the program may be easily determined in view of the specific parish needs, the opportunities afforded by the general religious program and the leadership available. Either much or comparatively little may be included in the missionary program, whether with

respect to the weekly lessons and activities or the Grand Project by whatever name it may be called. It is simply a case of planning with the whole parish as the base and with the whole scheme of religious education in mind. It requires a new deal after some scrapping of old machinery and some revision of the ranks of the old personnel.

In conclusion it might be repeated that missionary education should receive more consideration from the point of view of the local Church and parish, and should be prosecuted through a program which is comprehensive, flexible and educational. We may well attempt some re-interpretation of the missionary enterprise, not only because most of the members of the Church do not understand what it is, but also because the enterprise is actually changing in itself. This re-interpretation may come about in part through missionary study, but the best results will be attained directly and indirectly through missionary activity. We may not always be sending out foreign missionaries, but we must not cease, this side of the Last Day, to be concerned about the work of the Kingdom of God throughout the whole world. This entails the continual study of other lands and peoples, untiring support of worthy effort everywhere and the ever-increasing co-operation of Christians in all the world in the common tasks of the Kingdom. The world may indeed be shrinking physically, but moral and religious problems are certainly increasing. For example, we of the West are in the natural course of events being brought face to face with weighty problems new in our experience. This is no day for any 'universal plague of squint,' and nothing is so well calculated as missionary education, properly conceived and faithfully executed, to give the Church of Christ a full view of the total facts, and to inspire the forces of the Church to victory in His name.

JOHN CLARK ARCHER

THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN CHINA

I. FROM THE CHINESE STANDPOINT

By HAROLD BALME, F.R.C.S.

THE events which have happened in China within the past few months, in connexion with the spread of the so-called Anti-Christian Movement within educational circles, have focussed attention upon the operation of forces whose development has been to a large extent unobserved, but whose significance and potentiality should be recognized by all students of missions. These forces are part of the natural evolution of the nation, and, so far from being regarded as a menace, should be welcomed by every friend of China. They are characteristic of the young life and vigour which are stirring in the veins of this ancient people, and which, in time, will assuredly overcome the stagnation into which the country appears for the moment to have settled. It is necessary that we should remind ourselves of the conditions from which this new life has sprung, if we are to understand what underlies its present activities.

I

Throughout the whole of last century the West was knocking, with increasing persistence, upon the doors of the Orient, and ever since the beginning of this present century the effect of this impact upon the thinking classes has been more and more apparent. New political ideas and ideals have been imbibed, resulting in the foundation of the Republic and the eager adoption of every new cult. Modern education and science have been introduced and have brought

about a complete renaissance of intellectual thought and the birth of innumerable organizations for the pursuit of modern culture. Revolutionary theories of social relationships, of industrial development and of communistic Utopias have produced a ferment which is gradually affecting all classes of society and threatening to overthrow a philosophy of life backed by the traditions of four thousand years. Most important of all, there has been a complete change of outlook on the part of the educated leaders of the country, the backward look of a former generation, which glorified the past and found the solution of all China's ills in a re-interpretation of her classical history and political economy, being replaced by a forward contemplation of the tasks ahead and a determination to adjust national conditions to the problems of an international world.

It is far more difficult to trace this evolutionary process in political than in educational spheres, owing to the chaos into which the country has been plunged of late through the weakness of the central government, the rapacity and corruption of the tuchun-ate, the internal dissensions caused by party faction and provincial jealousy and the lack of strong constitutional leaders. But all who take pains to search beneath these distressing eddies for the true undercurrent of political conviction which is affecting thoughtful men and women in the country to-day will realize that they are in contact with forces of considerable moment. They will quickly discover a race-consciousness that is no longer based upon a blissful ignorance of world affairs but is acutely alive to the position which China occupies among other powers. They will find the same impulses of nationalism which are stirring the hearts of the Indian, the Japanese, the Filipino and the Korean surging through the emotions of the Chinese, and rendering them hyper-sensitive to anything which savours of foreign criticism or dictation. They will discover, moreover, that the prestige of all western nations has been markedly lowered since the Great War and the various international incidents which followed in its wake,

and that the disinterestedness of foreign advice is strongly suspect. Above all, they will find that the public-spirited men of the country are pleading to be left alone to work out their own political salvation, try their own experiments and make their own mistakes, free from foreign interference and from the fettering conditions imposed upon the country in her time of impotence. There is, it is true, a minority in the country which is frankly pessimistic of any orderly progress apart from foreign supervision or even control, but their influence is quite insignificant when compared with the ranks of independent thinkers who are restless of every appearance of foreign pressure.

II

In the realm of education the progress which has already been registered by the leaders of China, as a result of the assimilation of modern ideas, is far more apparent than is unfortunately the case in politics, and it is a question whether any other nation, faced with similar handicaps, can show so excellent a record of accomplishment. Readers of Mr T. Z. Koo's informing article in the last issue of the *Review* will have been reminded of the significant fact that only twenty years have passed since the first attempt was made, on the part of the Chinese Government, to institute a modern system of education in the country. Prior to that time the honour of establishing modern schools and colleges was held almost entirely by the various mission boards, particularly those of North America, with the result that Christian education came to occupy a position which was quite unique, and one which in the very nature of things could only be of a temporary character. When these mission schools were first started in China, their main objective was the provision of a simple education for the children of the Christian community under conditions such as would preserve and foster religious faith and understanding, and thus provide a trained leadership for the indigenous Church. As time wore on,

however, and as the attitude of China towards western knowledge began to change, these schools began to be appreciated in an entirely new way, on account of the commodity which they had to offer, the value of which was being recognized. There was a growing demand for western science and history, for western medicine, for English, a demand such as the government and private schools of the country were unable to supply; the mission schools and colleges were looked to, with sincere evidence of gratitude, as a means for meeting this demand. The result inevitably followed that, in the eyes of many, these Christian schools received a new justification, in that they were offering something of which China stood in sore need, that something being modern, efficient education.

Thus for the time being it fell to the lot of Christian educational institutions, financed and controlled for the most part by the nationals of other countries, to do for China what, eventually, she would very properly desire to do for herself. Furthermore, the fact that such institutions were protected by treaty rights, and were established in many cases prior to the development of a government system of education, led to their occupying an independent and somewhat false position, which tended to disregard such requirements as the Chinese Board of Education came in course of time to set up.

Meanwhile—largely as a result of the facilities which Christian education afforded, assisted by the modern training which an increasing number of Chinese students secured in foreign countries—there came into existence a growing force of well-educated and highly qualified Chinese, prepared to devote their lives in the endeavour to raise China's national educational system to a level worthy of a country in which the scholar has always been held in highest esteem. Many of these men and women are prominent Christians, acknowledging a sincere debt of gratitude to the mission school or college in which they were first started upon the road of modern education; but all are men of patriotic motive, fired with the ambition to see their country able to care for its

own educational problems, without the necessity of relying permanently upon the assistance of foreign countries. It is an interesting and significant fact that neither politics nor commerce succeeds in diverting these men from their main objective, and it may be confidently asserted that throughout the unrest and instability of the past few years it has been the educationists, more than any other group, who have steadily progressed towards a common patriotic goal.

One of the most striking and encouraging characteristics of this educational group has been its successful development of a strong corporate spirit, which has apparently been able to override all political differences and to create a national sentiment in educational policy. For some years past each province in China has had its own educational association, but during the past decade there has come into existence a National Federation of such associations, which holds an annual conference to which each province sends regularly elected delegates. Actions brought before this conference are also considered by the individual provincial associations, so that when agreed upon they have the force of the whole educational opinion of the country behind them and carry irresistible weight with the Central Board of Education. This was seen in striking fashion last year when the whole educational system of China was changed by the Board of Education, nominally on the advice of a few experts but actually as a result of a strong resolution passed by the National Federation of Provincial Educational Associations at Canton in 1923.

Nor is this development of a corporate spirit confined to the official educational associations. Within the past four years a number of private societies for educational reform, situated in various parts of the country, have come together and formed one of the strongest organizations existing in China at the present time—the National Association for the Advancement of Education. This society has its headquarters in Peking and has already issued a series of invaluable monographs on various aspects of the educational problem

in China, whilst its annual conferences, which are now attended by hundreds of delegates from every part of China, provide most informing and stimulating discussions. It was this society which was responsible for the invitation to Dr Paul Monroe to study and report upon the middle schools of China during the year 1921, and which has since brought Professors McAll and Twiss and other experts to China for further investigations and advice.

Another gratifying sign of progress has been the steady growth of well-equipped schools and colleges in certain parts of China, and the marked raising of standards, both as regards the qualifications of teachers employed and the quality of instruction offered. This advance is all the more creditable in view of the terrible financial stringency from which all civil departments in China have suffered during the past few years. Though the number of such institutions is entirely inadequate at present to cope with the demand, the high standard of efficiency which they maintain is clear proof of the possibilities which lie ahead. Universities such as the Government University at Peking, Nankai at Tientsin, South Eastern University at Nanking, and others that could be mentioned, are to-day able to command the services of some of the finest teachers that modern China has produced; the number of such institutions is steadily growing. Moreover, the fact that the lines connecting such institutions with the international educational foundations of the West are now established direct, and that such a body as the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation is more and more inclining to assist these national colleges rather than those which are controlled and staffed by Westerners in China, gives hope of still further improvement in equipment and staff. An even greater factor may also be available in the near future, if, as is confidently hoped, a large portion of the released Boxer Indemnity Funds is placed at the service of Chinese educational institutions.

III

Prior to last year there were but few signs of actual hostility towards Christian schools and colleges on the part of the educational leaders, many of whom, as has already been stated, gratefully acknowledge the debt which they personally owe to such institutions. At the same time it was but natural that they should view with some feeling of apprehension the development of a widespread system of education financed and staffed by the nationals of foreign countries, and that a question should arise in the minds of many of them as to the true motive which underlay so considerable an expenditure of men and money. Various incidents served to add fuel to this flame of apprehension. The fact that in certain schools national flags other than those of China were placed in prominent positions, and that students were taught to salute them on occasions and to observe the national holidays of the country which they represented, raised serious questions as to the denationalizing effect of such a method of education. The reported offer of the German Government, prior to the war, to subsidize schools for the spread of German *Kultur*; the action of the British Chambers of Commerce in raising a large fund for the support of British schools; the strong suspicion that Japanese institutions in Manchuria were being utilized for the purpose of 'peaceful penetration'—these and similar incidents, falling as they did upon a soil of hyper-sensitive nationalism, produced a natural reaction of misunderstanding and even of antagonism. Two further factors have helped to complicate the issue and to strengthen the opposition of those Chinese patriots who have always feared the extension of foreign influence. The first of these was the publication of the Report of the China Educational Commission, which, in spite of its own clear statements to the contrary, appeared to such men to foreshadow a closely articulated system of alien schools and colleges, paralleling and threatening to rival the public and private schools of the country. The second

has been the widespread conviction that the released Boxer Indemnity Funds would be utilized solely for the endowing and strengthening of foreign institutions rather than for the advancement of Chinese schools and colleges.

At this point it is possible for us to appreciate the significance of the recent Anti-Christian Movement in China, and to understand how it is that it should have spread so widely in educational circles. This movement had its birth on the occasion of the Conference of the World Student Christian Federation in Peking in 1922, and was the response of a small but determined group to the claim of universal religious domination which, in their opinion, that conference represented. Commencing in a local organization it gave place in turn to an Anti-Religious Society, which set itself actively to oppose the work of the Y.M.C.A. and the spread of Christian schools. This movement rapidly spread to the leading centres of China and gathered recruits of widely differing types, many of whom had nothing whatever in common with one another except for the single fact of their opposition to the system of Christian education as at present carried on in the country. This opposition has developed along two entirely distinct lines, the one mainly nationalistic in purpose, the other anti-religious. The former group, which includes within its membership representatives of the various communistic organizations which have arisen of late in China, as well as more conservatively minded nationalists, is chiefly concerned with the foreign influence and control associated with mission institutions. Whilst the radical elements in this group attack the whole system of Christian education as being imperialistic and capitalistic, the more sober minds direct their opposition to the lack of conformity with government requirements, and the deleterious effect of the dual allegiance which such a system of schools is apt to engender in its students.

The latter group embraces not only those who are opposed to all forms of religion but also many men of splendid character and influence, such as Ex-Chancellor Tsai Yuan-pei

and Dr Hu Shih, who frankly believe that the educational system of the country should be entirely divorced from religious teaching, and who challenge mission schools and colleges on the ground that they are merely making use of an educational expedient in order to forward religious propaganda, thus subverting what they regard as the primary purpose of true education. It is the required courses of Biblical instruction and the compulsory attendance at religious worship which this group particularly attacks, and which, they insist, should not be permitted in a country whose educational system is purely secular in character, and which demands complete religious freedom for all its subjects.

We need not concern ourselves very seriously with the various outbreaks to which this Anti-Christian Movement has given rise, and which have taken the form of organized strikes and riots in certain of the mission schools, anti-religious meetings on Christmas Day, the publication of anti-Christian literature and the like. A far more important aspect of the movement consists of the actions taken last year by the National Association for the Advancement of Education and the National Federation of Provincial Educational Associations, demanding the compulsory registration of all Christian schools and colleges, and the infliction of penalties upon those which are unwilling to conform to government requirements in such matters as curriculum, qualifications of teachers, right of inspection, and freedom from religious propaganda.¹ These actions, representing as they undoubtedly

¹ The resolutions of the National Association for the Advancement of Education were quoted in the April issue of the Review (p. 165, footnote). The actions of the National Federation of Provincial Educational Associations, at their annual conference at Kaifeng last October, are as follows :

RESOLUTION VII. THE CONTROL OF EDUCATION IN CHINA THAT HAS BEEN MAINTAINED BY FOREIGNERS

I Reasons for Action—Many evil effects have resulted from the maintenance of education in China by foreigners. Four outstanding ones are to be noted :

1 Education is the most important function of the civil administration of a nation. Foreigners have come to China and freely established schools without having them registered or examined by the Chinese authorities. This is an interference with the educational rights of the nation.

2 Each nation has its own policy for the education of its people. The racial char-

do the deliberate opinion of the large majority of educational leaders in the country, must necessarily be matters of real

acteristics and national ideals of foreigners are different from those of our country. For them to control our education causes many difficulties, and it is contrary to our own educational principles.

3 The educational work done by foreigners in China looks like charity, but it is really in effect a form of 'colonization.' Students who have received education from Japanese, British, Americans, French or Germans, will learn to love those nations and so will lose the spirit of national independence. This will injure the patriotic ideals of Chinese students.

4 If we investigate the content of their work we will find that most of the foreigners who are doing educational work in China usually have as their purpose either religious propaganda or political aggression. Education is simply a supplementary matter to them. They organize the school systems and the curricula in their own way, without any attempt to come up to the standards that have been established by the nation.

II *Proposals*—For these reasons the control of education by foreigners should be immediately and strictly limited, as follows :

1 All schools and other educational enterprises established by foreigners should be reported and registered with the government.

2 The registration of schools established by foreigners should depend upon the fulfilment of conditions stated in the educational laws and regulations of both the central and local governments.

3 All schools established by foreigners should be under the supervision and inspection of the local authorities.

4 Teachers who are serving in the schools established by foreigners should have the qualifications described in the educational laws of China.

5 Tuition fees charged by the schools established by foreigners should be in accordance with the regulations of the Peking Board of Education. These schools should not charge higher tuition than other private schools in the same district or province.

6 Students of schools which have not been registered with the government should not enjoy rights and privileges enjoyed by students of government schools.

7 Schools which are not qualified to register with the government should be closed after a certain period.

8 All celebrations and ceremonies in schools established by foreigners should conform to the regulations of the government.

9 Foreigners must not use their schools or other educational enterprises to propagate religion.

10 All schools and other educational enterprises conducted by foreigners should be transferred to Chinese control after a certain length of time.

11 From the time of the announcement of these regulations foreigners should not be allowed to start any new educational enterprise.

RESOLUTION XXIII. NO RELIGIOUS WORK SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO BE DONE IN THE SCHOOLS

Various subjects of study have been incorporated in the school curricula with the purpose of training the students to have strong personalities and a democratic spirit. Recently many persons have utilized their schools for religious purposes, enforcing compulsory religious teaching and worship ; thus the educational aims have been lost and many social troubles have been caused. For the benefit of society and the improvement of education schools should be required to have no religious teaching of any kind.

1 Preaching, religious teaching and worship should not be permitted in the schools.

2 The educational authorities should look after this matter ; if any registered schools

concern to all who are interested in the future of Christian education in China and who at the same time are anxious to place no obstacle in the path of her national progress.

IV

It now remains for us to consider what is the position of mission schools and colleges in China in the light of these recent movements, and to endeavour to form some estimate as to what should be the policy that should guide us in the future in matters of Christian education. It has been my privilege during this past year to serve as President of the recently formed China Association of Christian Education and as Chairman of its Council, and in that capacity I have been brought into intimate contact with many of the leading Christian Chinese educationists in the country, several of whom are connected with government and private schools and colleges. The advice of such men on a matter of this moment is of infinite value to us all at the present time, and in the suggestions which follow I shall attempt to interpret the views which they have laid before us in our various conferences and conversations.

In the first place it is obvious that in Christian education, as in all other forms of missionary activity, it is essential that we keep our eyes firmly fixed upon the ultimate goal of complete Chinese independence and responsibility and that we welcome every step which leads in that direction. There is no greater cause for rejoicing in China to-day than a contemplation of the sturdy virility of the Chinese Christian leaders, and their ambition to shoulder all forms of national responsibility at the earliest practical moment. It is possible that in establishing so elaborate and expensive a system of schools and colleges as we have done in China we have sometimes been unmindful of the heavy burden which we

have religious practices, they should either lose the privileges of registration or be required to close.

3 A school should treat all teachers and students alike.

are asking our Chinese colleagues to take over, and it is not perhaps to be wondered at that up to the present the Chinese Church has shown but little disposition to assume the financial support of these institutions. But our objective must be nothing less than their transfer to Chinese shoulders ; anything which we can do to make such transfer easy, both by the association of an increasing number of competent Christian Chinese upon the administrative and teaching staffs and governing bodies of these institutions, and by the provision of an adequate endowment towards the cost of their future maintenance, should be placed in the very forefront of our programme.

In the second place let us never forget that the whole purpose of our Christian education, whether conducted by foreign missionary or by Chinese Christian, is the dissemination of every form of truth and the building up of strong Christian character. This does not mean that our schools are mere instruments of religious propaganda, without regard to educational efficiency, as some of the nationalistic group assert, nor that we are tacking on to our curriculum a form of religious instruction which is unscientific, unhistorical and superstitious, as the pamphleteers of the Anti-Christian Movement are constantly saying. But it does mean that the Christian school's sole *raison d'être* consists in the offering of a contribution not to be found in the educational institutions of the country. The crucial question that we need to consider is as to what will be the place of the Christian school and college when the time arrives when China is able herself to provide all the educational facilities needed for her people. Will there still be any justification for the perpetuating of Christian education, and, if so, in what will that justification consist ? If I may be permitted to repeat what I have recently written in another paper I would reply that

the justification of the Christian school or college will rest upon its ability to demonstrate some contribution which is absolutely unique, and for which China herself, with her characteristic national tolerance, will find a place. This contribution will not be a matter of western science, nor even

of the English language, for by that time these subjects will be amply cared for under the national educational system of the country. It will be solely in the realm of religion that the uniqueness of the contribution will appear. And this must be infinitely more than the mere offering of certain additional religious courses to a government curriculum, whether compulsory or voluntary. The whole content of the course of instruction must be permeated with a vital, throbbing message of Christianity, so that history becomes the faithful record of the pathway of God through the ages ; so that natural science recaptures the position accorded to it by the devout religious workers of the Middle Ages, who saw in every exact scientific principle the reflection of God's unerring ways and demand for truth ; so that medical education, from the study of biological processes and anatomical structure up to the latest technique of medical and surgical treatment, becomes nothing less than a reverent investigation of the highest handiwork of God, and a solemn discharging of a divine trust.¹

It is this which really constitutes Christian education—the mediation of every form of truth through the minds and lips of men and women who see God in every subject they teach, and whose highest aim is to see Him dominate the thoughts and hearts of their hearers. And it is in the result of this submission to His domination, as seen in the building up of conscientious and devoted men and women for every sphere of usefulness in the Chinese community, that the Christian educational system will find its justification in the eyes of the Chinese educational leaders themselves.

In the third place it is incumbent upon us that we should make it quite apparent that in everything which does not affect our freedom of conscience we are the willing subjects of the Chinese authorities, and that we regard our schools and colleges, not as privileged institutions sheltering behind the rigid bars of treaty rights and extra-territoriality, but as a voluntary contribution towards China's educational system. With this in view, it would be well if all Christian educational institutions could show their readiness to conform to government requirements in such matters as registration, curriculum, qualification of teachers and educational standards (as, indeed, some mission schools have already done), and should offer every facility for regular government inspection.

¹ *Weekly Bulletin of Shantung Christian University*, 1924 (Dec. 13).

Would this mean that all our missionary institutions would have to assume a dull, uniform, government mould? It certainly should not involve anything so unfortunate, and if the Chinese Board of Education is well advised, they will never make a demand so inimical to true educational freedom and progress. As Dr Paul Monroe, one of the best friends that Chinese education has ever had, has recently written :

Progress comes by variation and selection. Without this there is no growth. Competition between Christian and other private schools and government schools is healthy for the government schools. If the stimulus of individual endeavour is removed, government education will suffer. At the present time the greatest stimulus to government education in China is mission education from abroad. The time will come when it will be recognized that this has been the fundamental factor that has set government education on its feet. It would be disastrous to government education to remove this stimulus. Japan has come to recognize the value which comes from variant types of education and has reversed its former attitude toward private education. It now gives a very large margin of freedom to it. Those who, at the present time, are agitating for the eliminating of Christian schools are unknowingly working for the curtailment and limitation of the very thing they desire, that is, the development of government education.¹

In the fourth place Christian education will require to take every possible step to rid itself of the charge of denationalizing its students which is so constantly hurled at its adherents. The ringing challenge which Dr T. T. Lew laid before the Conference of Christian Colleges and Universities, in his striking address at Nanking last year, was contained in the question asked by a critic of mission schools in China : 'Can we have education that forgets the nation?' Are our educational institutions concerned about the future welfare of the whole nation? Are we training men and women for the community at large, or merely to fill vacant positions in our own Christian institutions? Are we sufficiently careful about the efficiency of our departments of Chinese classics and history, and are we providing first-class modern teachers for those subjects? (Our critics maintain that we are not.) Are we using our influence, as the repre-

¹ Statement by Dr Paul Monroe at Shanghai, January 17, 1925.

sentatives of foreign missions, to ensure that the returned Boxer Indemnity Funds shall be employed primarily for the strengthening of Chinese education, and for objects of which the Chinese themselves approve, rather than for the benefit of the country making the release? These are some of the questions that should be uppermost in our minds to-day if we wish to safeguard the future of Christian education in China and demonstrate its freedom from selfish motives.

There is no occasion to allow the events of the past months to stampede us into precipitate or unwise action; on the other hand it would be the height of folly to adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude and merely wait on events. Anything which can be done, by literature or conference, to interpret the true objective of our mission schools and colleges will be infinitely worth while, and meanwhile we should employ every effort to make our educational institutions absolutely efficient, even at the cost of closing down relatively low-standard institutions and concentrating on those which we can worthily maintain and staff. There will be need of infinite patience and imagination on the part of all of us during the years immediately ahead, but if only our thoughts are fixed on the strengthening of the hands of our Christian Chinese colleagues, rather than on the rights of trusteeship of foreign investors and missionaries, we can confidently leave the future of Christian education in China with God.

HAROLD BALME

II. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE HOME BASE

By F. H. HAWKINS, LL.B.

IN the foregoing article Dr Balme has stated the position of Christian education in China and the effect of the recent anti-Christian propaganda upon it from the point of view of a missionary on the field at the head of one

of the Christian universities in China, with wide, intimate and recent knowledge of the present situation. Missionary boards in America and Great Britain have received information from all parts of the field which confirm the facts to which Dr Balme calls attention, and his diagnosis of the present position of affairs in the educational world in the Republic.

It is probably not sufficiently recognized at the Home Base what a large share the mission boards of America and Great Britain still have in the higher education of the Chinese people. The Report of the China Educational Commission of 1921-22 sets forth the facts of the situation at that date. Since then the contribution of the West to Christian higher education in China has been considerably strengthened and large additions in money and in staff have been made, especially from North America. Within the last three years plans have been matured for the removal of the Yenching (Peking) University to a new site outside the city, covering approximately 127 acres, and for erecting thereon a complete university plant; hundreds of thousands of dollars, almost the whole of which have come from America, have been expended, and plans are in hand for the raising of further sums exceeding a million and a quarter dollars. Similar developments on a somewhat smaller scale are taking place in connexion with other universities and colleges in other parts of China. It is not to be wondered at that Chinese educators, inspired by a strong national spirit and holding the view that the control of education should be in Chinese hands, are concerned.

Moreover, the knowledge that within the next few years large sums of money from the Chinese Indemnity Funds, recently released by the western nations, are likely to be available for expenditure on education in China, adds to the difficulties of the present situation, and gives to Chinese leaders additional ground for concern. The remitted Indemnity money is being dealt with in different ways by different nations. The Bill for the release of the British

Boxer Indemnity has received its third reading in the House of Commons, and will no doubt shortly pass the House of Lords,¹ and receive Royal Assent. It is not surprising that the terms of that Bill give further cause for suspicion and alarm in the minds of Chinese educators. To help to allay such suspicions the boards of all the principal English societies carrying on work in China have forwarded to the British Government resolutions stating that it is not their intention to make any application for grants from the Indemnity Fund for the support of schools, colleges and universities in China.

All these facts make it highly desirable that the position of mission boards with regard to education in China should be clearly understood. Their general policy may be summed up in a sentence. They desire to follow the lead of the China Educational Commission of 1921-22 by making the education supported and controlled by them more efficient, more Chinese and more Christian. It is not surprising that this policy, and especially the first and third heads of it, does not commend itself to Chinese non-Christian educators, and to the strong nationalistic aspirations in the matter of education of which they are the exponents. Undoubtedly the publication of the Report was a revelation to non-Christian Chinese of the magnitude of the higher educational work carried on by Christian missions in China. Chinese educators no doubt fear that if Christian education in China becomes more efficient it will be, in an increasing degree, in competition with the national system, that it will help to make more firm the hold of western nations on Chinese education and will be used to further their commercial interests and imperialistic ambitions.

Again, the endeavour to make mission education more Christian will intensify the antagonism of those Chinese educational leaders who advocate the abolition of religion from the schools and institutions of higher learning. The declared intention of mission boards is to make their educa-

¹ Read third time and passed May 26, 1925.—ED.

tion in China more Chinese and thus to disarm suspicion ; but in the present sensitive state of a considerable body of Chinese opinion it will not be surprising if this intention is not taken at its face value, in spite of what has recently been done in this direction. Mission boards, and those responsible for the control of western education in China, have already given clear evidence of their desire and determination to make the education they are giving more Chinese, both from the point of view of administration and of staffing of their colleges and universities. An illustration of this determination is afforded by the declared policy of the trustees of the Peking Union Medical College gradually to staff that great institution with Chinese. Mission boards have taken similar steps in the same direction. None the less, some of the Chinese educational leaders are slow to believe that western educators are really in earnest in carrying out this policy.

The present situation and the considerations set forth above come as a challenge to the wisest statesmanship of the Christian Church in America and Great Britain. The position calls for clear thinking and wise and sympathetic action. It would be a calamity if things were allowed to drift. Western Christian educators, and the mission boards behind them, must face the position with wisdom, courage and patience. With this object in view the American secretary of the International Missionary Council called together a Conference on Christian Education in China in New York in April, which was attended by about 150 persons, including representatives of American missionary societies working in China, and of the trustees of the colleges and universities in that country, several members of the China Educational Commission, a number of China missionaries, a few Chinese leaders, and four representatives of British missionary societies working in China, including the writer. The Conference was a representative one and international in character. Before it met, a number of papers bearing on the question had been circulated and

studied by those attending the Conference. No resolutions were passed, nor were any findings adopted. A printed report of the proceedings will be issued shortly. Meanwhile the following summary of what took place, prepared by a committee at the request of the Conference, will show the trend of the discussions and give some indication of the general conclusions to which the Conference came. The points mentioned are those which the committee felt represented the consensus of the expressed opinion of the Conference, as indicated in the discussions. Effectiveness can be given to them only as they are put into operation by those who are responsible.

The importance of early, but not hasty, action was urged repeatedly. This requires alertness in understanding the situation and sympathetic endeavours to meet it. It becomes apparent that the time has come for the Christian forces to give clear evidence of the sincerity of their expressions of purpose to make Christianity and Christian institutions indigenous in China.

1. RESPONSIBILITIES OF MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.—(a) To increase continually the amount of responsibility placed in Chinese hands, both in teaching and in administration. (b) To link the Christian schools more closely with the Christian churches. (c) To cultivate persistently Chinese sources for the support of Christian education. (d) To make schools and courses more vocational in character, and adapted more fully to the needs of Chinese life. (e) To strengthen the courses of study in the Chinese language and literature with a genuine appreciation of Chinese history and culture. (f) To seek government registration or recognition of Christian schools if this can be done without imperilling the Christian character of their work. (g) To bring about a very decided increase in the quality of religious instruction with a clear facing of the wisdom of making it compulsory. (h) To circulate clear statements interpreting the purpose, work and beneficial results of Christian educational institutions.

2. RESPONSIBILITIES OF MISSION BOARDS.—(a) To make their position and attitude on the problems mentioned above entirely clear to their missionaries, indicating where responsibility for their accomplishment rests. (b) To show a greater readiness to transfer the control of Christian work to the Chinese Church, recognizing that this involves the giving of responsibility to the Chinese in the formulation of policies and the administration of funds both from foreign and Chinese sources. (c) To send out

missionaries whose spirit and attitude will enable them to co-operate with the Chinese in carrying out such a programme. (d) To emphasize the desirability of quality in educational work of all grades even though this may involve reduction in the number of schools.

3. CO-ORDINATION AND CONCENTRATION OF EDUCATIONAL WORK.—

(a) Early organization in North America of the permanent committee for the co-ordination and promotion of Chinese higher education. (b) Careful study in China of the most effective use of all available resources in educational work looking toward concentration and better quality in both lower and higher grades.

4. TREATY RIGHTS.—As to whether missionaries should invoke special treaty protection and extra-territorial privileges is a question about which there is some difference of opinion, but it would seem to be a matter that should have the early consideration of the mission boards whether any procedure is possible or advisable by which the missionary enterprise will be freed of some of the political implications of present treaties.

CONCLUSION.—The mission institutions and the missionaries' lives are free gifts of Christian love to the Chinese people and represent a concrete and living expression of the Christian message. Our concern is not to transplant western ideas or institutions into China, but to plant Christ's Gospel in the hearts of the Chinese people and give them every help in bringing it to a natural fruitage in their own lives.

To attain this end, we must be prepared to adventure greatly in placing responsibility on Chinese workers, confident in the power of the Holy Spirit to find full expression in the lives and genius of the Chinese people, although this may seem to involve temporary loss of efficiency and even of character, as viewed through our western eyes and as compared with western organization.

It is part of our obligation to place the burden for this development squarely on Chinese shoulders.

Another question discussed at the Conference which calls for the serious and immediate consideration of mission boards is the matter of compulsory attendance of all students at religious worship. This is one of the points which has aroused the strongest opposition of non-Christian Chinese educators and not a few Christian Chinese engaged in higher education. For many years past in some of the Christian colleges in China such attendance has been voluntary, not compulsory, and it has been found in many cases that practically all the students, Christian and non-Christian, willingly attend Christian worship conducted

in the college. But as a result of the anti-Christian propaganda it is not unlikely that there may be a growing resentment on the part of non-Christian students to compulsory attendance at Christian worship, and, in view of what has happened recently in many schools and colleges, that students' strikes against compulsory attendance may be organized, and the position of those in charge of the colleges may be made exceedingly difficult. It is possible that concessions on this subject may be forced upon them by such strikes. It is a matter for earnest consideration on the part of mission boards as to whether it would not be the path of true wisdom to concede voluntarily what subsequently they may be compelled to concede by force. Such a concession would appear to be in accordance with the principles of religious liberty which govern the policy and practice of educational institutions in the home lands. It is recognized that many supporters of missions may take a different view, but it is believed that if the situation is clearly understood there will be an overwhelming public Christian opinion in favour of making attendance at Christian worship voluntary and not compulsory.

The present situation with regard to Christian education in China calls for wise statesmanship and sympathetic handling. We are at the turning of the ways. The future of Christian education in the most populous country of the earth is at stake. The Christian Churches of the West are faced with an exceedingly difficult problem which demands great wisdom, great sacrifice and earnest prayer for its solution.

F. H. HAWKINS

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT: AN INDIAN INQUEST

BY N. MACNICOL, D.LITT.

RETROSPECT is always tinged with a certain melancholy. To look back may almost be accepted as a confession of old age. So long as the greater part of one's history is yet to come, one's eyes can see nothing but the bend in the road in front, and life is

an arch wherethrough
Gleams an untravelled world.

Is it not a fatal hour when memory becomes a rival of hope? Or shall we reckon it rather the hour when we begin to be rich, exchanging dreams for hoarded treasures that shall not be taken away from us? 'The rapture of the forward view' on the one hand, the remembrance of good, of the divine grace and patience all along the years on the other, which of the two is the more to be desired? However that may be, even for those who can look back farthest, there may still be hope and expectation and faith shining as radiantly before them as on the first day when they took the road. It need not be in any wise a token of fainting courage or a flagging hope that we halt for a moment and look back. It is rather that we may win thereby a stouter heart for the steep places that are yet to be climbed ere we reach the summit.

What I propose to try to do is to survey the Indian scene as the last thirty years have revealed it and to estimate, as they appear to me, some of the gains and losses in the region of the spirit that register themselves during that period. The area of my survey can reach little beyond Poona, and what I see is only what my own dim vision

can discern. The standard against which I desire to measure gain or loss is, I need hardly say, Christ Jesus. In so far as His spirit appears to be becoming operative in the lives of men about us, in so far only is there progress. I do not profess to be able to see deep or to see clearly, but I think it is our duty to sit down, as humbly as is possible for us, before the facts of things and to listen to what they teach us, for God speaks by them. I need hardly add that it is not the 'success' of any mission or missions that I aim at discovering; it is something that may very well contradict all our records of such supposed 'success.' I desire to distil from the facts something far more subtle and far more significant.

The first fact of change that leaps to the eyes as one looks back is that which is represented by the uprising in so many classes of the population of a spirit of nationalism. My concern with this change is to estimate how far it connotes an approach towards the manhood that is in Christ Jesus, and how far it is hostile to that ideal. St Paul was no nationalist, though he was a passionate lover of his own people; and what is true of St Paul is true of Nehemiah Goreh and Dhanjibhai Naoroji and Pandita Ramabai, and, I think I may also say, of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar. I remember how the last named, true Hindu saint, who still lives, aged and feeble, among us, spoke to me long ago, with impatience and disappointment, of the passing of the spirit of internationalism in which his own youth had been nurtured, and its replacement by this narrow and often bitter temper. Is this, then, wholly retrogression? Has the uprising of men like Bal Gangadhar Tilak and C. R. Das meant simply a return to nature from something that pertained to God?—a return to the methods and the motives of barbarism? Perhaps not altogether, if we look more closely. The old, vague internationalism and the Brahmo-Samajists' profession of faith in the Fatherhood of God were for the most part, we must admit, empty things. They baked no bread; they had but a feeble influence upon

the life and conduct of men in the world. When I say that I except great and noble personalities such as Ranade, Bhandarkar, Chandavarkar, I am thinking of those of commoner mould. But even of Ranade one must bear witness that, patient, high-souled, unworldly as he was, the passion and the power of the great reformers was not in him. The bed of the stream had to be narrowed ere it could become a rushing torrent. That result nationalism has, perhaps, achieved. From it may yet emerge, purged of bitterness, a spirit of sacrifice that loves and serves with the passion of the patriot, and yet that does not hate.

I do not wish to dwell upon this aspect of our problem. I know how difficult it is to disengage the dark threads from the bright in the pattern that nationalism presents to us to-day. This, however, I think that we can see—that from out of the smoke, often Tartarean, and the dust and mire of these political conflicts there has come a re-emergence of personality. It may perhaps be said with some measure of truth that now at last the Indian personality, so long listless, anæmic,

stands out again,
Pale, resolute, prepared to die,
That is, a man at last.

If that is in any measure true, then there has been progress in the sense in which we have defined the word. Christ can make, and has often made, out of bad men, violent men, saints; but of men that only love themselves what can even He make? There was a zealot among the Twelve. I know of two fierce, fanatical, dangerous young patriots whom Christ has laid His grasp upon for a nobler service of their people. A few weeks ago I met in a village a *khādi*¹ clad young man, intense and bitter, who had left college at the bidding of Mahatma Gandhi on the eve of obtaining his degree and who was still faithful to his master. He had seen something that seemed to him noble and for its sake

¹ Khādi or khaddar is the homespun which Mr Gandhi wishes all patriotic Indians to wear.

he had made a sacrifice. There may have been black hate in his young heart, and yet I wonder if Jesus would not, looking upon him, have loved him. He was not, I think, living for himself.

But besides these, whom we call fanatics, there have been others—others who do not need to say *Odi atque amo*. We who live in Poona do not require to be told of sober, unembittered, great-hearted service rendered by sons and daughters of this city to their brethren and their sisters. We know of the Seva Sadan and of the Servants of India Society, of Karve and his fellow-workers, of the education societies that, beginning here, are spreading their shade and refreshment, as of a great banyan tree, all over the Deccan and the Konkan. ‘Most can raise the flowers now, For all have got the seed,’ but this seed of sacrifice and service was first sown in this *Punya Bhumi*. Mr Srinivasa Sastri has told us recently how Mr G. K. Gokhale, that statesman of vision, spoke to him of Poona by that name, ‘the land of virtue,’ and how he chanted to him the praises of this ‘metropolis of India.’ He convinced his hearer ‘that Poona was the proper ground for all selfless work.’ If that be so, is it not the proper ground for Christ and His Church? I cannot judge how far the influence of Christ Jesus has been a recognized factor in the creation of this spirit that is so full of hope for India. I know that, as conveyed by the noble life of Pandita Ramabai, His influence has been a real and an acknowledged factor. Professor Karve, for one, has testified that this is so. But apart from the witness borne by the missionary and borne by the life of such a saint, God Himself, we know, is working by direct action in those hearts. Christ has been speaking to such men as these in Poona, even though some of them call themselves agnostics. His Kingdom has certainly drawn nearer in these thirty years. When Professor Karve said to me two years ago, ‘I could not go on if I did not believe that there was a Presence near me sustaining me,’ when Gokhale told the Fergusson College students that he heard within him a voice

that urged him on to serve his country, do we not believe that that Presence and that voice were Christ's? The Kingdom of God has come nearer in these years, though we have not heard its rumour and though few have gathered to listen to our proclamation of it. We are always hoping that we are on the verge of a sudden manifestation in the light of what has so long been in process beneath the surface and in the dark. And we still hope and—more than hope—we expect. A bolt will be shot back some day, surely, and the shut gates swing open and the King come.

That is what appears to me to be true of the flower of the higher classes, but what of the classes that are called lower and the lowest? It is very difficult to speak with any assurance of what may be passing in the dim minds, the hid hearts, of these multitudes. That some have been aroused to rebellion against injustice and oppression and against the contempt and the exclusions of the long, evil past, we know. Is it the breath of God's Spirit, or is it a fume from the pit that has blown across this valley of dry bones? Some at least from among them have begun to endeavour to stand up upon their feet; and to be freed from self-despising is one step at least towards the freedom of the sons of God. But when one goes among the village people and notes the lethargy of ignorance and hunger and disease, and marks how the uncertainties and fears that beset them take out of them so much of hope and of the capacity for faith, making them live only for the day, one perceives with dismay how tremendous is the task that in these country regions of this wide land confronts Christ and His Church. And yet there has been progress. Here and there one detects a faint glow in the very heart of the darkness. More centres certainly are occupied to-day within what twenty years ago was the far too widely stretching district for which the mission to which I belong was responsible. Here and there a group of Christian messengers living the Christian life in sincerity and fulfilling their

Christian service with earnestness, here and there a dispensary sending out rays of help and cheer, here and there a Christian school, make known the name of Christ and bear to the people some rumour of His love. What the effects from these things are—whether they live on to bear fruit some day or whether they wither—I cannot judge or determine.

One turns next to the Christian people to ask whether, with the earth heaving about them, they have remained unmoved, whether in the midst of the clamour of so many new voices they have remained dumb. The Christian Church partakes of the character of both those sections of the general community of which I have spoken. It has its prominent members from among those whom it is usual nowadays to describe as the intelligentsia, and it has also a larger body of plain people from the middle and the lower classes. It is not as easy to make generalizations about the Christian Church as in the case of the non-Christian people, partly because one knows them better, and partly also because, while they are homogeneous in faith, they are not so in education and outlook. The Church has in it both the eager, restless, dissatisfied temper of the awakened classes, and also the temper of dependence, of earthliness, the spirit that almost of necessity still keeps a shrine in which to worship Potoba, a god whom all Asia and the world worshippeth. It is true that those 'whose god is their belly, who mind earthly things' are to be found among every class. These sections of the Christian community are not so divided because of origin or of education. The spirit of self-seeking knows no social barriers, and, on the other hand, the love of Christ and of one's land and people in Christ is not different in its effects in the case of one who was once a Chitpawan Brahman and in the case of one who was once an outcaste. At the same time there is an inheritance of tradition and of instinct—what some would call a psychoplasm—which, where the power of Christ has not been given sway, holds men down. And there is also in

the Indian Church, as everywhere in India, poverty. It has been said that somehow or other health and unselfishness are connected together, and just so are hunger and selfishness. For such reasons as these there is a certain disharmony of aspiration within the Indian Church, a failure as yet in its members to adjust themselves to the duty of the hour. Some feel passionately the call of the Motherland, which is also the call of Christ. They feel at the same time a certain dead-weight of inertia, the sluggishness of a long slumber, binding and imprisoning them, because it binds and imprisons the Church. The Church is only half-born as yet, and it cries, in some of its members, 'Who shall deliver me from this body of death?' It is on the way, we trust, to full freedom and to joyful and spontaneous service of India and of Christ.

But we must now turn to the foreign element in the land and ask whether, amid all these changes, we from the West have remained unchanged and unteachable by change. Our inquest will be incomplete if we leave out of account those who in the past at least were chiefly identified with the Christian message and who still command a certain, if happily diminishing, amount of prestige and authority. In the presence of this uprising of Indian personality, of the growth of self-consciousness in new directions, how is the foreign missionary readjusting himself? Of his adjustment to nationalist claims I shall not speak. But those claims have one symptom that relates itself to the central element in our vocation in this land. When we strutted across the stage in conscious superiority in the midst of an adoring people—if ever there was such a time—we could agree cheerfully with Macaulay that 'a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.' We can no longer live in that condition of happy ignorance or insolence. But the change in our relation to Indian religious thought and aspiration is not mainly a concession made to Indian national pride. It results from a larger and a deeper view of God's relation

to His world and an acceptance of what St John taught long ago in the first chapter of his gospel. It involves that we no longer say, as I remember hearing European missionaries say to an educated Hindu audience twenty years ago, that a statement is true and to be believed, just because it is written in our Christian scriptures. It involves that, for the most part, we leave iconoclasm to the ex-idolater who has borne its yoke and felt its poison in his blood. It involves that we respect the Indian mind and the Indian soul and believe that God can find a way there far more surely than we ever can. It involves, in a word, that our task is rather to arouse than to convince, to draw by the affection of the Christian than to drive by the argument of the natural man. As Savonarola went through Italy crying 'Awake, awake, Christ,' so we have to call forth from long slumber the Christ that dwells deep within the Indian heart.

That is only one change that we note as coming to pass in our mental climate, but it is a change that is symptomatic of many others that have come about or that should have come about in us, the foreign missionaries. I cannot stay to elucidate them further but must turn now from this wholly inadequate retrospect, to view the prospect. By that I do not mean that I propose to seek to anticipate the course of events in this land or the mode and direction of the development of the Christian Church. In looking back what I have sought to discover and to exhibit is the movement and the direction of the tides of the Spirit within the souls of men. In looking towards the future I want to learn, not how we, with the arrogance of King Canute, may take upon ourselves the task of commanding these tides, but how we may use their flow, believing it to be in God's control, for the bringing by His will of His Kingdom. What are those wild waves saying to us? We desire that God, who is speaking in them, may give us the hearing ear and the understanding heart.

What I have said of changes that have come about in

our human environment during the last thirty years may be summed up in the statement that there has been in this land a discovery or a recovery of personality. The person in the process of his development realizes himself in relation to, or, too often alas! in conflict with, other persons. There has been a great resurgence of personality among large numbers of the population of this land, through the reconstitution of relationships that had become submerged through centuries of disuse—their reconstitution by means of the awakening of national feeling, of pride in the achievements of those who went before them, of ambition in behalf of those who shall come after. God has been saying to many of them—and sometimes the devil has been echoing it with a sneer—‘Stand up upon thy feet.’ I believe that this is quite literally true. Thirty years ago it was not uncommon for one to have the humiliating experience of a brother-man, or, worse, a sister-woman, prostrating himself or herself at one’s feet. Mr. Studdert Kennedy in a recent book tells how on his return to England from abroad, he was accosted by a young man who touched his hat to him and asked if he could carry his bag. ‘The touching of his hat,’ he says, ‘made me sick to start with. You see, he did not do it because he really respected me or thought me worthy of it. He was crawling for a job. . . . I felt ashamed all over. My very bones blushed.’ That is how we feel, I hope, when a suppliant prostrates himself or herself before us in this country. I am glad to say that I have not had the experience for some years. It will be sad for India if a day comes when this is never done, when no one is willing to lay himself down in the dust in reverence before a man like Mahatma Gandhi, when no son is willing, like Keshub Chunder Sen, to put the dust of his mother’s feet upon his head. Where there is no reverence the people perish. But where there is servility the people have already perished. To exchange servility for truculence is not a good exchange. It is just the same thing over again in a new adjustment and indicates no spiritual growth. No doubt

there is danger of such an exchange in India, but still, with all deductions made, it remains true that there has been in this land within these thirty years a real discovery of the rights and duties of personality, a real growth of manhood.

What that fact demands from us on our side is, it seems to me, to sum it up in a word, respect for personality. The prospect when, having looked back, I now look ahead, yields to me that frail gleam of guidance. There is nothing new here. Respect for personality is one of the central principles of our Christian faith. But we are so made—or we have so unmade ourselves—that our dormant beliefs have to be stirred to life in us by a painful experience before we begin to take them seriously. The easy and comfortable path of patronage and condescension was open to us in India for many a year and we took it. It might mean and did mean, in the case of many, toil and pain and sacrifice, and yet that toil and pain and sacrifice may not have had in them the respect and honour without which there is not Christian brotherhood. To say these things is not to rate the Christianity of to-day above the Christianity of yesterday. We are all ‘half men’ and, helped by half glimpses of the truth, we struggle on from age to age. Some one has recently remarked of Samuel Johnson that he was perhaps the most perfect simple Christian of the eighteenth century, and yet that he was one who delighted in bludgeoning his fellow-men into submission. It is said—it may be a libel—of one of the noblest Indian missionaries of last century that he would not allow his Brahman visitors to approach his presence except by the sweeper’s stair. There are, no doubt, those coming—perhaps they have already come—who can point out to us in our turn our arrogances, our grievous failures to represent Christ. It was a significant hour fifteen years ago when in Edinburgh an Indian, who is now an Indian Bishop, honoured throughout the land, stood up in a great gathering of leaders of the missionary cause and said to them, ‘You have given of your goods to

feed the poor ; you have given your bodies to be burned. Give us love.' That is a demand that India still makes of us, the love that respects and honours and does not condescend.

There is an old word of a prophet of Israel to which we have to return if we are to give our message in the India of to-day the free course whereby it and its Subject shall be glorified. It is this, 'Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts.' It is easy to repeat the old oracle, but it is not so easy to apply it to our lives and to accept its guidance for our duty. We have to learn, and to learn continually, that force is no remedy. The only road into the citadel of a personality is the road of reason and persuasion—shall we not call it at the same time 'the road of loving hearts'? The door cannot be forced without injury to the soul. It is not within my power to indicate how we are to apply this rule to the methods of our work, but I seem to see two paths upon which there is now written up before us, 'No thoroughfare.' The one is the way of intimidation. We are forbidden to wield the weapon of our alleged prestige. Paul stood up in Athens and in Rome, a poor, hook-nosed, bandy-legged Jew with nothing but his deep, rich heart and his wonderful message to win a way for him. That great saint and lover of Christ, St Francis Xavier, used to call desperately for the power of the king of Portugal and of his governors to support him in his crusade. But at last a day came when he said, 'Unmoored from human help, I set forth'—and that voyage bore him to the port of heaven. I do not counsel any desperate course. I only desire that we should strip off the cumbering armour from our message and let it shine forth in its own quiet light. Not compulsion on the one hand, not the forcing in any way of the doors of personality ; and, on the other hand, not improper inducement, for both these methods are methods of force. Compassion and the sense that injustice has been too long their lot have moved missionaries sometimes to do more for the

oppressed classes in India than anyone has a right to do for another.

Gold and iron are good
To buy iron and gold,

not to buy personalities. The Hindu Missionary Society which seeks to buy back these venal converts is teaching us a salutary lesson. In the cause of a message of truth and love we dare not bribe and we dare not browbeat.

There is only one force that we are authorized to use in this cause, the force of friendship—only one bribe, the bribe of brotherhood. That God goes before us, breaking up the way for us into the human heart, we know; and, accompanying that divine operation, creating the atmosphere in which faith buds and blossoms, there must be love of our brothers, of those who are our brothers in Christ Jesus, though Christ Jesus may not yet have come to birth in them. There is no enemy of our message to-day more formidable than the racial antagonism and suspicion that is poisoning the air we breathe. The talk of the Nordic race, and of the 'white man's religion,' creates a gulf of separation across which the voice of Stentor could not bear our message. Every act or speech or attitude that outrages and insults the personality and that comes into conflict with the sense of personal honour and self-respect of this people, shuts the door of their ears against the word that we preach. And every foreign messenger, on the other hand, who is knitting the hearts of the people of this country to his own, breaking down barriers, sweetening relationships, is in the vanguard of the battle of humanity and of the Kingdom of God.

For that reason we owe a debt to those chosen and dedicated spirits who have, as far as men may, put away from themselves the pride and the exclusiveness that divide, and made themselves wholly one with the people of India. Of one of that select company whom I may name, W. W. Pearson, who died by an accident a year or two ago in Italy, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore bore testimony that he gave to India 'the gift of friendliness, completely free from con-

scious or unconscious egotism.' It is unconscious egotism that is our peculiar danger. This purged and purified friendliness is the gift which it is supremely necessary to bring to India at this time if this opportunity is to be used aright for Christ and His Kingdom. The seed that He Himself has already sown in so many hearts can germinate only in that atmosphere of love. Not all of us can break the ties that bind us to our own loved lands or change greatly our rooted British habits. We 'of the hard fibre,' as Mahatma Gandhi describes us, are a stiff-necked, proud people, loth to stoop. But we must do so, humbling ourselves in the dust, serving, taking our orders, making ourselves of no reputation—all because we love to have it so, since that is the way of Christ.

It is easy enough to write and to talk of these things, and to be content to write or talk. Meantime the spirit eludes us. We see, perhaps, but do not, and the hours of vision pass; *pereunt et imputantur*. This writer has no right to point out the road of advance, but he has seen some people who have such a right. They are the pioneers; they are the music-makers for that city of God that is built to music and therefore built for ever.

One thing more may be suggested. Whatever is suspected to savour of compulsion, I have said, is barred out when we bring a message of the spirit to men whose souls are claiming freedom. And I have said that, equally, bribery is excluded. Once when the Church was mighty and prevailed, St Peter said, 'Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I thee.' We cannot say that to-day. We have silver and gold; are we not to give it? Certainly not as a bribe; but cannot love and self-respect take this also as a gift of love? Is it the same here as in the case of the man who touched his hat to Mr. Studdert Kennedy? He was crawling, cringing for money, and so Mr. Studdert Kennedy burst out, 'Slaves and slave-drivers are an abomination unto the Lord.' But must money always make only slaves and slave-drivers? Can it not be still what it

was once when Paul and Barnabas bore the gifts of the Gentile Churches to Jerusalem? If we of the West cannot give to the Christian Church in India out of our comparative superfluity without condescension, and if the Christian Church in India cannot receive our gift and use it for the good of India without humiliation, then that is just because there is not about us that atmosphere of love which is Christ Jesus. 'All of us,' says Miss Follett, 'are being slowly, very slowly, purged of our particularist desires. The egotistic satisfaction of giving things is going to be replaced by the joy of owning things together.' That day apparently is not yet; and we patronize on our side, and others, on their side, shrink from patronage. When we have learned to own Christ together, we shall be willing to own His gifts together too.

These are some of the things that I see dimly as I look ahead. When we attempt to do so in these days, so dim yet so decisive for the future, it is with us as it was with the pilgrims when they sought to look through the perspective glass to the far-off gates of the celestial city. Their hands so shook that they could not look steadily through the glass; 'yet they thought they saw something like the gate, and also some of the glory of the place.'

N. MACNICOL

WOMEN'S WORK FOR MISSIONS: THREE HOME BASE STUDIES¹

I. AMERICAN WOMAN'S BOARDS

By M. M. UNDERHILL, B.LITT.

I

THE contribution which women make to foreign missions is partly determined by their position in the life of the Church; this, again, is largely determined by their position in the life, social, economic, intellectual, of the community. The continent of North America during the last half-century has provided its women with a wide field, ample resources and an increasing amount of liberty of thought and action, of which they have taken full advantage.

To the visitor from Europe most things in America appear to be on a large, not to say vast, scale. Work for missions has expanded and developed on the same generous lines which are a feature of other American undertakings, until at the present time something like three-fourths of Protestant foreign missionary work is carried and financed by the Churches of the United States and Canada. Inevitably, this scale was adopted in the woman's boards—it could hardly have been otherwise. They are, and will probably remain, unique in the history of woman's missionary activity.

Acknowledgment is heartily made of the ready co-operation by board secretaries and others in furthering the following study.

¹ It is proposed to follow the present article by two others, dealing with woman's work in connexion with foreign missions on the Continent of Europe and in the United Kingdom.—ED.

II

The first comment arising in one's mind on facing the fact of women's missionary boards is a query. Why should there be women's boards? A brief survey of the origin of a few of the larger boards may supply the answer. We can then go on to consider their characteristics and work.

In 1834, Dr David Abeel, an American missionary in China, realizing the need for women to work in Chinese homes, visited the United States with an appeal for women missionaries. America's women were ready to respond and began to plan for a women's missionary society, but the suggestion, being vigorously opposed by the denominational mission boards, was dropped for a period of twenty-seven years. Yet during all these years groups of women, here and there, were gathering and organizing help for the general missionary boards. Then in 1861, through the efforts of a woman, Mrs Mason of Burma, an interdenominational society, known as the Women's Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands, was formed. Its first president, Mrs Doremus, was one of those who had owed much inspiration to Dr Abeel. Its formation appears to have been directly due to the refusal, on the part of the existing mission boards, to send unmarried women to the foreign field. The Society, though small, is still in existence. It was the nucleus from which the Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist women's missionary organizations developed. Such are the bare facts, but what strong stirrings of soul—a whole gamut of human emotions indeed—can be sensed behind them: the bitter disappointment and sense of inability in face of male opposition in 1834, the hopes, fears, rallying of energies in 1861, the yearning sympathy which found an outlet in the later years. We read that the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society 'was born just a decade after the Civil War began. . . . Women, purified by sorrows shared with Christ, quickened in sympathy by the awful holocaust

of war, inspired by a new realization of the hopeless sorrow of Christless women of the world, and strengthened to attempt a work of relief by the efforts and experience during the war, entered upon their great adventure.' Again, 'The ministry of women to soldiers in the war had proved that they possessed great executive ability and an amount of energy which, once set free, could not be and ought not to be suppressed. The vision of national need, which they had so clearly seen in the struggle of the war, developed at its close into a wider comprehension of world demands, and they were ready at the end of that decade to begin the most strategic and far-reaching enterprise in which they had ever engaged—the work of carrying their vision to the women and children of far Eastern lands.' And here again is even deeper insight into the hearts of the women of those days; there was developed in them 'through the Civil War, which made new human fibres, the ability to hear the faint far-off call from broken-hearted women without freedom or hope.' The American women of 1860-70 have not been alone in learning that the only possible comfort for a bereaved life is to range it alongside His, manifoldly bereaved, in the service of the world.

Even before the Women's Union Missionary Society was formed, we read that in 1848 'The Ladies' China Missionary Society of Baltimore,' in connexion with the Methodist Episcopal Church, was formed for purposes of raising funds for the missionary society of the Church, but that this restricted work of 'helping the brethren' did not long satisfy feminine energy is demonstrated by a quotation which has come down to us from one of 'the brethren': 'If I wanted fifty young ladies I could find them in a week, but when I want five young men, I must search for them a year or more.' This was the same secretary who, when the formation of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was mooted, endeavoured still to limit its energies entirely to that of raising funds, and gave the advice to 'leave the administration of the work to

the Board at home, and the mission in India.' Immediately thereafter, however (March, 1869), the women decided to form their own society, and within the year their two first missionaries sailed.

Turning to the Congregational churches we find again references to the Civil War: 'The four awful years of war had aroused women to a sense of personal responsibility and a consciousness of citizenship,' and 'It was a grand dawning in this country of the idea that women might work directly for women abroad. It could not have come earlier. There was need of the developing of woman's power that came through the blessed ministry of hospital service and sanitary commission in the war. . . .' The three Congregational woman's boards came into being between 1868 and 1873.

It was with no sense of sufficiency that these first steps were taken. 'Building better than we knew, we organized timidly, yet trustfully, and with a glow of prophetic hope,' wrote one of the pioneers. Trepidation, misgiving, doubt on the part of some as to whether the first step should be taken, in view of the possible inability to take a second, all were present. A delightfully human touch is registered in the annals of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church. Says the chronicler: 'The first woman's meeting, May 6th, 1870, . . . came near being unfruitful, for there was promptly made a motion to adjourn till after the reorganization of the Assembly's Board of Foreign Missions. This motion was lost, however, and another to organize immediately was carried.' Two sentences, but what a picture they conjure up. Was it a premeditated action, or a sudden access of (easily comprehensible) panic, that caused some member 'promptly' to make 'a motion to adjourn'? No doubt those who voted 'to organize immediately' knew how to deal with the defaulter after the meeting.

All retarding influences were overcome by the sheer urge of the spirit of Christ. 'It required marvellous faith for that little group, untrained in public affairs, to undertake the

stupendous task of sending the Gospel to millions of their sisters in non-Christian lands. The measure of their faith can be better understood by considering the prejudices of the period.' One minister is recorded as saying that he made a point of being present at the women's meetings because 'no one knew what they would pray for if left alone'—a direct testimony to the power of the prayers. Another minister, in announcing a woman's meeting, expressed the hope that none from his church 'might so step outside their legitimate sphere as to attend.' The natural result was an unusually large attendance from his church.

There was not only opposition to be faced, but discouragement. One eager woman prepared a memorial to the General Conference of her Church, asking for authority to organize a woman's department of missions. The request was referred to the Committee on Missions and was never heard of again, but the memorialist lived to be for seventeen years the secretary of a woman's board.

There was not in every case, however, opposition and discouragement from the men's side. One hastens to be just. Some staunch advocates of the women's cause were to be found. On a cold stormy day in 1872 four women came together, the only outcome of wide canvassing and pulpit notification of a meeting to organize a women's missionary society in connexion with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 'They sat on the ends of the four pews nearest the register' in the cold church, and the combined chill of disappointment and inclement weather was almost too much for them. It was the cheery word of the pastor which wound up the wheels so near to running down. 'Organize your Society just as if the house were filled,' he said, looking in to see how they were progressing, and plucking up heart they did so.

There emerges, therefore, a fairly clear answer to the question: Why have women's boards? The women had awakened, largely through their experience of service and suffering in the Civil War, with its creation of 'new human

fibres,' to a sense of the need of the non-Christian world, in particular of the need of its women and children. They met with no encouragement to share in the work of the boards of their Churches as then organized, the time was not yet ripe for co-partnership with men on committees. They found also that offers of service from unmarried women for the foreign field were not welcomed. The only possible outlet for the newly discovered power of the Spirit in them was through boards of their own founding, financing and administering. No prophecies of failure have been recorded, the women have been too magnanimous to remember them, but no one can have any doubt that such prophecies were freely uttered—the lady who 'promptly made a motion to adjourn' would surely be one of the prophets. The officers and members of the women's new boards were, therefore, strung up to the highest pitch of determination, cost what it would, to succeed. And, because they depended entirely upon God, they succeeded, often beyond even their own expectations. One instance may, perhaps, be given of what history has repeatedly recorded.

At the close of the fifth year's work of the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior (Congregational), its members gathered for their annual meeting. Although their receipts during the fourth year had been only a little over \$10,500, they had agreed to raise \$15,000 during the fifth. It had been a bad financial year in business circles and the members were distinctly anxious. The treasurer appears to have been a woman with a strong dramatic instinct and an unusual power of reticence. When she rose to give her report how tense was the atmosphere, how strained was every ear to hear her statement. 'Receipts—\$15,000' was her triumphant announcement, and the chronicler records 'there was abundant thanksgiving in our prayers that day.'

Women's missionary societies, then, became a fact. In one denomination after another, alike in the United States and Canada, women formed groups whose object was missionary service, and it was not long before frank acknowledg-

ments of the worth of the women's work began to be made. It became apparent, too, that this vigorous new force, directed primarily towards the foreign field, was exerting an unlooked-for influence on the whole life of the Church. At the third anniversary of the founding of one women's board a speaker is reported to have said : ' The brief but brilliant history of this Society is its best justification. . . . It is developing a vast amount of latent energy in our Churches, whose membership is so largely made up of women. . . . Our Churches are being made stronger for every good word and work at home.' Again ' there are many pastors who testify that it [woman's missionary work] has been the most potent tonic of the spiritual vitality of their Churches. . . . The eyes that have cleared their vision to see the far ends of the earth, take in all between.'

The influence of the women's societies on the life of the Church was not merely strengthening, it was on occasions over-stimulating, and we get a complaint from one missions board secretary (in 1885) that the women's auxiliary, whole-hearted in its enthusiasms and their practical expression, was an embarrassment to the board, pledged to certain undertakings, by urging upon it measures for which it was unprepared. In this case, however, the request of the secretary that the activities of the auxiliary should be limited to ' the field of labour proper to such an organization ' (the field to be defined by the board) was thrown out and the women won what was evidently a significant victory.

III

The event recorded above leads us directly to the study of the relations existing between women's boards and the official missionary organizations of the Churches. As we have seen, the first women's missionary society (Women's Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands) was interdenominational and entirely independent of any Church or existing mission board ; but within a few years of

its founding groups of women withdrew from it in order to regroup themselves denominationally.

The organization of this denominational women's work was mainly along one of two lines in relation to the work of the general boards: that of complete independence, with friendly co-operation, and that of auxiliary service with or without representation. A third line, that of a joint service with men on boards directing joint work, has been tried in a few instances only, in later years, and is of great importance.

It is interesting to note that women in Churches of the same denominational family, but in different parts of the continent, have adopted different policies for their missionary societies. To take an example from three of the largest denominations, the Baptist women in the northern States have a completely independent society, those in the southern States have a society auxiliary to the general board, and without representation thereon, while those in Canada occupy a mid-way position, auxiliary but with a large degree of independence. The Methodist women of the northern States are strong for complete independence, those of Canada prefer to be auxiliary with large powers, while those of the southern States are among the few groups who have decided for joint service with the men, after an independent existence of thirty-two years (1878-1910). Again, while the Presbyterian women of Canada have taken a line similar to that of the Baptists and Methodists,¹ those in the United States are found in each of the three classes. It does not appear, therefore, that the bent of mind which determines a certain church allegiance will determine also any particular type of organization for missionary service.

It is impossible to make a detailed study of each women's missionary society within the limits of this article. The study of a few of the societies falling under each category mentioned above suggested itself as a course more likely to prove of value.

¹ The union of the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches into the United Church of Canada may affect the future development of the women's missionary societies.

INDEPENDENT SOCIETIES

The *Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church* boasts—a boast modest because entirely realizable—that any decision made by the General Executive Committee, calling for action on the part of the individual member, the woman in the pew and the home, can be communicated to her (to the number of about 620,000) within a week. This is made possible by the exceedingly efficient organization of the Society, closely following that of the Church. The whole area of the United States is divided, for administrative purposes, into eleven sections, designated branches. The line of communication passes *via* these branches, the branch conferences and the districts to the unit, the local auxiliary. The system of electing officers and delegates ensures a democratic government throughout. Democracy does not, however, spell instability in holding office, for it is noticed that in the last forty-six years one president held office for eleven years and another for fifteen, while one secretary served for eleven years and another for twenty-two (of which seventeen were in unbroken succession), and the first editor held office for twenty-four years (1869–1893).

The Society as a general rule does not make any general appeal for funds to the Church or to any bodies other than those of women. Of its funds a sum amounting only to between one-third and one-fourth comes from the one dollar annual subscription which accompanies membership of an auxiliary; this is indicative of many things, among which may be enumerated prayerful and systematic giving on the part of the members, faithful energy on the part of local and central officers, and a whole-hearted belief in and love of the cause on the part of all. Another modest boast of the Society, and one worthy of being widely proclaimed among any who have doubts as to women's ability in matters of finance, is that 96¼ per cent of all moneys received goes directly to the foreign field, another 1¼ per cent goes to the retirement fund, and only 2½ per cent is spent on administration.

The relations between the Society and the Foreign Missions Board of the Church are close and cordial. While the Society is entirely responsible for projecting and administering work for and by women it does not enter a foreign field until such a field has been occupied by the Board, and then only after consultation with the Board. Women missionaries receive appointment from the Society; the appointment to the station is made by the presiding bishop of the conference on the field to which they go.

The *Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission* (since 1914 one society, by the union of two existing societies, East and West, both founded in 1871) is a similar nation-wide organization, holding itself responsible for the single women missionaries of the Foreign Missions Board of the Northern Baptist Convention. We find the same loyal service on the part of

its officials (from 1871 to 1914 the Eastern branch had but three Presidents, and there is record of over forty years of service as an officer of the same branch on the part of one still at work), but an independence a little less complete than that of the Methodist Society. For example, the Society, while being an independent corporation having its own credit at the banks, co-operates with the General Board for its publications and its appeal for funds, all funds collected by the General Board of Promotion being divided on a *pro rata* basis. The one dollar membership subscription of the Woman's Society has continued since the first meeting in 1871, when (so it has been said) a careful housekeeper remarked that members might give two cents a week by saving one egg out of the family cake.

The relations between the Woman's Society and the General Board are of the closest and most cordial nature; the women appointed by the Society receive, though as a mere matter of form, a confirmatory appointment from the Board, which also takes a masculine and protective interest in the finances of the Society.

The *Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church of North America* shows independence as complete as that of the Methodist Episcopal Society, combined with the closest of relations with the Foreign Missions Board of the General Assembly. The Women's Board elects a foreign secretary who corresponds with the General Board about any work it is suggested the women should take up. If it is so decided, the Women's Board takes over the work entirely, financing and carrying it through on its sole responsibility. While the Women's Board agrees not to appeal for funds to any but the women of the Church, it expects—and receives—a free field in that area. The most striking feature of this society of Presbyterian women is on its financial side. They believe that a great many of the blessings they have received are due to the fact that they have adhered to the vow, made when the Society was founded, to pay no home base salaries and to incur no debts, but faithfully and loyally to work as God should send the money and the vision. The *Women's Missionary Magazine* has never had a paid editor and has been self-supporting from the very beginning.

While such a policy, by eliminating salaries, makes it far easier to approximate receipts to expenditure, it raises the question whether the Society has not sometimes had to forgo the services of a would-be worker who could not afford to give time and work without remuneration. This Society has no fixed subscription for members, who are only required to contribute a monthly sum determined individually, and it has never had to borrow a dollar.

The General Assembly of the Church, without solicitation, has given the Women's Board two seats at its annual meeting, a testimony to the esteem in which the Board is held.

The *Woman's Board of Missions* in the New England States, the

Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior in the Middle West, and the *Woman's Board of Missions for the Pacific* in the West gather up the work of Congregational women for missions. Each of the three is a corporate and independent body, closely related to the other two and to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—the official missionary organization of the Congregational Churches. The Canada Congregational Woman's Board has for forty years worked through the American Board, supporting its own part of the work and sending out its own missionaries. The relation is cordial and harmonious. Each assumes the support of a part of the foreign mission work of the Churches. The complete independence seen in the Methodist society is here modified, money being forwarded to the field through the treasurer of the American Board, not directly by the Woman's Boards, although it is spent as previously designated by the sending board. Again, an unmarried woman candidate is adopted by one of the Woman's Boards, but commissioned by the American Board. This means that a Congregationalist woman missionary is a member of the general board on the field; the Methodist woman missionary remains a member of the woman's society. A proposal has been made, and is now under consideration, to merge the three with the general board, as some other denominational woman's boards have done (see pp. 392-3).

The financial policy of the Woman's Board of Missions, adopted in 1868 and continued ever since, is to make appropriations each year from the money actually received in the previous year. An exact budget can so be drawn up, leaving no place for hopes of income to be later unsubstantiated, and no year of the life of the Board has been clouded by debt. The best recommendation for this policy is that after half a century it is still followed. One can imagine a situation of urgent financial need arising, when it would be hard for the treasurer to refuse a grant from funds actually in hand, but received during the current year and therefore available for use only in the following year. It is written of the first treasurer, who held the office for many years, that 'her faith and zeal were nothing wavering.' One feels safe in asserting that her successors have not been lacking in the same attributes.

While the *Young Women's Christian Association*, being neither distinctively American nor founded for foreign missionary work, does not find a place within the limits of this article, no survey of independent woman's boards can fail to mention with appreciation the widespread work of its foreign departments in the United States and Canada.

AUXILIARY BOARDS

The foreign missionary work of Canadian societies is included with that of the United States in the purview of the

Foreign Missions Conference of North America. Canadian woman's work comes, therefore, under the survey of this article, not of that dealing with British societies. The women of Canada have not developed the independent type of mission board; they carry on their activities through boards of the auxiliary type.

The *Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society of Ontario (West)* and that of Eastern Ontario and Quebec are auxiliary to the Canadian Baptist Foreign Missionary Board, but raise their own funds and support certain defined shares of the foreign work, sending the money through the Board treasury. Appointments of single women are made by the Board, after recommendation by the Societies, to which application is made in the first instance.

The *Woman's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Eastern and Western sections) came into being, in an earlier form, at the express desire of the General Assembly's Home and Foreign Mission Boards, to assist in the work among women and children. It has occupied from the first, therefore, the place of an honoured and invited guest, and the General Assembly of the Church appoints an annual Sunday when the work of the Society is presented to congregations. The Society is now directly represented on the Foreign Mission Board of the Church, but its unit, the local auxiliary, can only be organized in any specified congregation after permission received from the minister.

The *Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada* is auxiliary to the board of the Church, but gathers and administers its own funds, selects and appoints its own missionaries. This latter function is a liberty of action granted by the general board, not a right inherent in the Society as constituted. The Society, like that of the Congregationalist women of the New England States, spends in one year what has been collected during the previous year, and the accruing interest supports several missionaries.

Turning again to the United States, we find a number of boards organized on the auxiliary basis.

The *Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church* differs in some ways from other boards in its relation to the Church. It is organized in diocesan branches under the bishops and in parochial branches under the parochial clergy, and was called into being by the Board of Missions itself, whose secretaries (in 1872) rented a room in their own headquarters' house, called a woman to be secretary and in effect told her to go ahead and form an auxiliary, while they stood behind the scheme, circularizing the clergy (they received only 400 replies

to 2000 letters), giving space for reports in their monthly magazine, guaranteeing all central expenses and serving as the repository and remitter of its funds.

For forty-seven years the work of the Auxiliary went quietly on, parochial groups helping on the missionary and extension work of the Church by prayer and gifts, one special feature being the United Offering, instituted in 1889, a thank-offering collected and presented at each triennial meeting of the General Convention of the Church. Under one secretary for four decades (1876-1916) the growth was steady. The Auxiliary had no constitution, no by-laws and no administrative powers. It could be described as one of the 'helps' (1 Cor. xii. 28) the Church cannot spare. At the Triennial General Convention of 1919 there was a reorganizing of Church administration, three boards (to one of which the Women's Auxiliary had been subsidiary) being replaced by a Presiding Bishop and Council (re-named the National Council in the Convention of 1922). The status of the Auxiliary was changed, it became auxiliary to the National Council, its scope being enlarged to include Christian social service and religious education as well as missions and church extension, and its executive secretary being appointed by the National Council, with an advisory executive board, a sub-committee of which has power to interview and pass on candidates for the field. Under the new régime the Auxiliary reports a renewal of courage, hope and spontaneity of giving, also that it is a great vitalizing force in the Church—but one seems to detect a slight wistfulness in the sentence 'We are auxiliary in every sense of the word and have very little to say regarding the work done in the field.'

The *Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America* and the *Woman's Missionary Society of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States* were formed to help their respective church mission boards, and in co-operation with them, in their work among women and children. All the speakers at the first annual meeting of the Woman's Board, in 1875, were men, for the general board was ready to give every encouragement to the women. (The first 'rules of requirements for foreign missionary candidates' were drawn up by its secretary; the women, however, thought them 'exceedingly stringent'.)

The early work of both societies was chiefly directed towards coordinating the various women's associations for missionary service which had been in existence from the early years of the nineteenth century, and for raising funds for the work abroad. These funds were, and are, disbursed through the general board. In the case of the Reformed Church in America the ultimate responsibility for the support of single women missionaries rests on the general board, which guarantees to make good any deficiency in money sent in, and which is responsible also for accepting candidates recommended by the Woman's Board. On their side the

women have given themselves 'unstintingly and with ever-increasing vision and power' to the work which both men and women have at heart.

The Reformed Church in the United States has a representative of the Women's Missionary Society on its Board of Foreign Missions, but in an advisory capacity only.

JOINT BOARDS

A phenomenon, especially when the result of a process of evolution, is always of interest. The joint board, men and women serving together for missionary work, while not uncommon in Great Britain, is of the nature of a phenomenon at present in America.

The United Christian Missionary Society.—The women of the Disciples of Christ Church had had an entirely independent Board of Missions for forty-five years, unique in this respect, namely, that it served men as well as women and children on the field, employing both men and women for the work. As time went on, the co-operation with the other boards of the Church became closer, until it was thought there might be an advantage in merging into one society. The union was not brought about hurriedly: some three years of preparation preceded the amalgamation, in 1919, of the Women's Board with other boards of the Church to form the United Christian Missionary Society. Membership of men and women in the managing board and executive committee, and in the office as far as possible, is on the fifty per cent basis. The missionary societies in the local Churches are now affiliated to the united society. After so few years of work under the new conditions it may be unwise to pronounce judgment, but the experiment appears to be emphatically approved by all who are working it; they believe it will steadily increase to the honour of God.

Two other woman's boards have in recent years come into a close relationship with the general mission boards of their respective Churches; in the case of the second, amalgamation is complete.

The Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, came into being in 1878, its officers being appointed by the then College of Bishops. It had a corporate existence for thirty-two years, latterly working 'under the handicap of imposed restrictions' until the time seemed ripe, the need urgent and the constituency ready for taking a new step. After some three years of careful planning and negotiations the Board merged itself, with the Woman's Board of Home Missions, in the Woman's Missionary Council, affiliated with the Board of Missions of their Church. 'We were fearful of union, yet we believed it should and

must come,' said the first president of the new council, showing that the women of 1910 were treading an exactly similar path to that trodden by their mothers in the previous generation, recognizing and acknowledging the difficulties in the way, but prepared to meet them. The Woman's Missionary Council has the use and control of all moneys raised by the woman's missionary organization, calls, prepares and supports its own missionaries, and indeed functions much as it formerly did, but now as a department of the General Board of Missions, a body of men and women sitting and voting together. Missionary candidates proposed by the Woman's Council are presented for acceptance to a committee of the General Board, consisting of men and women. If accepted they are consecrated and appointed by the Bishop in charge of the field of work. The administrative secretaries of the Woman's Council are also secretaries of the General Board and work jointly with the men secretaries.

Speaking at the Foreign Missions Conference in 1920, after ten years of the new organization, both the educational secretary of the General Board of Missions (a man) and the president of the Woman's Missionary Council unhesitatingly pronounced the step taken to have been a success.

The *Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* is the last to come into this study. Under the above name it existed but three years, 1920 to 1923. In 1920 it gathered into itself six previously existing woman's boards of missions connected with the Church. These were all independent, incorporated boards, severally auxiliary to the Assembly's Board of Foreign Missions, having centres in different parts of the United States. Their incorporation into one national board was the great event of their Jubilee celebration, and under the new constitution they reappeared as six district committees, each with its two representatives as members, and its secretary as an officer of the national board, which was auxiliary to and in close co-operation with the Assembly's Board of Foreign Missions. In the meanwhile radical changes were being planned in the organization of the work of the General Assembly of the Church, and in 1923 the Woman's Board took a further step, losing its identity to find fuller life in the consolidated Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. This consolidated board consists of forty members, of whom fifteen are women. The first vice-president of the Board is the former president of the merging Woman's Board. Men and women sit together on the new board's executive committee and its standing committees; there are both men and women secretaries of its foreign, home base and candidate departments, and a woman associate treasurer. At present the medical department has but one medical secretary. The home base area is now divided into five districts, each of which will eventually have a man and a woman secretary.

It will be seen from this summary that in the short space of three years this women's missionary organization moved rapidly from one position through a second to a third, and this with the full approval of the women of the constituency ; it has not been a movement of the head apart from the body. Various problems yet remain to be worked out, and are being faced in a spirit of complete confidence.

Here our survey of individual boards must close. Those which, through lack of space, have not received mention, exhibit features in common with one or another of those mentioned. All alike show courage, perseverance, efficiency and an utter devotion to the cause of foreign missions easily read between the lines of their reports, to which readers are referred for details of the present position.

This study cannot, however, close without reference to two distinctive organizations.

The *Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America* was formed in 1915. For many years before that date a periodical conference of woman's boards had been held ; it continues as the annual meeting of the Federation. Thirty boards co-operate in the Federation, which covers a wide field of study and work by means of ten standing committees. Its object is to promote efficiency in work, to stimulate united prayer and study, and to secure a fuller development of resources and a truer conception of the scope and purpose of women's work for missions. It thus affords a means of correlating the work of the boards.

The *Co-operating Committee for Women's Union Christian Colleges in Foreign Fields* is a splendid example of women's co-operative work. Although not all of the co-operating boards are American, by far the greater share of the work and its support is carried by American woman's boards.

The formation of the Committee, and the work it undertook in 1919, was considered by many, and not without reason, as the culmination of woman's work for woman. Seven colleges and medical schools in Japan (one), China (three) and India (three) are a living testimonial to the promoters, who raised a sum approaching three million dollars in a special campaign in 1921-22 for building and equipment. About one dozen of the boards in the United States and Canada co-operate in staffing and financing the colleges, and each co-operating board refers to any specific college as 'our college at . . .' with affection almost proprietary.

A sum approaching nine million dollars was administered by women in America in the last statistical year. Missionaries supported by any given board may number anything up to six or seven hundred (the largest society had 625 on its active list in 1921), and they are to be found on every field in the world. At the same time women in their thousands in the home constituencies are being inspired and organized for work. This is a quantitative record of achievement, it is true, impossible of attainment by smaller countries; nevertheless it indicates something deeper than an immense surface area—it is a three dimension record, its depth being the measure of the love of Christ in the hearts of American women.

IV

No study is profitable which contents itself with a mere knowledge of facts. In this closing section an attempt at appraisal is made.

What have been the tasks and problems the women have had to face? Among the first was undoubtedly that of proving their ability to organize and to carry on work with efficiency and continuity. The records do not show whether this proved a hard task; we see that it was accomplished by the present perfected organization, extreme efficiency and continuity ensured through the life-service, noted above, of many. Organization, efficiency and continuity are, in fact, the outstanding features of the women's boards.

Another early problem may well have been the overcoming of reluctance on the part of fellow-women to stand in with them. A small cause will put off those whose enthusiasm is yet to be aroused; a shower of cold water, either literal or metaphorical, is quite enough. The various Jubilee volumes beginning to appear testify by internal evidence to the existence of this problem. Steadfast courage was needed in abundance to counteract faintheartedness, and it is not a mere flight of imagination which sees this virtue in the pioneers; it is evident in the faces of those whose

portraits have come down to us, gentle and calm and courageous in their lace caps and side curls. A small cause will also bring latent enthusiasm to blossom. One of those early leaders, who devoted many years of work to a missionary board, was not at first interested in missions, but she had a friend who sailed to India. 'Feeling that she would certainly not live in such a hostile land, and wishing to be informed of her death, should it occur, Mrs B. subscribed for *The Missionary Herald*, and through this medium the missionary cause became to her a vital concern.' How long did it take for Mrs. B. to begin making the excuse to herself that she did not really like *The Missionary Herald*? She was only searching it in gloomy expectation of finding the recorded death of her friend. Because from that moment her fate was sealed, she was bound to the cause.

One problem has arisen in recent years from very completeness of organization. There exist a number of denominational, or interdenominational, societies and guilds for women, young people and children, through which the boards work at home, and in some cases these are reflected in corresponding societies on the field introduced by missionaries. The question now arises: Is it good for a Christian in China or India to enrol herself as a member of a denominational or mission guild, uniting herself indeed with fellow-Christian women in America, but thereby separating herself from her fellow-countrywomen of other denominations? This question does not, of course, arise only in connexion with woman's boards. The only way to solve it is to look at it steadily from the Chinese or Indian point of view, and consider whether international relations should or should not wait upon national institutions.

Yet another problem, which especially concerns the more independent boards, is how to preserve balance and proportion in thinking and speaking of missionary work. In a society entirely run by women for women the outlook is almost certain to become one-sided unless careful precautions are taken. Indeed, this problem exists chiefly where it is not

recognized as one. It is intensified by the fact that America has not so great an ebb and flow of officials of all grades, traders, soldiers, and so on between herself and the East as, for example, Great Britain. In consequence we find speakers at meetings and reports from the field ignoring the fact that the East is not peopled exclusively by women and girls.

The greatest problem, however, is this. What is to be the future of these boards, in view of the growing co-operation between men and women in all departments of life, not only in the home lands but in the mission field ?

At the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, held at New Haven in 1920, a discussion was held on the topic 'In view of the General Advantages of Centralizing Administration, should the Woman's Board and the General Board of a Denomination be Amalgamated ?' It will be remembered that amalgamation had just occurred among the Disciples, close co-operation had been adopted only ten years earlier by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. was contemplating a similar step. The occasion was marked by a live discussion. There emerged, very distinctly, two facts : that the women wanted opportunities for self-determination, training in self-expression and in the responsibilities of leadership, and an outlet for deep missionary zeal ; and that such opportunities had been found in each of the three types of mission boards studied above. Speakers representing the different boards were quite emphatic about it. The same thing was stressed at a discussion on the same subject at the 19th Conference of the Federation of Woman's Boards of North America in New York in 1924, and is an indubitable fact. But what of the future ? On the latter occasion one speaker of long experience said, 'Women must learn by doing and this seems to be possible only in a group where men are not present.' But what of the time when women have learnt to do ? Have received their training in the responsibilities of leadership ? Which type of society will then be the best ? It is significant that each of those boards which has felt the

need of changing its constitution within the last fifteen years—after from thirty to fifty years of ‘learning by doing’—decided on a much closer relationship to the men’s work. While there is no record of movement in the opposite direction, this is no proof that it will never take place.

At the New Haven meeting, referred to above, two members only spoke from the point of view of the foreign field, to which the chairman, summing up, rightly said great weight should be given. Herein lies wisdom; for missionary societies, whether for men’s, women’s or joint work, exist for the sake of non-Christians abroad, whose needs are, in the first place, to learn of Christ and, in the second, to be helped in building up a Christian Church in their own lands. From all parts of the East, and from Africa, reports are coming of the awakening of women, of their desire for a fuller share in national life and—among Christians—in church life. It seems safe to prophesy that women in the indigenous Churches will have a wide sphere. To give but a single example: at the National Christian Conference held in Shanghai in 1922, discussions showed that Chinese men were prepared to accept the most complete equality between men and women. This must mean the inclusion of women on church councils. Home base organizations must be prepared for new developments. This was recognized by the deputation to China in 1919–20 from the Federation of Woman’s Boards of Foreign Missions. One of the recommendations of the deputation reads: ‘That the Woman’s Boards in all their dealings with the missions on the field, and especially in dealing with their own appointees in the missions, shall encourage in every way possible a unified administration within the mission, as between the work of the appointees of the Woman’s and General Boards.’ Questions concerning home life—training of children, problems of adolescence, betrothal, marriage—are calling urgently for study if men and women of the older Churches are to give a lead to those of the younger Churches groping for the Christian way. It is becoming recognized that these and similar

questions can best be dealt with, on the field, by a close co-operation of men and women. An equally close co-operation at the home base would appear to be the inevitable corollary. 'The tendency of women to gravitate' (an American dictum) has been turned to good account in the cause of missions. It will be interesting to watch whether the future tendency of the boards will be towards the independent, the auxiliary or the joint type, or whether all three types will continue to exist side by side as at the present day. It may safely be left to the daughters and granddaughters of the pioneers of the movement to guide it in these latter days.

M. M. UNDERHILL

DOUGLAS THORNTON AND THE FUTURE OF ISLAM

By R. O. HALL

‘**A**S a travelled man, I know that the followers of Mahomet profess great respect for Our Lord, and are more ready to forgive S. Peter for being a fisherman than your lordship is to forgive Mahomet for being a camel driver.’ Thus, in Mr Shaw’s *S. Joan* does my lord of Warwick reply to my lord bishop of Beauvais. It is still the traveller’s answer to those who would convert the Moslem. It is a strange contrast to the story of Raymond Lull walking in Arab dress through the streets of Bugia unable to restrain his tears at what he saw. But Raymond Lull was ‘*l’ami de son Aimé*.’ It was because he saw the followers of Mahomet through the eyes of the love of Christ—and that means as God sees them—that he set out in his eighty-third year on his third attempt to win at least some of them for his Beloved. Less than a year later, in June 1315, he was stoned to death.

Five hundred years passed and Henry Martyn, a scholar equally versatile, and a lover equally passionate, died in a Persian stable utterly worn out, leaving Islam as the result of his few short years of devoted labour a complete translation of the Bible in Persian.

Meeting week by week in the Henry Martyn Hall, in the Cambridge whose religious life was still what Henry Martyn’s age had made it, Douglas Thornton entered upon the heritage left by these two lovers. In the pages that follow the writer has tried to reproduce something of Thornton’s spirit, as he has been enabled to see it by a study of Canon Gairdner’s great biography of him and of a large number of his letters and by conversation with his friends.

In a few short years he too burned out. Dying in hospital of enteric fever, his last intelligible words were 'The work,' and before that: 'I must have Friday for the Moslem meeting,' and before that: 'I'll leave all that to you fellows to organize.' Nearly twenty years have passed and his colleague still labours almost alone in Cairo. Cannot we apply Douglas Thornton's 'You fellows' to ourselves and by a study of his life catch something of 'the fire of sacred love' which burnt in him?

I

'Immediately I seemed to see Jesus. I felt impelled to testify. So out I went, and as the door at the side was locked, I jumped out of the top of the window. Down into the market-place. "Let me speak to-night." And I did. And so the life in Him began indeed.' Douglas Thornton was always meeting locked doors and jumping out of the top of windows. And always for the same reason. Down into the market-place to preach Christ, whether to bishops at the Church Congress, to children on the Cromer sands, to a young Moslem on the Mount of Olives, to Egyptian officers in a railway carriage, or when crawling on hands and knees down the first shaft of the Great Pyramid to the dragoman who crawled behind him.

His Master surprised His parents when He said, with the quietness that is natural to a dominating reality, that He must be about His Father's business. In Thornton's early letters from school, 'God's will' is mentioned with the same quiet but insistent naturalness, and for the same reason. His life was one long bondage to the relentless necessity of God's will. To do anything else was an impossibility. 'Consecrated young men' was the burden of the sermons of his early manhood. He was the ideal consecrated young man. His amazing force of will, his organizing ability, his receptive and topographical mind, his commanding presence, his absolute fearlessness, his affectionate disposition, his shy

but prodigal generosity, his entire lack of self-consciousness, even his rashness and impetuosity—all combined to make him consecration incarnate. The religious ideas and passions of his time found in him the perfect instrument for their expression, and they drove him a glad and willing slave to a tragically early death in 1907.

Talk of Thornton to anyone who knew him and there is a smile at once affectionate and forgiving, a memory of some trying committee when he would not let things rest, of his passion for arranging his furniture—and, when tired, other people's—or of some letter in which the braces he left behind jostle a scheme for a great conference and a Pauline salutation.

II

‘My grandfather, Spencer Thornton, was traced to have been the means of the conversion of thirty undergraduates when at Cambridge. I went up, knowing this, to do likewise (D.V.).’ He must have done more. During his first term on a walk back from the boathouse he ropes a complete stranger into the college Bible reading. With his great towering six-foot body he marches up to hecklers at an open air service. ‘Look here! If you fellows have no caring for your own souls, might you not have some for the souls of these people? They are anxious to have their souls saved; is it gentlemanly on your part to prevent them having the opportunity?’ The result was an invitation to their rooms and the opening up of their own doubts and difficulties. Seizing a child from its mother’s arms and holding it up, he cries, ‘Except ye be converted and become as little children ye shall in no wise enter the Kingdom of Heaven.’ Dashing into a public house whose inmates would not come out to his ‘open air,’ he soon has the barmaid on her knees behind the counter. And all this in his first year, when he was living only on ‘testimony to fact,’ before he had that amazing experience at the Keswick Convention (quoted at the outset) which he called ‘revelation of Person.’

It was typical of him to map out and distinguish different areas of religious experience in this way, as later he had the inside out of Cyprus in a short visit, and after six months' study had Africa mapped out and tabulated and arranged in his little book, *Africa Waiting*.

No wonder that this God-dominated soul and geographical mind fell at once before the world schemes of the, then, 'young John Mott,' who with Speer was at Thornton's second Keswick. They came to tell of the progress of the Student Volunteer Movement in America, of what their watchword 'The evangelization of the world in this generation' had come to mean to them, and of Mott's dreams of a World Student Christian Federation. Keswick the year before had bound Thornton's loyal soul to the awful necessity of 'testifying' in and out of season. Keswick this year bound him to another necessity—the evangelization of the world in this generation. The immensity of this task, and the desperate nature of world-wide human need, was made for him more appalling than for most men equally sensitive by his amazing power of visualizing space. A million souls or a million square miles were to him no mere expression of size; they were terrible geographical realities. He had been three months only in Cairo when on the roof of his house he had 'the vision of March 7th.' 'North and northwest the green Delta was more than the green Delta to him; it was Europe, America and Christendom.' Eastward the desert was to him Islam with its 'dazzling monotony, iron freedom and spiritual desolation.' Southward the wonder of the Nile symbolized what the beauty of all Africa was one day to be. He would not have taken every visitor to the roof to explain it all to them had it not been pressing constantly on his own soul with the urgency of a terrible necessity. And it did not stop with Africa. From that house he wrote to Mott urging the evangelization of Central Asia by the Russian Orthodox Church.

During his remaining years in England the evangelization of the world in this generation was the continual burden

of his praying, his speaking and his planning. He became 'the young man who deals in worlds and Archbishops.' The watchword could only be achieved if the Churches could be galvanized into missionary activity. So the Executive of the Student Movement memorialized the Churches. Thornton, of course, presents the memorial to the Archbishop, and again at the Church Congress at Shrewsbury. Speaking during a storm (which poured through the roof of the temporary building so that first his chairman and then, one after another, his audience put up their umbrellas), his passionate conviction and utter fearlessness carried him through the ordeal and, more remarkable still, a Church Congress audience with him.

These twin necessities, God and this world of His, made him what he was, but not without his co-operation. Strong wills are not born, but made. Thornton was as sleepy in the morning as you or I, probably more so judging by the amount yesterday had always seen him do. But he knew how to defeat 6 a.m.'s procrastination by 11 p.m.'s determining. His alarm clock did not merely beat the alarm. By some ingenious device it pulled the bedclothes off him. So the morning watch was kept. And if the sternness of this self-discipline made him hard, it also gave him power. Things happened. People came to him. In one morning five men all older than he, some by many years, came to ask his advice about some detail of organization—attracted really not so much by his well-known genius for detail as by the sense he always gave people that things would happen if he had a hand in them. And they always did.

Before the first great missionary Quadrennial of the Student Movement (Liverpool, 1896) he dashes over to Oxford and raises their delegation from a possible six to an actual thirty. 'Within thirty-six hours had seen and prayed with all the leading men in Oxford Christian work. Man by man they were won over; their President took five hours alone. . . . Now came Cambridge. Every college was visited and revisited. Over eighty men were got to come.'

As Mr Gairdner, his colleague and biographer, writes, 'After all it is the function of the driving wheel to drive.' As my American friends so delightfully say, 'He certainly did.'

III

But his contribution was not only the driving power of the will that he so laboriously won. His mind was vigorous and creative, and because of his great capacity for taking pains and sheer genius for detail, he was not unpractical. His more logical colleagues complain of his inadequate premisses, and were often as pained at his impatience with them as he must have been by their inability to see what his fearless enthusiasm and capacity for visualization made as clear as daylight. He did not think of effects following causes; he saw people responding to adequate stimulus rightly presented to them. So his passion for world evangelization made him an organizer and a thinker. The Church must be educated. And that means first of all the theological colleges. So the Birmingham Conference for theological students maps itself out in his mind; and the moment the Executive has sanctioned the idea he lays before them a scheme for the whole conference complete to the smallest detail. And as chairman he sees it through innumerable difficulties—sitting up each night till midnight, 2 a.m. or 3 a.m., 'till he is so tired that he talks nonsense, and his colleagues are too tired to realize that it is nonsense he is talking.'

But the Church is more than parsons. The whole Christian community must be won to the great task. And for that he saw knowledge was essential. So the prophet of world evangelization becomes educational secretary of the S.V.M.U. and that masterly little book of his, *Africa Waiting*, its first study text-book, is produced. Its 140 pages include six closely packed pages of bibliography, a comprehensive survey of Africa's geography, history, races and languages, details of every mission at work in it, and

the interesting fact that the Bantus 'have as yet no words to express delicate shades of colour.' (Probably Dr Aggrey would have told him that the Bantus have no delicate shades of colour to express.)

IV

His dominating sense of God and His purpose for the world combined with his practical common sense take him to Cairo. Islam is the central obstacle to the achievement of God's will, therefore of course he goes to Islam. Bombay, Hausaland, Cairo are three possible points of attack. 'Dear Walter Miller' is going to Hausaland and wants him to come. But Cairo, because of its great international university of El Azhar, is the intellectual centre of Islam. So to Cairo he goes.

He of course throws himself at once with all his meticulous attention to detail into language study, learning classical and colloquial Arabic, the latter through the medium of French (though on his way out through France he found he had even forgotten how to ask for a cup of tea), and spending immense pains on phonetics. Again his complete lack of self-consciousness comes to his aid. He writes, 'I find that intoning is the secret to sounds. *Crescendo* a hard sound *on a note* and you find whether it is true or not.' His colleague gives a delightful picture of Thornton in one room intoning loudly, himself in another intoning equally loudly, and Thornton's bride 'in a room between the two fires . . . trying to extract grammatical information from a meek-voiced Egyptian effendi.'

Nothing in Thornton's great career is greater than the way he threw himself into the drudgery of the first few years of a missionary's life. This 'young man who deals in worlds and Archbishops' is naturally disappointed to find at his first prayer-meeting that his colleagues were 'Egypt-centred.' Egypt was to him the centre, but his aim was the circumference. The society at home was alarmed at the sweep of his vision and his plans. They had no need for

alarm. The vision of the circumference kept him faithful at the centre. But just because his eyes were on the circumference he went always for the work that would lead outwards. That was why he had come to the El Azhar University, where in one day he would meet students from Tobolsk, from Zanzibar, from West Africa and even from China. That was why he at once took up and developed the book depot of the Church Missionary Society, and eventually with his colleague published a weekly magazine. That was why he gave so much time to thought and prayer and actual service for the Coptic Church. He may have been mistaken in supposing the revived interest of a leading priest marked him out as 'the Latimer of Coptic Christianity,' but he was profoundly right in seeing that only African Christians can win Africans, and that a strong missionary Coptic Church must be the spear head of the evangelization of Egypt. Whatever else would puzzle him in the Student Christian Movement of 1925, thirty years older (or younger?) than when he knew it first, he would rejoice in the title of its last Quadrennial Conference, 'The World Task of the Christian Church.' He demonstrated by his relations with the Copts that the way forward for the world-wide Christian community is the way of 'a world family of mutual helpfulness' in which the Christian groups of different nations and different loyalties will be bound to each other not necessarily by details of faith and order but by the life and inspiration that comes from mutual service. Because his first loyalties were to God and His will for the world, he thought of church unity in terms of federation for service rather than uniformity for worship. No wonder that a trip up the Nile, visiting like some apostle of old the Coptic congregations in Upper Egypt, sent him back to Cairo a new man, and that two Coptic bishops, two deacons and a tutor from their college gave addresses over his grave and at the memorial service the Copts held for him. 'The function of a driving wheel is to drive,' not to create a machine. Thornton seems to

have had little power to attract disciples to himself, but at the invigoration and inspiration of existing organization he was plainly a genius. We shall never know what he might have done for Coptic Christianity, and through them for Africa and Islam, had it not been for his tragic death.

V

There is a sad passage in a letter Thornton wrote to his mother in June 1897: 'My work in England is nearly over now. When the Lambeth Conference is past it will I trust be complete.' He had hoped that the Conference of Bishops would adopt the 'evangelization of the world in this generation' as the watchword of the whole Anglican communion. The Bishops did not adopt it. Nor were they necessarily at fault in not doing so; it has since been discarded as no longer operative by the British Student Christian Movement; but the watchword was to him only a means to an end. His work in England was to wake the whole Church of England into becoming a 'working missionary Church.' He thought that work was 'nearly over' in 1897. It is not over yet.

There was nothing dramatic about his death, as there was about Henry Martyn's. Nor has it the stirring appeal that attaches to the martyrdom of Raymond Lull. The tragedy of his death must make a different impression in a different way.

Raymond Lull, Henry Martyn, Douglas Thornton, like three solitary breakers, rising out of a sullen sea, hurled themselves against a wall of rock only to be thrown back shattered and broken. And to outward seeming very little remained. Men of their stamp who have gone to other religions, Xavier, Carey, Morrison, Duff, Moffat, Paton, have lived to leave something tangible behind them. For this there are probably many reasons. But Thornton's life and death suggest one which is in itself adequate to explain this spasmodic action and consequent failure. It is this:

Because the Christian community has allowed human need rather than the will of God to dominate its missionary policy it has not given adequate support to its Moslem missions. The appeals which have been most successful have been appeals to relieve the suffering and distress caused by disease or by the impure elements in other religions. The needs of Islam are not so obvious or do not so readily appeal to the imagination. The titles of our missionary addresses tend to be 'China's toiling millions,' 'India's women' or 'Industrial conditions in Japan.' Whatever title he may have chosen, Thornton's one prevailing subject was the will of God for the world. He saw Islam as the great outstanding obstacle. Therefore he went to Islam. He saw Cairo as in some ways the centre of Islam, so to Cairo he went. There is no evidence that he played bridge (his friends would be horrified, or amused, at the very suggestion), but he knew how to lead through strength. The policy of the Christian community as a whole (or rather tendency, for it is the result of having no policy) has been to lead through weakness.

'The evangelization of the world *in this generation*' has obvious verbal objections as the declaration of the policy of the whole Christian community. But 'the evangelization of the world' is plainly the will of God, and the Christian community equally plainly the instrument of that purpose. There should be no question of frantic or emotional appeals to meet 'tremendously important crises' or 'open doors' here and there and everywhere; but rather a steady and deliberate setting about the fulfilment of God's will, based on a plan which may take two centuries or more to materialize. 'God's will,' 'God's purpose in creation,' 'God's purpose in Christ,' 'the purpose of the Church,' must be the subjects of our missionary speaking and writing. For we can only meet the incessant clamour of a world in need if we set about it as Christ did by giving ourselves to a deliberate policy based on God's will for the whole world. And the achievement of God's will for the world waits on

the winning of Islam. A Christianity which had absorbed a Christ-fulfilled Islam would be irresistible.

It was reported to the National Christian Council of India at its last meeting that there are only twelve trained missionaries in India giving full time to Moslem work, that is one five-hundredth part of the missionary force in India for one quarter of India's population. But the societies are struggling to maintain work to which they are already committed. It is, humanly speaking, impossible for them to undertake a new large scale enterprise—humanly impossible, but, because it is God's will, inevitable if we respond. Raymond Lull, Henry Martyn, Douglas Thornton are typical of the scattered, solitary individual efforts that are still being made all over the Islamic world. Gathered together on the Mount of Olives last year under the same John Mott who inspired Thornton at Keswick in 1894, these scattered workers endeavoured to establish a unified policy.

But the policy waits on the men and the women. If they respond, the means will be forthcoming. Is it not time we had in our universities a little company of men and women preparing themselves to go to various parts of the Islamic world and labour there by love and service for the fulfilment of Islam in Christ? It is no question of the relative merits or reliability of rival books. We know the Bible now as the record of those whom God has taken to be His friends and of His dealing with them. Through them we know Him as the great common Friend and Father of mankind. It is that Father revealing Himself supremely in Christ who sends us to show Him forth as Love. In the past we have thought Islam needed scholars and debaters, robust, manly, fighting men—just as in the Middle Ages they thought the sword of the Crusaders was the only way. But Islam's real need is for lovers, lovers who will show forth God as Love, and convert that 'acceptance' which the word *Islam* means, an 'acceptance' which is in practice little more than 'obedience,' into the glad response of sons to the Father who knows how to give good gifts to His

children, and whose greatest gift is friendship with Himself. Before twenty years are past the infallible Koran must have fallen under the pressure of the spread of modern knowledge. God must want us to be ready for that day. He must yearn to see by then groups of men and women in every centre of Islam showing forth the love of Christ. Slowly, gradually, irresistibly it will dawn upon them that this love is the only power there is, the only almightiness, the only God. In the past we have preached to them that Christ is God. In the future our lives and words of love must show them that whatever else God may be, the truest thing we can say or know about Him is that He is Christlike.

Raymond Lull, Henry Martyn, Douglas Thornton, solitary lovers of the Moslem, followed their Master, the solitary Lover of Mankind. Human they were and frail, but giving themselves to God, they found strength to love to the death. Cannot we catch something of their spirit of consecration that we may follow in their steps? So may God carry forward irresistibly the work of love which He began in them.

R. O. HALL

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RURAL CHURCH IN CHINA

By G. MATHEW THOMAS

MANY of us in the old days thought of China as a land of vast city populations. India was spoken of as a land of villages, but China remained in our imagination as a land of populous centres. Such cities as Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Hankow and Canton were great aggregations of Chinese life. Even pictures of city thoroughfares, such as those familiar to us in Hankow and Shanghai, showed an unceasing stream of those who came and went. But when we came to China and travelled from Shanghai to Hankow, and again up-country across considerable stretches of country, we found ourselves, to our surprise, in a land whose greatness lies in its fields and its farms. Our eyes ranged from hamlet to hamlet. Everywhere, hills and plains notwithstanding, there was a sense of population. In crossing lonely hills the bearers would put down the chair, and we would be conscious of relief from prying eyes. But ere many minutes had passed a woman and four children from a charcoal-burner's hut, a farmer from some terraced slopes not far away, a priest from a temple beyond the crest of a hill, or a wayfaring man from below gathered round and gazed upon us with curious, enquiring eyes.

The sense of population came home to us even where the land was least populous. Some of us, at least, found the real China not in the places but in the spaces on the map, not in the streets of the city but in those vast rural communities that are to be met with anywhere and everywhere from the mountains of Tibet to the shores of the Yellow Sea, and from the deserts of Mongolia to the harbour of Hongkong.

Then we came to the study of figures. We saw that such cities as Peking and Canton were conspicuous because they were rare, that they were separated by distances such as those that separate Marseilles from London and London from Glasgow, and that there were no clusters of towns, hardly distinguishable from one another, such as those that characterize the Black Country or the West Riding. We found that a tendency to exaggeration had prevailed in estimates of city populations ; that the population of Peking was not $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, but something less than 900,000 ; that the population of Canton was not 2,000,000, but 600,000 to 700,000 ; that the population of the three cities of Wuhan, which had been described as one of the most densely crowded centres in the world, was dismissed by the Missionary Survey with a total population of 750,000. In the writer's province of Hupeh there is but one city, apart from those in this centre, that has a population of 100,000. These four cities, taken together, do not account for a million souls, and this is in an area equal to the combined areas of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

If we carry the study of figures beyond the borders of Hupeh province, we get similar results. In a land that is a continent rather than a country, there are not seventy cities that have a population of 100,000 ; less than a hundred cities whose population ranges between 50,000 and 100,000 ; less than two hundred that range between 20,000 and 50,000. The great balance of China's population, no less than 89 per cent of the 400 millions with which China is credited, is to be found in rural communities, in which, for the sake of convenience, those towns are included that have a population of less than 10,000. In the Central China provinces the results are even more striking. The percentage of rural population to city population in Honan is 91, in Hupeh 92 and in Hunan 93.

China, then, may be described as a land of villages no less truly than India, and the problem of linking up these villages, and organizing these vast areas, is one of the first

magnitude. When one has stood upon the spur of a hill, and, gazing north, south, east and west, has realized that there is not a single Christian community, nor a solitary Christian (known as such), within the range of the eye, one finds oneself again challenged by figures. In four cities of Hupeh, wherein is to be found less than 4 per cent of the population, is concentrated 54 per cent of the entire foreign force at work in the province and 40 per cent of the Chinese force. And, conversely, in the rural areas, which stand for over 96 per cent of the population, is to be found but 46 per cent of the foreign force and 60 per cent of the Chinese.

In former years Christianity was to be found in cities when it had as yet no place in the country. The country-folk, being outside the range of Christian influence, came to be known as heathen (the people of the heath). If such figures as these mean anything, they mean that history is to some extent repeating itself, and because of the emphasis laid upon the city rather than upon the country, the large percentage of Chinese are left to heathen life and practice. That great cities should be strategic centres goes without saying. That provincial efforts should be linked up with central institutions goes, also, without comment. Schools, colleges, universities, medical schools and well-equipped hospitals should characterize such cities as those of Wuhan. But that forces so great should minister to a percentage so low, and forces so small minister to a percentage so high, raises the question of emphasis. This ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.

One of the first problems in the way of the development of a rural church is that of distance. Take a typical *hsien*. The city has a population of 7000 to 8000, the whole magistracy a population of half a million, the area of the entire county is not far short of 4000 square miles. There are twenty-one out-stations at an average distance of eighty-seven *li*.¹ Besides such places as are more or less feebly

¹ 10 *li* = 3 English miles.

occupied, there are dozens of market villages and hundreds of clan-hamlets that are not touched at all. The *hsien* is classed as an occupied area, but the occupation is of the slenderest character.

With the problem presented by distance goes that of supervision. No missionary can be in two places at once, no matter what wonders he may otherwise work in the realm of physics. Still less can he be in half a dozen places at one and the same time. Even if he resolves to visit each place four times a year, he has still to reckon with physical limitations, wintry conditions at one time, tropical conditions at another. He cannot put down a Chinese worker wherever he happens to find a cluster of enquirers. It is a matter of men, and if it were not a matter of men it would be a matter of money. The result of such conditions is sometimes distressing. Gambling is more prevalent among country Christians than we might believe. There are clan entanglements with the inevitable lawsuits, alleged persecutions and always a conflict of or compromise with beliefs.

It is a matter of history that Alexander Severus, heathen though he was, erected statues of Jesus and Abraham, together with those of fabled gods of old, in the same private oratory, and that Redwald, King of the East Anglians, a convert at least in name, confronted a Christian altar with a pagan altar in the same royal temple. In rural Hupeh, as in imperial Rome and primitive East Anglia, we meet with similar medleys of faiths. The more remote the locality, the more is this in evidence. The further men are from instruction, the further they are from 'sound doctrine.' So it happens that we travel over the hills to find much confusion of creed in a thatched cottage. The doors are adorned with texts from the epistles, and the living-room with an idol. Or else, by a reverse process, the door-posts are guarded by the ancient door-gods, whilst the inner walls are illuminated by the ten commandments or a portrayal of the Cross in crimson and gold. A man discharges the obligations of a Christian with due regard to the tradi-

tions of the local temple, bowing himself in the house of Rimmon, and beseeching the God of Israel to pardon His servant in this thing. He might fare better if he were within range of a more effective pastoral oversight, but it is sometimes observable that to be far away is to be far astray. They are not far removed from heathen, for they are dwellers on a remote heath.

Together with the difficulties presented by distance and the problem of supervision, arises the question of inter-relations, for rarely is a Christian community in a rural area large and strong. The whole land may be populous, but clusters of believers are few and far between. A village here, a hamlet there, a market street among the hills, separated by distances of forty, eighty or a hundred *li*; these are the conditions that we must overcome. If the people could be brought into some common centre, or come together in any frequent or continuous fellowship, we might hope for the earlier development of these scattered communities into a living and conscious organism. But conditions forbid. The mountain cannot come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain. And since the foreigners cannot do everything, and ought not if they could, we must rely on Chinese helpers. But here, again, we find ourselves up against facts. Chinese who will take to the roads and walk in the way of the apostles are to be sought for as hidden treasure. They will preach, pray, entertain, take part in synods and conferences, but—in the experience of the writer—the number of those who will cheerfully take to the roads, without reckoning distance in apostolic service, bearing, in a wearying work, the burden and heat of the day, is not large. Particularly disappointing in this relation is the record of the college-trained Anglo-Chinese helper. Notable exceptions must be made to a statement such as this, but, to the writer, it seems as if the hope of the countryside lies in the countryman who knows little of the central cities, rather than in the youths who have been trained, and sometimes spoiled, in Anglo-Chinese colleges.

The foregoing difficulties are all accentuated when we come to the question of women and girls. If men are, again and again, beyond the effective range of the Gospel, still more so are women. To begin with, convention keeps them at home. It is the men who go marketing, rarely the women and girls. Were they to take to the roads, and to do so with any frequency, a popular sense of propriety would take offence. And even if they were to run the risk of reproach, not to say scandal, they could not walk the miles necessary to bring them to the house of God. For their feet are bound, still bound, in the country. The Chinese poets may liken the swaying figure of a lady, as she picks her way along the roads with tiny feet, to a willow swaying in the breeze; but the fact remains that, for effective purposes, the lady cannot walk. And when the nearest chapel is five, ten, fifteen, even twenty miles away she cannot attend service. In the ideal order of things the Chinese husband or father would carry the Gospel home to his wife and daughters. But the average Chinese countryman is a poor missionary to his wife and daughters. He is not by temperament disposed to propaganda. It may be because in the Confucian order of things it is the man who matters. It is he who offers the sacrifices to ancestors. When he comes over to Christianity, the old idea persists. It is the man who counts. It is he who joins the Church. And the women and girls remain in the hamlet and the farm, strangers from God, and, in the words of the Epistle to the Ephesians, 'aliens from the commonwealth of Israel.' Note what follows. The children remain at home, and for the greater part follow in the tracks of the heathen. Exceptions are sometimes to be observed in the case of sons. It is, however, generally true that because the women are lost to us so are the children, and because the children are lost to us so are the succeeding generations. The man, who ought to be a channel of saving grace, all too often proves himself to be a blind alley. Until we reach these women, our main problem is unsolved.

Here, then, are conditions to be faced and recognized. The real optimist is not the one who turns his back on facts and lays plans for castles in the air, but the one who looks facts squarely in the face, recognizes their magnitude and grapples with things as he finds them. These Christian communities are scattered, their numbers are rarely other than low in any given locality, the roads that link them up are long and wearisome to traverse, the people are often poor and always fighting an unequal fight with all-prevailing heathen influences. It is evident that self-support is a long way off in areas such as these. Our first great problem is to produce a living organism—a living order—in which every Christian, no matter how far removed from others, believes and knows that he is a part of the Church, the body of Christ.

In the experience of the writer, it has been wise to work with an eye on the map; still wiser, to make journeys to every part of the *hsien*, no matter how remote, in order to visualize the lie of the land. And, having visualized it, to note strategic centres, occupying them as opportunity offers. Opportunity does not, however, always present itself. Some places seem closed to the missionary; there is no friendly invitation to enter in, no interested enquirer. Following what may sometimes be the guidance of the Spirit, but sometimes is the line of least resistance, villages are occupied and infant churches brought into being, not because their situation is strategic, but because conditions are offered that are absent elsewhere.

Therefore, over the surface of the map, the area of a given *hsien* comes to be dotted with places entered by the Gospel. And here arises a question of right methods and wrong. If these places are treated as ends in themselves, to be visited, cared for and left, the result will be mostly unproductive. They will prove to be so many *culs-de-sac* in

all too many instances, with members poor, members few, self-support an idle dream. But if such places are regarded as centres, no matter where they may be situated, then one

will tend to reach out toward another, and in course of time the map will show, not so many occupied villages and hamlets, but a network of inter-related and inter-communicating centres and pockets of population over the whole of the countryside.

The principle in mind is that of making use of a limited Chinese staff, not as so many *tso-t'ang-li-ti-hsien-sheng* (teachers who sit in a chapel), but as so many itinerant evangelists within limited areas. Here is a market street with its chapel and, if possible, its school. Some of the members come from a hamlet ten *li* away. Very well. Open a cottage meeting in that hamlet, hold a service there once or twice a month, always with unfailing regularity. The women will join up, and with the women the children, and with the children the generations yet to come. This is more than mere theory, though the results will not always be the same. There is a hamlet thirteen *li* away in the other direction. One man alone comes from that hamlet; but within the limits of that hamlet he is a man of consequence. Very well. Enter in. He has a wife, children, neighbours. Arrange a meeting once or twice a month, and never fail to observe it. There is a village thirty *li* away. It is not occupied, but it ought to be. Arrange for a monthly visitation. Other places come into view. Make a plan in consultation with the local evangelist, inspire him with the thought that he is a local pioneer, give him to understand that this is his own field, and that it is for him to make of it what he will. In time a number of little, incipient churches will come into being in separate areas, churches that care for the women as well as the men, churches whose hope in the future lies in the children who are thus reached and saved. Such a church, centring in a village, can do what an isolated church can rarely do. It can, by its connected system, enter into a common financial effort such as brings the idea of self-support into more practicable range. Nothing but a Pentecost will ever solve the problem of self-support. It is not a conference but the second chapter of Acts that

will produce self-support on any great scale. But, as far as wisdom and energy are given to us, we must work for self-support, even though Pentecost tarries. And this is, at this early date, the only hope I have for scattered country communities, namely, the linking up of local farms and hamlets in village centres, the linking up of village centres in *hsien* cities, again, the linking up of *hsien* cities in the provincial capital.

These things can only be outlined here. Helpers will sometimes fail. So often they are tools of lead. They do not cut, and when you put pressure on them they bend. There is, however, a residue in whom is the spirit of the apostles, who take to the road as readily as to the pulpit, who walk in the ways of the early Methodist preachers and the itinerant evangelists of the ancient Church. And it is to them that one learns to look more and more, though they may know no word of English, and be strangers alike to Boone, Griffith John and Wesley. We are as yet far from self-support in rural areas, and it may not come in the way we expect, but come it will, and those who follow us may see a living, self-reliant, vigorous, unified Church.

G. MATHEW THOMAS

EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN AFRICA

By J. H. OLDHAM

THE issue as a Parliamentary Paper of a statement prepared by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa,¹ and declared by the Secretary of State in answer to a question in the House of Commons to have his approval and sanction, is an important event. Its significance may in the long run prove to be greater than that of many events which have attracted a much larger share of public attention. The question of the forces which will help to mould the lives of the peoples of the African Continent is of great moment for the future of the world. The fact that one of the Powers chiefly responsible for the guidance of the destinies of Africa should lay down an educational policy is in itself significant. The statement of policy has a still greater significance if it bears the marks of insight and wise statesmanship and seems calculated to lead to fruitful results.

The occasion seems to justify a brief historical account of the steps which led up to the issue of the memorandum, and to this may be added a few comments on the bearing of the policy on the educational work of Christian missions.

In the summer of 1923 the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland submitted a memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject of education in the British colonies in Africa. It was there pointed out that up to the present about nine-tenths of the school education which the inhabitants of these colonies were receiving was being given in mission schools, and that if a real chance was to be given

¹ Bibliography, No. 367a.

to the people of Africa to advance in the scale of civilization and in moral and material prosperity, far larger resources must be devoted to education than the missionary societies could command.

It was urged that the task of educating the inhabitants of the British territories in Africa is so vast and the available resources so limited that a policy of co-operation of all concerned—Government, missions, traders and settlers and the people themselves—is required to secure the largest and best results; and that it was desirable, therefore, that the Government should formulate an educational policy based on the idea of partnership. Attention was directed to the policy of the Government of India, laid down in the famous educational despatch of 1854, and reaffirmed in subsequent pronouncements, that the most effectual means of providing for the educational needs of India was that Government should combine with its own activities in the sphere of education the aid which it might derive from the voluntary efforts of the people themselves and of philanthropic and benevolent agencies.

It was urged, therefore, that the time had come when it was desirable that the Secretary of State should lay down the broad principles by which educational policy in the African colonies will in the future be directed. Such a declaration made under the authority of the Secretary of State would both help to ensure the consistent carrying out of whatever broad lines of policy the Imperial Government might, after consideration, determine to be best suited for the African colonies, and at the same time furnish an assurance to those who were invited to be partners in the educational enterprise that their status would not be changed or their opportunities curtailed except after the fullest deliberation.

The further suggestion was made that, since a policy of partnership implies consultation, Advisory Boards of Education, which already existed in some colonies, should be encouraged and developed, and should be set up where they were not yet established; and that with a view to

co-ordinating their work and to making available for those engaged in educational work in Africa the best experience not only of Tropical Africa but of South Africa, Great Britain, the United States and other countries, there should be formed at the Colonial Office a central Advisory Committee on Native Education in Africa. Such a body would be able to devote itself to the study of the larger aspects of the education of less advanced peoples. Without such study there was a danger that grave mistakes might be made and large sums of money expended on education to less than the best advantage and even, as experience elsewhere has shown, with results far other than those desired.

The memorandum, the main contents of which have been summarized above, was considered by a conference at the Colonial Office, presided over by Major the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and attended by the Governors of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Kenya and Nyasaland, the Colonial Secretary of Tanganyika Territory, the officials of the Colonial Office concerned with the administration of the African colonies, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Frederick Lugard, Dr Thomas Jesse Jones, Dr Garfield Williams and the writer of the present article. It is not without interest that the conference took place on Derby Day. Since every one invited to the conference was present at it, the attraction of African education appeared to be stronger than that of the most famous horse-race in the world. The conference unanimously decided to recommend to the Secretary of State the appointment of an Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, and a few weeks later the Committee was appointed.

The present members of the Committee are Major the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., again Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies, *ex officio*; Mr C. Strachey, the head of the Africa Department at the Colonial Office; the Bishop of Liverpool, formerly headmaster of Rugby School; Major A. J. Church, formerly a Labour member of Parlia-

ment ; Sir James Currie, K.B.E., formerly Principal of the Gordon College, Khartoum, and now Director of the Empire Cotton-Growing Association ; the Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick Lugard, G.C.M.G., formerly Governor of Nigeria ; Sir Michael Sadler, K.C.S.I., Master of University College, Oxford, who was Chairman of the Calcutta University Commission ; Major H. Vischer, Secretary of the Committee ; the Rt. Rev. Bishop Bidwell, representing Roman Catholic missions ; and Mr J. H. Oldham, secretary of the International Missionary Council. The Governors of the African colonies attend the meetings when they are in England ; and the officials of the Colonial Office concerned with the administration of African colonies are present during the discussion of business relating to their respective colonies.

In March of the present year the Advisory Committee addressed to the Secretary of State a letter enclosing a memorandum on educational principles and policy, in the preparation of which the Committee had been engaged for some months ; and this memorandum, as has already been stated, has been issued by the Secretary of State as a Parliamentary Paper and has received his sanction.

The original request made by the missionary societies has thus met with a complete and satisfying response. The Government has issued a public statement of the principles which should form the basis of educational policy in Africa, and that statement is one that the missionary societies must cordially welcome.

The memorandum assures to schools maintained by voluntary effort a recognized place in the educational system. It begins with the statement that 'Government welcomes and will encourage all voluntary educational effort which conforms to the general policy.' It goes on to point out that 'the policy of encouragement of voluntary effort in education has as its corollary the establishment of a system of grants-in-aid to schools which conform to the prescribed regulations and attain the necessary standard' and that 'the

utilization of efficient voluntary agencies economizes the revenues available for educational purposes.' It states explicitly, that 'provided that the required standard of educational efficiency is reached, aided schools should be regarded as filling a place in the scheme of education as important as the schools conducted by Government itself.'

Secondly, the memorandum lays the strongest emphasis on the training of character and recognizes clearly the importance of religion in the education of the pagan peoples of Africa. 'Since contact with civilization—and even education itself—must necessarily tend to weaken tribal authority and the sanctions of existing beliefs, and in view of the all-prevailing belief in the supernatural which affects the whole life of the African, it is essential that what is good in the old beliefs and sanctions should be strengthened and what is defective should be replaced. The greatest importance must therefore be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and in training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects.' It is rightly pointed out that such teaching, to be effective, 'must be related to the conditions of life and to the daily experience of the pupils,' and must not be confined to a special period set apart for religious instruction but must 'permeate the whole life of the school.' One of the most important influences in the formation of character is the discipline of work ; others are found in field games, in recreation and in social intercourse. 'The formation of habits of industry, of truthfulness, of manliness, of readiness for social service and of disciplined co-operation is the foundation of character.' An opportunity of exceptional value is furnished by the residential school 'in which the personal example and influence of the teachers and of the older pupils—entrusted with responsibility and disciplinary powers as monitors—can create a social life and tradition in which standards of judgment are formed and right attitudes acquired almost unconsciously through imbibing the spirit and atmosphere of the school.'

Thirdly, the memorandum sets forth an ideal of education with which, since it aims at the growth of the peoples of Africa into a fuller and richer manhood and womanhood, Christian missions can whole-heartedly co-operate; for that aim is also theirs. The aim of education, it is said, 'should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race.' 'The first task of education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people, but provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services, as well as of those who as chiefs will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility. As resources permit, the door of advancement, through higher education, in Africa must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education.' In the pursuit of these aims education at all stages must be 'adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution.' In the working out of such a programme missions may thankfully and joyfully make their distinctive contribution, being persuaded that in Christ is found the secret of growth into true manhood and womanhood and the deepest inspiration for the service of others.

The Government has now done what the missionary societies asked for. The share which Christian missions will

have in the education of the peoples of the British colonies in Africa will in the future depend largely on themselves. It was one of the favourite ideas of Booker Washington, continually finding expression in his conversation, that in the long run a man, no matter what the colour of his skin, would find his proper level and receive the recognition which he deserved. The same thing may be said about the different types of schools in Africa. Government is likely to prove a more serious competitor in educational effort than in the past. But in the service of the peoples of Africa it is not a question of jealous rivalry but of honourable emulation. The field is clear and the prize is to the best runner. Those who have seen the purpose of God for human life in Jesus Christ and who are conscious of the resources available in Him can desire and ask for nothing more. There are encouraging signs everywhere that missionaries are alive to the opportunity and are eagerly pressing forward to seize it. The home church must stand behind them with the needed reinforcements and financial resources.

J. H. OLDHAM

A MOSUTO NOVELIST

By A. WERNER

THE possibilities of a native vernacular literature will be obvious to every one who has gained some insight into the rich resources of the Bantu languages. The beginnings of such a literature must always be more or less exotic, the translations executed by missionaries—or by natives under their direction—involving the use of borrowed words, or words coined for the occasion, to express ideas previously unknown. The work thus done is sometimes compared with that of Alfred in Saxon England, but there is this important difference, that Alfred was writing in his own language for his own people. The formation from time to time of revision committees to deal with even the best Bible translations emphasizes this difference most strongly.

There is another way, and perhaps an even more important one, of promoting the growth of a native literature—though one which most of the early missionaries would certainly have discouraged and probably condemned—namely, the collection and recording of traditional matter, tribal history, folk songs, even the ‘trivial and ridiculous fictions’ which our forefathers thought beneath their notice. What valuable work has been done in this way during the past thirty or forty years no reader of this Review need be told.

While this heritage of their past is being gathered and preserved, a generation of natives is growing up with a training which will enable them to use it and hand it on. Whatever defects may be found in educational methods (a subject with which we are not now concerned), the ability to read and write his own language is always an asset to the

African, and there are many to whom it is not so much a means of social advancement as a key to open the door of knowledge. There is something of the spirit of Alfred's England, or of early Renaissance enthusiasm in many a simple native schoolmaster who, like Bede, loves nothing so much as 'to read, to write and to teach.'

Some of these men have begun turning to new uses the wonderful instrument they possess in their own mother speech, doing their part also in moulding and enriching it for future generations. The neologisms inevitably introduced have, many of them, come to stay; their introduction is no more to be deplored than that of the Latin element in English. Their use by native writers will determine which of them are able to take root, and will gradually sift out the useless and unworthy. Some of these men write, and write well, in English—I need only mention D. Tengu Jabavu¹—but, except where it is necessary to appeal to the British public direct, as in S. T. Plaatje's case, I think this a pity. There is no need to labour the point.

The existing native newspapers in South Africa—Xosa, Zulu and Suto—are a hopeful feature; but, apart from these, we have in increasing numbers some genuine productions of the soil. Rubusana, Bokwe, Mqayi and others have written of the history and customs of the Xosa people, not to mention such tales and poems as those of Guma, Sinxo and Ntsiko. In Zulu, to go no further, we have the recollections of the late Magera Magwaza, published at Pietermaritzburg in 1923, under the title of *Abantu Abamnyama*. The Basuto have profited enormously in this direction by the labours of the Paris Evangelical Mission.

It may not be generally known that the Morija schools and printing-press have fostered and given voice to a little group of native authors whose further development will be watched with the greatest interest. Perhaps the earliest in time is Azariel Sekese, who began by recording the traditional tales and fast-disappearing customs of his people. In

¹ See IRM, 1922 (Apr.), pp. 249-59.

his *Mekhoa le Maele a Basotho*,¹ he has collected not only a number of interesting customs, but over 800 proverbs which are very fully explained. Then we have E. Motsamai, who in *Mehla ea Malimo* ('The Days of the Cannibals') has chronicled, from living tradition, various incidents of an exciting and painful phase of his people's history. Finally, we reach original imaginative prose with Everitt Segoete's moral tale *Riches are a Cloud and a Mist*, and, on a higher level, Thomas Mofolo's *Moeti oa Bochabela* ('Traveller to the East') (1907) and *Pitseng* (1910).

Mofolo, I understand, was at one time a teacher at Morija; but whether or not he ever hoped to live by literature he now appears to pursue the calling of a butcher—scarcely, one would think, judging by the spirit displayed in his writings, from choice. Further personal details are not at present available. It is quite possible that *Moeti oa Bochabela* derives its ultimate inspiration from the *Pilgrim's Progress*—a work whose universal human appeal cannot be over-estimated;² but beyond the general idea of life as a pilgrimage in search of Truth, the two have little in common. Mofolo has staged his story among his native hills and the familiar scenes of his childhood, and the colouring has a freshness and simplicity comparable to Bunyan's because, like Bunyan, he is drawing direct from nature. His pilgrim is a young man named Fekisi, a herdsman who while tending his father's cattle fell to speculating on the beauty and terror and mystery of the world.

When he was out on the veld, and the rain was falling, it was to him a great wonder. He would look up at the sky and try to see where the rain came from. And he would ask himself: What is the rain? Whence comes it? What are the clouds? Where do they come from? What is it which thunders? How is it that the lightning comes forth out of all that water?

¹ Morija: 1907. The folk tales contained in the first edition have been omitted from the second; but some of them are included in the late M. Jacottet's *Treasury of Basuto Lore*.

² A. Mabilie's *Suto Pilgrim's Progress* is dated 1911. But even if this is a first edition and there was no previous translation in existence, Mofolo may have been familiar with it in English, or in one of the Zulu versions extant.

The rain fell and made the grass grow and refreshed the cattle—yet the lightning sometimes burnt huts and killed people. It was all very perplexing. Who was responsible for it all? He questioned the old men. Sometimes they spoke of *Molimo* (Heaven) who made all things, and of *Ntswana-tsatsi*, the Sunrise Land, whence the Basuto came in the old days, but none knew where it was. Some told him the old legend of the monster *Kholumolumo*, which laid waste the whole countryside, devouring men and flocks and herds, and of the boy hero who slew the monster and delivered his people. But none could tell him what he really wanted to know. He felt that the Basuto needed a deliverer as much as ever—not from any monster, but from their own passions and vices. When he looked around him at the life of his fellow-tribesmen, his heart was weighed down within him. Many were given over to drunkenness and lost their lives in senseless quarrels, or were attacked by wild beasts while lying unconscious on the hillside. There were tyrannical chiefs who oppressed the people; the elder herd-boys, far from home on the hills, bullied the helpless younger ones; everywhere he saw cruelty and wickedness.

This picture of tribal life strikes one as unduly black, but perhaps the shadows have been deepened, half or quite consciously for artistic reasons. Moreover, one finds that native converts, flushed with the joy of enlightenment and progress, are apt to exaggerate the evils of their former state and overlook its better features; they want, like most young and enthusiastic reformers, to scrap the past wholesale. It takes time to learn that you cannot do this, and ought not if you could. Another point to remember is that part, at least, of that ‘darkness of the past’ so graphically described in Mofolo’s first chapter—the state of insecurity when no man, lying down at night in his hut, knew whether he would ever see the morning—belongs to the time which the Basuto call the *Difakane*, the unsettled period of migrations and wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which issued in the formation of the Suto and Zulu kingdoms.

One sometimes finds European writers asserting or implying that this state of things was normal and chronic in every part of 'savage' Africa before the advent of the white man.

Not that Mofolo represents even the heathen Basuto as only evil continually. Apart from Fekisi there are his parents, very decent people of whom we should like to hear more. Fekisi himself is very pleasingly described—the writer dwells minutely, among other things, on his love and care for his cattle. When he drove them out, in the spring, to feed on the new grass, they were so fat and sleek that it seemed as if they were coming back from the summer pastures, not going out; 'he let down the bars of the fold gently, calling all the beasts softly by their names, whispering to them, for they all knew him and obeyed him.' Fekisi is own brother to Bata, in the old Egyptian tales:

As he walked behind his cattle, they said to him, 'Good is the herbage which is in that place'; and he listened to all that they said, and he took them to the good place which they desired. And the cattle which were before him became exceeding excellent, and they multiplied greatly.¹

Professor Flinders Petrie says of this tale:

The description of Bata is one of the most beautiful character drawings in the past. . . . And those who know Egypt will know that Bata still lives there. . . . Bata I have met in many places, Bata I have loved as one of the flowers of human nature.

I should have liked to substitute for 'Egypt' the words 'any part of Africa,' for I, too, have known Bata—or some kinsfolk of his—in Natal, in Nyasaland and on the Tana River.

The crisis of Fekisi's unhappiness came when, after the prolonged revelry which followed the circumcision festival (*mokete*) of the chief's son, a man named Phakoane killed his wife in a fit of drunken passion. The wretched man when he came to his senses threw himself on the ground, crying and lamenting, bitterly accusing himself, till at last he died, broken-hearted. Those who were present, terrified at

¹ Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales* (Second Series), p. 37.

his ravings, thrust his body hastily underground and fled. Fekisi, tossing sleepless in the night after witnessing the dishonoured burial, seemed to hear Phakoane's voice crying to him, 'Seek *Molimo* till thou find Him, and when thou hast found Him, never forsake Him again.' Then he fell asleep and had a dream which would not let him rest, so he resolved to go forth and seek the land of *Ntswana-tsatsi*.

He set out by night, taking with him the native's simple equipment for a journey, his knife, his knobbed stick, the two pieces of wood for kindling fire and two pieces of hide to make sandals when he should need them on the road—the African seldom does unless the rocky or sandy ground is too hot to walk on. Unlike Christian, he informed no one what he was about to do. 'His heart said to him, he should tell his relations of his purpose, but he feared they would prevent him, saying he was mad.' And no doubt a young Mosuto, *in patria potestate*, could have been more effectually prevented than the English householder. He only went into the cattle-fold to take a last look at his beloved beasts, and 'praised' them in an eloquent song. He stole silently, with aching heart, through the village; more than once he stood still, thinking of his parents, his brothers, sisters and friends; but he never looked back.

He was missed when the time came to let out the cattle, especially when it appeared that the cows would suffer no one else to milk them. When the sun set and he did not return there was great grief in the village, and many passed a sleepless night. We do not hear of any search being made for him, which may seem strange, but there appears to have been a strong suspicion that he had been made away with by some of the more desperate characters who had taken part in the disorders associated with the *mokete*. He was known to have protested, and even to have been forcibly withheld from interfering in one case. It would seem as if all decent people had been terrorized at such times. His father and mother, as the days went on, gradually gave up hope and mourned him as one dead.

In course of time Fekisi reached the Batlokwa country. Here he came upon a man being attacked by some others and ran to his assistance. The rescued man, full of gratitude, fell to questioning Fekisi and was thoroughly perplexed by his answers—he had not the slightest notion what *Ntswana-tsatsi* was. The dialogue is quite in the spirit of Bunyan.

‘ You say you come from the Lesuto, that you were driven away by the increase of wickedness there ? ’

‘ Yes.’

‘ You say you are going to *Ntswana-tsatsi* ? ’

‘ Yes.’

‘ Where is *Ntswana-tsatsi* ? ’

‘ I do not know. I only know that it is in the East.’

‘ What is there in that place, that you should make such efforts to get there ? ’

‘ It is righteousness, for the sake of which I seek it. It is where God lives, whom I am seeking.’

‘ When will you return from thence ? ’

‘ I shall never return.’

‘ Do you really mean that you will never see your father and mother, or your brothers, again on earth ? ’

‘ Yes.’

‘ Do you tell me that you are giving up all the good things of your country and the girls at home, for good and all ? ’

‘ Yes. I have nothing to do with girls. They are often the cause of wickedness. Fights take place on account of these girls, and murders are committed for their sake.’

‘ There I agree with you. Do you know why those men wanted to kill me ? ’

‘ No, I do not.’

The stranger relates that he has been attacked on account of the intrigues he was carrying on with two married women. Fekisi tries to remonstrate with him, but the conversation is cut short by an agonized cry for help. The stranger runs away, but Fekisi, hastening in the direction of the sound, finds a dead man, still warm, lying in the path. Seeing that nothing can be done for him, he heaps some earth on the body and goes on his way, saddened afresh by these proofs of human wickedness.

Fekisi went on through the desert. He nearly perished

of thirst and had narrow escapes from lions, crocodiles and serpents ; but still he pressed on. His prayers, when in distress, are given at length and are of a touching simplicity. At last he reached the sea-shore, wearied out, starving and sick with fever, and was found there by three men, who proved to be elephant-hunters from Bochabela (the East). We need not enquire too closely into their nationality ; they had come by ship and were Christians. They carried Fekisi on board and tended him kindly. When he recovered he soon learnt enough of their language to communicate with them. When he heard that they came from Bochabela he asked whether that was not the country where there is no evil, where righteousness dwells and where God has made His abode. They had to disappoint him.

‘ There is no such land among all the lands on earth. Neither does God dwell on earth ; He lives on high in the heavens, above the clouds, the sun and the stars. We pray to God, we being on earth, and He hears us. We walk in His laws and His commandments.’

During the voyage they instructed him in all that he desired to know, and even taught him to read. At last the voyage came to an end, and the vessel anchored off the shore of a beautiful country which, the men told Fekisi, was their home, Bochabela. Immediately on landing they conducted him to the house of a teacher, where he was very kindly received. Not only was the country beautiful, but the people were kind and neighbourly, honest and sincere—drunkenness and vice were unknown. ‘ We should have been surprised,’ says Mofolo, ‘ to find a country without police, prison, taxes or king,’ but Fekisi was not surprised at this, since these were unknown to him—except so far as he might have expected to find a Paramount Chief. What did surprise him was the general atmosphere of peace and goodwill. He was introduced to ‘ a large and beautiful house, splendidly adorned, in which prayer was made to God,’ and he heard that a great festival would shortly take place. He became uneasy, thinking that he ought to go on, as his journey was not yet finished, and he prayed for guidance, but no light came.

‘The feast arrived, but there was still no answer, no voice, no dream—nothing.’

But it is this feast day which brings him to the end of his quest. Kneeling among the people in the church, as the minister repeats the words ‘. . . Ye have come to mount Zion, the city of the living God,’ he has a vision of the Son of Man, and springs up to meet Him with a rapturous cry. Afterwards,

they found Fekisi gazing upwards; the mist had cleared away; his face was full of joy and gladness and peace, the peace of one who has found the Son of Man. When they looked at him more closely, they saw that the body alone remained; the spirit had gone to his Maker, into the light, while the flesh was left behind in the house of prayer.

Here the book ends. This bald summary will perhaps be enough to show that, in its own line, it is a remarkable work, and quite justifies the praise bestowed on it by Professor Norton in his inaugural address to the University of South Africa, at Cape Town, in October 1921.

A. WERNER

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

MODERN TURKEY

MODERN TURKEY. By ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS, F.R.Econ.S. Illustrated. New York and London : Macmillan. \$6. 25s. 1924.

THIS volume on *Modern Turkey* was written for the avowed purpose of discussing present contemporary problems and to give a fair perspective of the conflicting factors underlying the politico-economic life of Turkey. It is in no sense a missionary book, in that it deals only incidentally with missionary, religious, educational and philanthropic work in the country, but it discusses questions of supreme significance to all religious and educational interests in the Near East, and for that reason, because of the wide, accurate information it gives of the Near East situation, is of permanent value to all missionary workers in that part of the world.

No Asiatic country at the present time so completely commands the attention of the civilized world as does Turkey, with China holding a strong second position. Turkey is surrounded with problems and unsettled conditions, touching as it does Western Asia and Balkan Europe. Few countries have ever passed through a national and religious revolution of such wide significance as that through which Turkey has passed since the outbreak of the great war. This revolution has completely obliterated the old Ottoman Empire and has established in its place the Republic of Turkey. The Caliph of Islam, who was the Sultan of Turkey and who has figured so widely for centuries in the Near East, has disappeared. Throughout the Republic of Turkey religious liberty, as well as liberty of the press, has been proclaimed and an educational system established, all under the Grand General Assembly with its capital at Angora, whose authority rests not on the person of a caliph or a sultan but on the will of the people.

Modern Turkey covers a period of but fifteen years, beginning in July 1908 and ending with the year 1923. It is within this period that the changes referred to above have taken place. The author, Mr Eliot Grinnell Mears, recognizing the difficulty of securing the exact facts with reference to Turkey and the Near East from the

vast mass of material that has been given to the public in the last twenty years, set out to secure, if possible, a body of exact information from the best experts to be found both within and without Turkey, and to present this to the reading public without prejudice or passion and with no spirit of propaganda. He had extensive experience in the Near East covering most of the period under review. He was American Trade Commissioner and also a member of the American Military Mission to Armenia and Transcaucasia under General Harbord. He was Commercial Attaché to the American High Commissioner at Constantinople and Director-at-Large of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant. The offices which he thus filled in the Near East gave him access to much material and first-hand information which he has fully utilized in the preparation of this book.

The book itself comprises twenty-five chapters, with several comprehensive appendices which alone occupy more than 150 pages. While Mr Mears is the author of nine of the main chapters of the book, he has enlisted in his enterprise a large staff of writers, many of whom have spent years in Turkey and some of whom have known no other country. Among these well-known writers are His Excellency Nubar Boghos Pasha, for many years president of the Armenian national organization of Paris, and son of the famous Nubar Pasha of Egypt, immortalized by Lord Cromer; Harvey Porter, curator of the museum of the American University of Beirut and author of various Arabic works; Dr Paul Monroe, educational investigator of the state of education in Turkey and a well-known educationalist of international repute; Dr Mary Mills Patrick, the founder and for many years president of the Constantinople Women's College; Walter Booth Adams of the medical department of the American University of Beirut; Howard Crosby Butler, the well-known archæologist in Syria and the Near East. Chapters are also written by G. Bie Ravndal, for twenty years United States Consul-General at Constantinople, and other western writers. Attention should be called to Turks themselves who have made valuable contributions to this volume: Suleiman Sirri Bey, who has held various offices under the Turkish Government and has been the Turkish Director-General of Public Works; Jemal Bey, who has been Turkish Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, Director of Statistics, Director-General of the Technical Bureau and the author of various official publications of a statistical

character; Ahmed Emin Bey, well-known Turkish author, who secured a doctor's degree from Columbia University in New York City under the direction of the Turkish Government, and was also connected with Stamboul University and editor of a daily paper in Constantinople.

The topics covered in the twenty-five chapters include racial characteristics, a résumé of the leading minority populations, religions, education, the place of women, public health, archæology, transportation and communication, land tenure, irrigation, agriculture, forests, mines, foreign and domestic commerce, concessions, finance, government, capitulations, the Turkish press, the modern Turkish movement, international relations, the Armenian and Arab questions and the modern Kemalist movement. The discussions are frank, unhampered, void of propaganda, written with the manifest purpose of making the facts as they exist known in their simplicity and in their relationships. The points of view of the different authors have been harmonized and unified by Mr Mears in his introductory chapter and in the various chapters that have come from his pen supplementing what may have been left out by others. The attempt has been made, and successfully, to produce a book of decided scientific and historic value, void of prejudice and based upon known facts.

The book has six maps or graphs and a number of half-tone illustrations. The appendices are of permanent value for reference purposes and are not in any measure secondary to the importance of the book itself. These appendices consist of tabulations of general economic data, tables of area and population, with a chronological list of the sovereigns of the House of Osman down to and including Abdul Mejid. It has also a detailed chronology of events from 1908 to 1923 inclusive, followed by copies in whole or in part of thirty-seven selected documents all bearing directly upon the history of Turkey in the period covered by the book, closing with a comprehensive bibliography of books on Turkey, including books of religious, political, social and economic import, ending with an index of nearly one hundred pages, making the entire book at once available for reference purposes.

Every student of the Near East will need this book to bring his facts and thinking up to date.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

JAMES L. BARTON

THE SOUL OF INDIA

THE HEART OF ĀRYĀVARTA. By the Rt. Hon. THE EARL OF RONALD-SHAY. London: Constable. 14s. 1925.

THIS is a book which ought to be read by all in England who are trying to understand the problems that beset those who are responsible for the welfare of India, as well as by those who are equipping themselves for a share in the task of assisting in the moral and spiritual evolution of its peoples. Those, too, who have for long been engaged in this task will find much in the book that suggests a new point of view, inspires fresh energy by creating new interests and increases their sympathy with those they are trying to help.

Its aim is to disentangle and appreciate the forces that are working on the educated Hindu of to-day and creating the modern spirit of Hinduism. The pride of race born of rapidly awakened consciousness of past greatness, giving birth to an extreme sensitiveness to any suggestion of racial inferiority arising from the contact of East and West, dissatisfaction with the status of 'mock Englishmen,' dislike of the West combined with inability to discard its influence, emotionalism and mental agility which make the world of ideas more attractive than the harsh realm of facts, a craving for personal sympathy and reliance on renunciation rather than action, all this is depicted in masterly touches. The result is a picture that expands and illustrates Sir Michael Sadler's perhaps more brilliant but necessarily shorter and less documented account of the Bengali character in the Calcutta University Commission's Report. Though the author, like Sir Michael Sadler, deals primarily with the Bengali, there is much that is applicable to the Hindu in other parts of India. It is indeed fortunate that to recent sketches of Hinduism from the pen of experienced writers, such as Sadler and Sir Valentine Chirol (*India Old and New*) and of a devoted and able missionary (Macnicol—*The Making of Modern India*), we can now add the work of an Indian administrator whose tactful sympathy and readiness to study and observe confer on his book the qualities that adorned his governorship in Bengal. We find that cordial support of all national movements not subversive in character that we should expect of a Governor who encouraged the Indian Art School of Bengal by a grant of money involving no official inspection, interference or control.

To western education he attributes a 'remarkable measure of

success,' pointing out its unifying effect and the stimulus applied by new ideas and ideals. He recognizes also the genuine and persistent efforts of Government for many years past to undo the harm involved by a start on wrong lines, namely, divorce from Indian culture and sentiment, undue prominence of examinations and the literary element, and a top-heavy system like an inverted pyramid. But he realizes also that the movement which he attributes (too exclusively perhaps) to Macaulay soon acquired a momentum of its own, and that its exaggerated anglicizing tendency was largely a response to popular demand and the determination of India from 1840 to 1880 to be more English than the English. He appreciates also the appalling difficulties of education through a foreign language as well as the equally formidable difficulties of employment of the vernaculars and adapting them to the needs of modern science.

The forces which have reacted acutely against the servile imitation of the West are admirably described. Particularly valuable are his accounts of the growth of the modern Bengali literature and language, 'one of the great expressive languages of the world,' and his sketch of essentially Indian institutions which are trying to apply to eastern culture some of the methods of the West. His portrait of Keshab Chunder Sen, representing a synthesis of East and West, is inspiring and suggestive.

The darker side of the reaction is emphasized in a well-documented account of the revolutionary movement, with its insidious appeal to the spiritual and emotional side of Indian youth, and the opportunities it offers for the attainment of salvation by renunciation. The equally emotional and uncritical crusade against the satanic and materialistic West is traced to its origins.

From this we pass to the spiritual significance of Indian art, its attempt to get at the reality behind appearance and to give form and colour to the mind's creation. The connexion of these aims with the Tantras and the grosser kind of sex symbolism that pervade certain forms of religious art and institutions is attributed partially to the predominance of emotion over will and the inability of the Hindu mind to criticize its operations and conclusions. The same defects account for the very attractive exaggerations and inconsistencies of Hindu philosophy and religion. Its living importance is emphasized, but the student without 'faith, reverence and insight' soon finds himself lost in a 'jungle of words.' The highest operation of the Hindu mind is intuitive rather than discursive. The

genius of a Rabindranath Tagore is essentially poetic and creative, not analytic or critical. As a seer, not as a philosopher, he convinces us of the existence of a 'spiritual world not separate from this world but its innermost truth,' disclosed by natural beauty and the simple exercise of love.

Lastly, we are shown the political expression of the spirit of Hinduism, or rather, perhaps, the failure of statesmen in India or at home to find this expression. An interesting reference to proposals for the Mysore constitution, recently drafted by a committee of Indian experts, suggests that this expression may take the form of absolute monarchy representing in one person the will of the people and functioning through a council and ministers, who ascertain the will of the people through a consultative assembly of their representatives, but in giving effect to it are responsible solely to the head of the state.

The book as a whole is overweighted on the side of philosophy and religion. Here the treatment is too elaborate and technical and enters unwisely into competition with the more lucid and scholarly work of men like Farquhar and Macnicol. For the general public there is too much and for the advanced student not enough. One feels that the results of the author's very careful and sympathetic study of the subject should have inspired and coloured rather than actually extended the section.

The author has failed also to explain why a man like Rabindranath Tagore has so little direct influence in modern India, and why a gospel of hate has for a time expelled the more Indian gospel of love which he preaches. Such explanation would perhaps be possible only for one who writes from a distinctively Christian standpoint, a standpoint which the author could no doubt adopt, but has, perhaps wisely, not emphasized. Surely, however, without being liable to a charge of partiality, he might have devoted some portion of his book to the contribution of Christian ideas to the modern spirit of Hinduism. As it stands it does not suggest, what is in fact the truth, that Christianity has assisted Hinduism to define itself, to reform itself and to take up social service. If it has not yet taught India that love is better and more constructive than hate, it may yet be more effective in such teaching than Tagore has been.

ARTHUR MAYHEW

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ETHICS OF INDIA

ETHICS OF INDIA. By E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, Ph.D., LL.D. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. \$3. London: Milford. 14s. 1924.

IN his new work Professor Washburn Hopkins has given us a most interesting and valuable supplement to his *Religions of India*. Without seeking to write a formal history of Indian ethics he has sketched the main lines of the development of Indian reflection on man's duties, reviewing in order ethics in the Rigveda, the Vedic ideas of sin and law, ethics in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads, in the legal literature and in Buddhism, religious devotion based on morality and ethical aberrations, ending with a statement of pro and contra. Professor Hopkins displays his wonted power of lucid exposition, and he has most happily enlivened his theme by apposite citation from the lawbooks, the epic and the Buddhist scriptures. The later developments of Hinduism receive comparatively little attention; they do not indeed lend themselves to the broad treatment adopted in this work, and, vital as is their importance for modern India, they are of minor interest from the point of view of the historian of pre-Mahomedan Indian belief.

A certain liveliness is imparted to the work by the author's determination to combat the doctrine to which he has so often 'dejectedly listened' in sermons, that 'no other religion than Christianity ever inculcated purity of heart and sympathy for the sorrowing.' Professor Hopkins has clearly been unfortunate in this regard, and his sufferings have perhaps made him a little less than fair to his fellow-worker in the field of ethics, Professor J. McKenzie, whose able treatise on *Hindu Ethics* became known to him only after his own work had been prepared. Professor Hopkins claims that he has been more eager to exploit the value of Hindu ethics than to depreciate it, and he suggests that Professor McKenzie lays too much stress on logic and philosophy in his evaluation of ethics. But I think that in these views Professor Hopkins has somewhat misunderstood the point to which Professor McKenzie's studies were directed. If we desire to examine the ethical views of any people, we must doubtless pay attention first to the maxims current in their literature, and next to the institutions of all kinds in which their ethical principles are embodied. But we must also, if we are attempting a philosophical study—as in Professor McKenzie's case—

go further and seek to find the place assigned by Indian thought to ethical matter in the conception of the universe. We need not, *a priori*, expect to discover any very satisfactory answers, seeing that Aristotle was deeply perplexed by the problem and that modern systems of Absolute Idealism determinedly evade the issue ; but it is certainly a legitimate inquiry, nor can perseverance in it be regarded as an effort to depreciate Indian ethics, unless indeed the criticisms passed are in themselves unjust. Professor McKenzie contends that, treating the matter philosophically, we find that Hindu conceptions of reality, logically applied, leave no room for ethics, and would hinder the development of a strenuous moral life. Can we really deny the justice of these propositions ? The philosophy of the Brāhmaṇas reduces the world to a system in which magic is supreme, and morality nothing ; the pantheism of the Upanishads extinguishes the desire to act, and, logically carried out, would result in the extinction of the race. The Buddhist of the Theravāda is, in the ultimate issue, an egoistic hedonist, and the famous Metta is a compassionate friendship for all creatures, which is essentially motivated by the necessity of avoiding the arising of passion as fatal to the purpose of attaining calm, and which ignores the essential value of the communion of minds in harmony, which is the fine flower of the Aristotelian conception of friendship. In Mahāyāna Buddhism we find the conception of self-sacrifice and active benevolence, whatever its source ; but the metaphysicians ruin it by transforming the sufferings of the Bodhisattva into a mere phantasmagoria, and the actions of the good and just into the delusions of a dream. The doctrine of Çankara equally renders illusory all human effort, and leaves us, as do the Upanishads, with an absolute which is wholly beyond such minor matters as good or bad. The Tantras, whose enormous influence in parts at least of India Professor Hopkins seems to minimize, not merely sanction the lowest rites of primitive savagery, but are guilty of the crime of seeking philosophic excuse for such acts. In Rāmānuja and his followers, indeed, we find a revival of the simpler and nobler ideas of the Rigveda itself, but, excellent as were these teachers, it would be idle to regard them as philosophers of real creative power.

Happily for India as for Europe, morality can be taught and can flourish independently of metaphysical beliefs, and Professor Hopkins most justly emphasizes the wealth of India in ethical maxims, which, we may be sure, must reflect, and in their turn must have influenced,

practical conduct. Karman, indeed, to the author 'represents a cosmic power of righteousness forever working through encouragement of virtue towards a high ethical goal,' and we may believe that this often was the case, though we must remember that, logically at least, Karman also implies absolute determinism, and negates that human freedom which for many minds alone gives meaning to morality. This aspect, however, though recognized by Hindu thought, luckily seems not to have been dominant, and we must remember that, as Professor Hopkins has himself elsewhere shown, popular belief was ready to find diverse ways of evading the strict rule of Karman. We sympathize, however, so fully with the desire to see the best in Indian thought, that it is permissible to ascribe to Professor Hopkins himself one slight injustice of estimate. Rāma's treatment of Sitā on her recovery from Rāvaṇa he stigmatizes as 'full of base suspicion and incredible brutality,' though 'it represents to the Hindu the loftiest flight of virtuous honour.' Such a judgment reflects centuries of Christian insistence on purity of heart as against purity of body, and on the virtues of mercy and compassion; it makes no allowance for an age which believed that on the king depended the prosperity of the realm, even in matters physical, and which feared, therefore, drought and disaster from any impurity in the royal line.

Dissent, however, on these minutiae is of no consequence in comparison to the debt which we owe to Professor Hopkins for his stimulating and fascinating study.

EDINBURGH

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

THE NEW WORLD MISSIONARY ATLAS

WORLD MISSIONARY ATLAS. Edited by HARLAN P. BEACH, D.D., and CHARLES H. FAHS. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research. \$10. London: 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 42s. 1925.

THIS is a remarkable piece of painstaking labour and a standard work of missionary statistics. One of the editors, who has devoted to it three or four years of an unusually busy life, has already written a short survey of the manifold and laborious processes which preceded the publication.¹ I need not, therefore, dwell on them. It is one of the indispensable tasks, I should almost say obligations, of Protestant world missions to give an account of themselves from

¹ 'On Making a Missionary Atlas.' Charles H. Fahs. IRM, 1925 (Apr.), pp. 260-73.

time to time, and if the only outcome of such a statistical survey were a comparative table, like that published on p. 76, showing the normal and rapid growth along all main lines of missionary activities, such labour would be amply repaid. Missionaries all over the world will take courage and continue their work with fresh confidence.

	1903.	1911.	1925.
Foreign staff . .	15,288	20,333	29,188
Residence stations .	2,980	3,761	4,598
Native staff . .	72,752	102,948	151,735
Communicants . .	1,235,303	2,344,829	2,783,494
Elementary schools .	23,539	30,100	46,580
„ pupils .	1,059,696	1,283,774	2,165,842

The substantial volume is in five parts. In an atlas we look of course first at the maps; we are surprised and cheered to find a set of maps almost completely new and, taken together with the many insets, almost double the number in the former editions. It is true that this time, too, ready-made maps of the famous Edinburgh Geographical Institute had to be used to a great extent; but an incomparably greater and better collection to choose from was at the disposal of the editors, and by the almost profuse use of insets, many of them specially prepared for this Atlas, that shortcoming, if shortcoming it is, has been counteracted. As far as we have been able to study the maps at the time of writing, we find them quite adequate for general missionary information. Individual societies will, in many cases, like to have more specified maps for their own fields. A general atlas can never completely supply that need. As every mission station is, however, exactly given, in most cases with a good background of orographical situation, lines of communication and population, most missionary students will feel quite at home on the fields of their own Church.

Part I is the Directory of Missionary Societies. In this, as in the other parts, the valuable and illuminating introductory remarks should be carefully read. They initiate the reader into some of the perplexities of the work. What are missionary societies? In many cases they are not societies at all, but church boards or groups interested in a particular piece of work, or aiding a missionary or a number of missionaries, or boards having many other responsibilities in other fields. What should be included? what excluded? In a directory, exactness and completeness are fundamental requirements, and we

think both are met in a remarkable degree. We have, in glancing through these fifty-three pages, wondered why in Scotland (p. 43) the Church of England is dealt with separately from the Episcopal Mission, or why in Germany (p. 48) the Society of the German Adventists is left out. Yet there may be divergence of opinion about the advisability of that entry. On the summary table, p. 69, the income of the Danish missions is rightly given at 2,433,207 Kroner, yet the dollar exchange should be \$501,483.96, not \$5015, and the English sterling should be changed correspondingly. This mistake, due we understand to a slip in proof-reading, is the only one we discovered in these pages crowded with details. Dr Martin Schlunk has once been given correctly as 'Missionsdirector' (p. 46A), and once as 'Missionsinspector' (p. 49A). This is again merely a slip.

Part II comprises statistical tables. They are the masterpiece of the volume. Some readers will know something of the perplexities and problems of giving an appropriate statistical survey of real conditions on the world-wide mission field, the widely divergent interpretation of the term 'foreign missions,' the different statistical rubrics of societies with differing ecclesiastical character, the unavoidable indefiniteness of terms such as 'native constituency,' the rapidly changing emphasis on indigenous Churches instead of on the foreign staff, the advisability of avoiding changes in a fixed statistical form which would make comparisons with former editions impossible or misleading, the divergent requirements of different fields which yet must be brought under common denominators, and so on. The editors have coped with these and other difficulties in a really wonderful way. It is an advantage to have the African and Indian fields broken up into many sections, and we hope that in the next edition the same process will be used in the unwieldy Chinese mission field also, in spite of obvious difficulties.

In Part IV, pp. 181-210, on thirty closely printed, large pages, is condensed an enormous amount of indispensable information with regard to all the major mission fields, gleaned from the *Statesman's Year-Book* and other recent literature of high authority. Every reader should study the information these pages give on the countries and their population, their climate, languages, literature, education, government and religions. Here is a real gold mine of missionary information. Our only wonder is, why, in this concise and admirable abstract, no attempt has been made to give at least some paragraphs to the history of the missions in these fields.

For convenience in use the volume is provided with four indices ; one of missionary societies, a second with an alphabetical list of their initials, another, wonderfully complex, of all mission stations, and a geographical index. We have no hesitation in saying that this *World Missionary Atlas* is far superior to its predecessors, that it is a real masterpiece of statistical survey, greatly to the credit of American scientific research in this field. If it had been produced in Europe, the two editors would probably be granted the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. Our only regret is that the bureau of statistical research which has produced this fine piece of work is already broken up. Have we not arrived at the stage when a permanent statistical bureau for Protestant missions is an indispensable requisite ?

BERLIN

JULIUS RICHTER

A MAP OF AFRICA AND ITS TRIBES

ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP OF AFRICA. 94½ miles to 1 inch. W. J. W. ROOME.
 London : Stanford. In 4 sheets, 30s. Mounted on rollers, 50s.
 Mounted to fold and eyeletted for hanging on wall, 50s. Mounted
 to fold in cloth case, 55s. 1925.

THOSE who have known Mr Roome's work—first in Ireland and more recently as a secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Africa—are not surprised that it has found expression in a map. An expert draftsman who has traversed great parts of Africa, often on foot, with human interests at heart, could not fail to chart the territories he explored and list the myriad tribes whom he met. Utilizing for his purpose a four-sheet political map of Messrs Stanford, on a scale of less than 100 miles to an inch, he has superimposed upon it the names of African tribes (distinguishing those who have some portion of the Scriptures in their languages) and the places where Protestant and Roman Catholic missions are at work. Further he has indicated the areas which are already Moslem, and those which are being Islamized. Some useful inset maps have been added. Students of African affairs who have recently been enriched by the *World Missionary Atlas*, reviewed elsewhere in this number, and by the second Phelps-Stokes Report, *Education in East Africa*, will accord an equal welcome to Mr Roome's great map. The toil and cost which have gone to its production will yield an adequate return from students who must not be merely counted but weighed.

Mr Roome's map in seeking expression in three directions has, however, some element of disproportion in each. The tribal designations in blue indicate an amazing multiplicity of social or racial groups, but give no idea as to the numbers in each of them, or as to the strength, weakness or relationship of the dialects or languages in use. Red circles mark Protestant mission stations, but a careful comparison with the Africa maps in the new Atlas and with the text in the East African Report reveals some rather disconcerting omissions, especially, though by no means exclusively, in American work. Roman Catholic stations, which, of course, the Atlas does not show, do not in the map fully record even the imperfect information commonly available. At first sight the greenness of the map is arresting, but not only is that colour used for the squares and lines which indicate Moslem or Islamized areas, but in a ribbon-like strip for the territorial boundaries and also for Roman Catholic missions. This exaggeration of effect is heightened when the vast Sudan, with a population of one to the square mile, and the densely peopled Egyptian Delta are marked as Moslem in exactly the same way, and when in areas shown as being Islamized there is nothing to indicate how far the process has gone. To show all these gradations on a map, even on this generous scale, would be difficult indeed, but some printed statement to accompany the map would have averted the misapprehension of many and the criticism of some. Nevertheless frank recognition of these limitations in Mr Roome's remarkable map does not lessen our appreciation of its excellence, or our gratitude for a fine new tool wherewith to further the accomplishment of work for Africa.

WIMBLEDON

G. A. GOLLOCK

ARAB LIFE

THE ARAB AT HOME. By PAUL W. HARRISON, M.D. New York: Crowell. \$3.50. 1924.

ARABS IN TENT AND TOWN. By A. GOODRICH-FREER (Mrs H. H. Spocer). London: Seeley, Service. 21s. 1924.

ARABIA and the Arab are coming to their own. Since the war we have had two reprints of Doughty's great work, Philby's two volumes on *The Heart of Arabia*, a score of books on Mesopotamia, Palestine and Trans-Jordan; while Louis Massignon,

in the *Revue du Monde Musulmane* (vol. LVII) tells us that the Arab renaissance, by emigration and through the Arabic press, is the most important movement in Islam to-day. Here are two new books much alike in their theme and even in its general treatment and yet very different. Both give an intimate account of Arab life in the desert and the oasis, among nomads and city dwellers of Palestine and of Arabia, both volumes are the outcome of close first-hand observation for many years; and both are profusely illustrated. Mrs Spoer is an artist and uses her artistic eye, bright colours and a broad brush. Dr Harrison is a missionary surgeon who loves his patient enough to use the scalpel when necessary and is skilled in keen diagnosis. The twenty-two chapters of Mrs Spoer's book give a fascinating account of the family life of the Arabs of Syria, their children and women-folk, their boundless hospitality, their mental attitude, their domestic arrangements, as well as of the animals, the birds and flowers of their country. Nothing, however, is said of the chief religion of the people save two brief paragraphs that disparage the hospitality of the Christian as compared with that of the Moslem Arab.

Dr Harrison devotes four entire chapters to the rise of Islam and its empire, to the character of the Mohammedan faith and the 'five pillars' that strengthen it, to an analytic and sympathetic appraisal of Islam and a merciless comparison of its best with the worst of 'western heathenism.' The Arab of the desert (one of them looks out from the frontispiece, who might be Mohammed himself) dominates the scene everywhere—the lean, indefatigable, proud nomad with the eyes of a falcon, the frame of an athlete, hungry and often indescribably dirty, a vigorous Calvinist in his creed and a prince in his hospitality. We follow him to the tent, the market-place, the mosque, and on the scorched desert tramping with the dusty caravan; or rest with the dwellers of the oases at Riad and Hail; or join the pearl-divers and fisher-folk of the Persian Gulf in their perilous quest. Dr Harrison has spent thirteen years mingling so intimately with all these classes that his name is a household word, and loving them so greatly that they consider him one of themselves. It was not a bit of conceit, therefore, to dedicate his book to 'Abdul Aziz bin Saoud, Abdullah bin Jelouee and Abdur Rahman bin Sualim, three of my best friends.' We find the secret of this mutual friendship in the Christ manifested in a ministry of healing to those who are the victims of much ignorant cruelty in

surgery and of quack remedies. Many a touch of grim humour as well as pathos is found in these new pages from the *Arabian Nights*, and no doubt

the doctor who wants a job that will afford him opportunity for the finest sort of personal service, that will tempt him with all manner of problems that demand investigation, that will develop all the ability that he possesses, that will give him such a degree of public esteem as no doctor in New York ever enjoyed and such a professional reputation as no doctor in the history of the world ever deserved, such a man belongs out in the unoccupied fields of the world as a medical missionary.

What an appeal these two books would make to the undergraduate eager for life's adventure.

No mission field to-day has smaller visible results in converts than Arabia. The Arab mind and heart is still hostile to the Gospel. But where love abides faith is triumphant. Dr Harrison writes :

The missionary enterprise is not going to fail, and as it succeeds, as an indigenous Christian community slowly comes into being, the whole situation will change. That Christian community need not constitute a large proportion of the population. By the time it includes half of one per cent of the people, its example will have transformed the whole atmosphere of Arab society, will have given Arabia an altogether new ideal of personal and family and community life. . . . The Christian message that transformed the individuals of that community will eventually transform the whole social structure, and Arabia will take her place in the great brotherhood of nations, one of the most richly endowed of them all.

Two matters call for criticism where all else merits encomium. Mrs Spoer, for some reason or other, has a blind spot regarding the position of women in Islam and seems ignorant of both its cause and its result. No close observer would write a paragraph in praise of polygamy or deny the prevalence and evil of divorce. Dr Harrison's book is written in such a detached fashion that the reader is left in ignorance of the mission to which he belongs, of his colleagues and their work. Strangest of all, no reference is made to Doughty, or Shakespear, or Philby, who also penetrated the Arabian Peninsula and the Arab mind, and whose observations supplement and in some cases rectify the conclusions of one who occasionally is blinded by love in his fascinating chapters.

LONDON

S. M. ZWEMER

AFRICAN TRIBES

PYGMIES AND BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI. By S. S. DORNAN. THE VANISHING TRIBES OF KENYA. By Major G. St. J. ORDE BROWNE. MYSTERIES OF THE LIBYAN DESERT. By W. J. HARDING-KING. London : Seeley, Service. 21s. each. 1925.

TWO of these books introduce us to great African deserts and to their inhabitants, and the other to African tribes of which hitherto little has been known.

The title of Mr Dornan's is likely to mislead expectant readers. Why Pygmies and Bushmen ? The author believes Pygmies (who are predominantly broad-headed) to be substantially the same people as the Bushmen (who are markedly long-headed), but, whether he is right or wrong in this, there are no Pygmies in the Kalahari. Furthermore, Mr Dornan devotes only 167 pages out of 312 to the Bushmen (Masarwa) of that region ; the rest he gives to other tribes, only some of which are (in the words of the sub-title) 'neighbouring tribes.' All his illustrations of Bushman art are taken from the far-distant Matoppos and this was necessary, we presume, because there are no paintings in the Kalahari ; at least, he does not describe any. In short, Mr Dornan, while professing to deal with certain people in a given area, devotes a large part of his space to extraneous subjects. We wish he had concentrated on the desert peoples, for little is known of them, and what he tells us of other tribes is not new (and not always correct), and has been derived largely from printed books. We wish also that he had described in some detail his travels in the Kalahari and his methods of investigation. Beyond the fact that he speaks of writing down three thousand words of one dialect and some hundreds in another, we do not know the extent of his acquaintance with the Bushman tongue. It is really important to know these things in order rightly to estimate his facts and theories. What he tells of the Masarwa is extremely interesting, even though it does not penetrate much below the surface. We are not convinced that circumcision and other customs were borrowed by the Bantu from the Bushmen ; nor does Mr Dornan persuade us that the tales he transcribes are really of Bushman origin. One of them is, on the confession of the narrator, a well-known Chuana myth ; another could only be told by agricultural people, such as the Bushmen are not ; a third was years ago recorded substantially as here by M. Jacottet in his *Treasury of Basuto Lore* and bears no evidence

of derivation from the Bushmen. On page 311 a tale and translation are given in parallel columns; the vernacular is headed 'Hie' (i.e. a Bushman dialect), but it is really Sechuana, badly written or misprinted.

In spite of what we cannot but consider blemishes, we find much of deep interest in this book. From our own slight acquaintance with the Masarwa we took them to be a mixed people (Bushman-Bechuana), but Mr Dornan assures us that, except for some of the 'tame' Masarwa who have mingled their blood with Bantu, they are of pure Bushman stock. It has been thought, or taken for granted, that Bushmen provide an exception to the power of the Gospel to uplift the rudest of peoples. It is good to learn that Khama succeeded in taming numbers of them and that many of these are Christians, nominally at least. Mr Dornan gives them a high character for courage and loyalty, but they are dwindling fast; absorption or extinction, he thinks, is the only prospect before them.

The second book on our list is an excellent example of the contributions that are being made to ethnography by sympathetic government officials who are eager to study the Africans in order to rule them wisely. Major Orde Browne, who is now Senior Commissioner in Tanganyika, gathered his materials while he lived, 1909-1916, among the tribes inhabiting the slopes of Mount Kenya. These are 'vanishing' in the sense that they are becoming merged in their more important neighbours. Much valuable information about their manner of life is given on which we have here no space to comment. In a final chapter, 'Present and Future,' the author lets us see his concern about the rapid disintegration of the native social system under the impact of civilization. He quotes Gustav le Bon—'Les révolutions qui commencent sont en réalité des croyances qui finissent'; he drives home the moral: 'It is a dangerous thing to destroy one belief without substituting another for it'; and ends thus: 'A grave responsibility for the future development of a race rests upon all those, whatever their calling may be, who are now taking part in the great changes now influencing the tribes of Kenya.'

Mr Harding-King's subject is primarily geographical, not anthropological. His book is a graphic, even fascinating, account of three years' exploration in the Libyan desert—one of the last regions of Africa to be investigated. He is evidently a man of indomitable courage, great physical strength and extreme tact; without such qualities he could not have survived the hardships of desert travel

and the fanaticism of the Senussi. What he tells of the sand-dunes, the oases and the inhabitants is most valuable and interesting. We should like to quote, but must forbear. Kharga, the most easterly of the oases described, is the place to which Nestorius was banished, 435 A.D. A large Christian necropolis and several mud monasteries in the neighbourhood still remain in a fair state of preservation. When, one wonders, will the Church of Christ reoccupy this outpost and press on into the other oases of the great desert?

It only remains to add, seeing that our space is exhausted, that all three books are finely illustrated. Messrs Seeley's series, to which they belong, grows apace, and in their brightly-coloured bindings its volumes make a handsome and useful addition to one's library.

WALTON-ON-THAMES

EDWIN W. SMITH

THE RACE PROBLEM

THE MENACE OF COLOUR. By J. W. GREGORY, F.R.S., D.Sc. London: Seeley, Service. 12s. 6d. 1925.

THE title of this book is likely to convey a mistaken idea of its contents. It is not a sensational appeal to race prejudice, but a dispassionate study of racial problems by a writer of high scientific attainments who has travelled extensively in Asia, Africa, Australia and North America. Nearly a third of the volume is given to a summary of the facts bearing on the relations of white and black in the United States. It would be difficult to give within the same limits of space a better or clearer presentation of the main facts in the situation. A much briefer treatment follows of Asiatic immigration into the United States, the problems of South America and the race question in Africa. A chapter of only four pages is given to Asia. The chapter has the unfortunate and misleading title 'The Menace of Asia.' It does not represent the real standpoint of the author, who was a member of the Calcutta University Commission, and who is not lacking in sympathy with the peoples of Asia or in appreciation of their civilization. The three following chapters, occupying another third of the volume, are concerned with the white Australia policy and the question whether white men can colonize the tropics. A chapter on the results of racial intermixture and a summary of conclusions complete the book.

Professor Gregory has a first-hand acquaintance with most of

the countries of which he writes. He possesses broad human sympathies. His attitude, unlike that of many writers on the subject of race, is that of a detached scientific observer desirous of ascertaining the facts. If his conclusions are not very definite, that is because the questions he discusses are so complex and our knowledge in regard to many important matters so incomplete as to make easy, ready-made solutions impossible. His aim is to make people think, and the book contains abundant food for thought.

Professor Gregory's main conclusion is that intercourse between individuals belonging to different races should be encouraged to the greatest extent possible, since the progress of mankind requires the harmonious co-operation of all peoples, but that races in the mass should be kept as separate as possible, since friction is inevitable when dissimilar people meet in competition for their daily bread. Where such geographical separation is impossible and two different races have to live side by side in the same area, as in the United States, no solution of the difficulties seems to be in sight. The idea of racial fusion is vehemently repudiated by the great majority of white and black, and the biological reasons against it are too weighty to be ignored. The practical difficulties of any plan for the geographical segregation of the two races appear to be insurmountable. The policy of keeping the two races distinct while each develops its own life independently on a basis of equality of opportunity seems doomed to break down in practice. The argument against allowing such conditions to arise, where they can be prevented, was clearly and forcibly stated by Herbert Spencer more than thirty years ago in a letter in which he expressed his disapproval of Chinese immigration into the United States. 'If the Chinese,' he said, 'are allowed to settle extensively in America, they must either, if they remain unmixed, form a subject race in the position, if not of slaves, yet of a class approaching to slaves; or if they mix, they must form a bad hybrid [i.e. from the biological standpoint]. In either case, supposing the immigration to be large, immense social mischief must arise, and eventually social disorganization.'

The conviction that the attempt of two diverse races to live side by side in the same territory is bound to lead to friction and unhappiness makes Professor Gregory a strong defender of the white Australia policy. If his book has an object, it is to vindicate that policy. But the appeal throughout is to reason and not to

passion, and is therefore to be welcomed, whether one agrees with the argument or not, as contributing to a rational treatment and solution of the problem.

The author maintains in the first place, that there still exist in the world, and not least in Asia, large areas of fertile land which have not yet been developed. In South America seventy per cent of Brazil has a population of less than five to the square mile. In Asia, Siberia, Mongolia and Manchuria are sparsely populated. Large parts of Northern Burma have a luxuriant soil with a population of only fifty-seven per square mile, while the population of Baluchistan is only eight per square mile. There are also large fertile areas in the Eastern Archipelago waiting to be developed. Professor Gregory argues that so long as this is so no charge can fairly be brought against Australia for allowing part of its territory to remain undeveloped. Secondly, he adduces evidence to show that owing to the poverty of the soil, insufficient and unseasonable rainfall and remoteness from markets, the development of the more barren areas of Australia must be slow and costly, and that the obstacles are so great as to make the effort by any race worth while only after other more favourably situated areas have been brought under cultivation. Thirdly, he advances the thesis that the common view that the tropics are unsuitable for colonization by the white race is unfounded. In support of this contention he brings together a remarkable body of evidence in a chapter which is the freshest and most striking in the book.

It is inevitable that in the discussion of a subject of such wide range and of so controversial a character there should be assertions that are open to challenge, as, for example, the statement that the increase of population in Africa is the fastest in the world. This may be true of South Africa, but as regards Central Africa the evidence seems to point in quite the contrary direction. But disagreement with some of the author's statements and judgments does not diminish our gratitude for a book which, by the collection and lucid presentation of important data, helps towards a better understanding of one of the greatest and most difficult problems of our time.

J. H. OLDHAM

LONDON

TIBET

TO LHASA IN DISGUISE: An Account of a Secret Expedition through Mysterious Tibet. By W. MONTGOMERY MCGOVERN, Ph.D. Illustrated. Maps. New York: Century Co. \$5. London: Butterworth. 21s. 1924.

TIBET: PAST AND PRESENT. By SIR CHARLES BELL. Illustrated. Appendices. Maps. London: Milford. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 24s. 1924.

THIS book contains a record of an adventurous journey. Dr McGovern has succeeded where many others have failed; he has reached Lhasa in spite of the Tibetan guards.

In the first part (Chapters I–V) we read of a first attempt undertaken by four men, including the author, which was not crowned with success and came to an end at Gyantse. The rest of the book (Chapters VI–XXV) contains an account of the author's second attempt, when he was not accompanied by other Europeans. The reasons for his extraordinary success were his excellent knowledge of the Tibetan language and customs, his readiness to be satisfied with the simplest fare and the position of a Tibetan caravan servant, and the fact that he crossed one of the high and dangerous passes at a time when it was practically closed by snow and not guarded. As an account of travel and adventure the book is excellent, full of vivid descriptions of people and scenery.

Now, we ask ourselves, what is the scientific gain to the reader? We are interested to hear of Tibet's latest development as a modern state, with a standing well-equipped army, with postal, telegraph and telephone services. But what is to be found under the headings of literature, history, language and so on is very meagre. Of the most important temples of Tibet we learn very little. We hope that the second volume, promised by the author, will contain a more detailed account of physical geography, anatomical measurements and Tibetan Buddhist philosophy. Friends of foreign missions, of which the author does not tell us much, will be delighted to read of the tribute he pays to Dr Graham of Kalimpong, of whom he writes: 'Dr Graham is the uncrowned king of Kalimpong, the arbiter and dispenser of justice even to those not inside the Christian fold.'

The title of Sir Charles Bell's book is in a way misleading. The reviewer supposed that half the book would treat of the past and half of the present state of Tibet. Of the past we hear but little.

The author speaks of modern Tibet as seen during his long residence in the country as British Political Representative. As the author of a grammar of colloquial Tibetan and an English-Tibetan colloquial dictionary, he is qualified to be the interpreter of Tibetan ideas.

Chapters VIII to XXVII deal with the most recent Tibetan history, as shown by their titles: British Military Expeditions, Administering the Chumbi Valley, a Visit to the Tashi Lama, Chinese Ascendancy, the Dalai Lama's Flight to India, the Present Dalai Lama, the Simla Conference, Autonomous Tibet. To these are added fourteen appendices containing the texts of treaties.

Although this book tells a little more about Tibetan customs, literature and so on, than the preceding, it does not give all the information about the country which one would expect. For instance, the author did not make use of his exceptional opportunities to visit the famous Tibetan temples. Of these we know practically nothing. One or more were inspected by Nain Singh and other explorers. It is now high time that this pandit's descriptions should be verified. Grünwedel has translated a Tibetan account of Lhasa and its temples. Would it not be interesting to hear that a European, a friend of the Dalai Lama, had walked through Lhasa and identified all the places mentioned in the Tibetan account? Again and again the assertion is made that the ancient Tibetan temples are still in possession of Sanskrit manuscripts. Has a European seen them? Nothing of all this appears. With regard to the appendix, it is exceedingly interesting to see that translations of two of the ancient stone edicts of Lhasa are given. However, when the reviewer began to study them he was disappointed to find that the author's investigations had been carried on without any knowledge of Waddell's and Bushell's previous work. During the British Mission to Lhasa in 1903-4, Colonel Waddell took rubbings and readings of all the ancient stone edicts of Lhasa that he could find, and his texts and translations were subsequently published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. A discussion was then carried on in various English and French journals. Now the inscription given on p. 271 is the very one which has been discussed most vehemently. A rubbing of it was published by Bushell as long ago as 1880. Then it was translated by Colonel Waddell and the present reviewer in 1910-1. Bushell had correctly fixed its date as 822 A.D. Waddell erroneously altered this and put its date back in the eighth century. Then the discussion

of British and French scholars led to the re-establishment of the year 822 A.D. as the correct date of the record.

The photographs given in the book are all good ; of particular interest are those of the inscription pillars, the Kesar temple and the Kashmir embassy. It is a pity that the text does not tell us anything of the interesting mythological personality of King Kesar, nor of the services celebrated at his temple. Is the latter a Buddhist or a Bonpo temple ? The so-called Kashmir embassy is the continuation of the former biannual embassy sent to Lhasa by the kings of the ancient West Tibetan Empire, whose capital was Leh.

With regard to missions, one is sorry to read on p. 264 :

These missions have relied on Chinese military protection, and have seemed to the Tibetans to preach their beliefs under cover of the Chinese rifles. . . . They have thus come to be identified by the Tibetans with Chinese interests.

We hope that this does not hold true for Protestant missionaries, who trust in the Lord and not in armies.

BERLIN

A. H. FRANCKE

AN INTERNATIONAL HYMNAL

CANTATE DOMINO. (World's Student Christian Federation Hymnal.)
Geneva : 16 Boulevard des Philosophes. F. 3. 1925.

THIS is a most interesting first experiment. What community other than the World's Student Christian Federation would venture—to what other body would it even occur—to get out a trilingual, nay a multilingual, hymnal and to make the choice of its tunes as international as that of its hymns ? Though the hymns number but seventy in all, great must have been the labour in producing three versions, in identical metres, of each one of them, so that every hymn can be sung simultaneously by the whole of every international gathering (including 'the Third,' let us hope, one day). The first version given of each is in the language of the nation which supplied the tune, whether English, French, German, Roumanian, Hungarian, Swedish, Finnish, Norwegian, Esthonian, Polish, Russian, Danish, Dutch, yea or Lettish and Japanese.¹ The other two versions are any two of the Big Three (English, French, German).

¹ The only exception we have noted is Portuguese (no. 13). Poor Portugal ! Why ?

Thus are polyglots and virtual monoglots provided for, the curse of Babel eluded and the blessing of Pentecost relatively secured.

It was to be expected that the music would present features of unusual interest, with such unusually rich sources to draw upon. We should like to call the attention of our hymnal compilers and revisers to the following: Nos. 3 (Haydn), 5 (the great 'Lobet den Herrn' to Catherine Winkworth's translation), 11 (Swedish, no English has been supplied to this number), 12 (a Chorale), 14 (our old friend the Judas Maccabæus march, used here for a triumphant Easter hymn with great effect), 20 (in this form, the form in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* being consigned to the perdition it merits), 24 (Hungarian), 26 (German, of the nineteenth century), 33 (Martin Shaw), 34 (Silesian), 36 (Russian), 39 (Haydn), 51 (Finnish), 53 (Esthonian), 56 (Roumanian), 59 (French—we suppose this to be the Genevan setting of the 42nd Psalm). We have here already named sixteen out of seventy tunes, and most of the remainder, not expressly named here because of the familiarity of most of them, are of acknowledged excellence. Two tunes under great names (Sibelius, Grieg) disappointed us; and we cannot see that 'Praise to the Holiest in the height' has been improved by the abandonment of Dykes' fine tune. It is very odd that the only tune that has found the compilers at a loss is the perfectly well-known Vaughan Williams, no. 25. In this overwhelming company we poor English must watch jealously our scanty laurels. Another point of interest is the restoration to their original forms of tunes like nos. 15 and 40 (our somewhat mutilated 'Sun of my soul'). A few numbers are altogether too much like anthems for our liking, in an essentially simple congregational manual of this sort. No. 55 is on all grounds thoroughly out of place in this company as misrepresenting Indian Christianity, or any other Christianity. Its annexation from Miss Small's collection strikes us as unintelligent, for the scope and basis of the latter was wholly different from *Cantate Domino*; and the vision of the incurable optimists of our Student Movements, sympathetically cooing the dismal pessimism (thoroughly Buddhist and non-Christian) of this song, suggests the ludicrous. One other criticism before we leave the music: in the great majority of cases marks of expression have been dispensed with. But the few exceptions are marked on a system which strikes us as novel, weird and wonderful, *forte* being let loose in the middle of *piano* in a manner that seems inexplicable; see, for example, no. 3

(the italicized words represent these sudden claps of *forte*), 'Our thoughts lie open to *Thy sight*,' 'Nous nous jugeons à ta *clarté*,' 'Die ist nicht unser Denken *nur*' ; and no. 34, where we get 'Marien Sohn,' 'vins icibas,' 'of Mary *the Son*' ; and in no. 36, where, after an immense crescendo starting from *forte*, we find ourselves at the end still at *forte* ! All these, we think, might well be expunged in the next edition.

Coming to the words, it seems to us that the difficulties of translation have been courageously grappled with. We notice, not with surprise, that German is supremely successful in translating English hymns (especially, as was natural, George Matheson's Hegelianisms in nos. 8 and 28—contrast the total failure of the French). The brunt of the translational work into English has fallen on R. Birch Hoyle, and though his work varies very much in value it is worthy of thanks. Nos. 32, 39 and 51 are perhaps the most favourable examples ; less favourable are 18, 20, 22, 30, where there are serious and essential mistakes in regard to the scheme of syllables and rhymes. In 18, for example, it was fatal to rhyme lines 1 and 2, 3 and 4 instead of alternate lines, and to make the endings of lines 1 and 3 'masculine' instead of 'feminine.' In 22, 'rosy dawn,' 'turn their eyes,' 'righteousness,' present us with similar solecisms. And no. 56, 'The Lord is for us ris'n indeed,' is dreadfully heavy and dead exactly where spring and life are imperatively needed. Finally, no. 20 already possessed a superior version.

It will be seen that we greatly appreciate this little book, and that our criticisms in details are intended as possible contributions towards its improvement in the next edition.

W. H. T. GAIRDNER

CAIRO

CONVERSION

CONVERSION, CHRISTIAN AND NON-CHRISTIAN: a Comparative and Psychological Study. By ANDREW CLAIR UNDERWOOD, D.D., London: Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d. 1925.

THE theologians are coming steadily, if slowly, to realize that two new factors of immense significance have to be taken account of in all their constructions. These are the comparative study of religions on the one hand and the study of psychology on

the other. The former has enormously extended the range and variety of external facts which the student has to correlate and explain; while the latter baffles him by the subtlety and complexity of the contribution that it brings. The investigator, we may say, has been furnished simultaneously with a telescope and a microscope, and it need not surprise us that these gifts have been received with resentment by many into whose well-established methods of study they have brought confusion. But the readjustment will have to be made and it is being made. These new instruments do not discover for us any shorter cut to truth; they make the road rougher and they make it appear longer. But at the same time they make more manifest than ever the fact that there is a road—a highway on which the human race is on its march to God. Neither this telescope nor this microscope shows us God, but both show us more vividly than ever the agonies and exultation with which men have sought and are seeking Him.

This book by Professor Underwood adopts a method of study which is an almost inevitable consequence of these facts. It adopts the method of fragmentation. There is a distinct loss when a great subject, such as the relation of man to God, has to be decentralized and dealt with section by section. But when the Christian experience has to take its place in investigation beside the wide variety of non-Christian religious experience, the necessity of narrowing the field becomes evident. It is all the more necessary that the student should remind himself continually from the midst of a multitude of mental states that God is in and above them all. 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills.'

In the first part of this volume Professor Underwood has gathered together an interesting variety of examples from many religious contexts of the experience which we call conversion. He then proceeds to study their psychological significance and especially the mechanism that produces or seems to produce this change. Finally he compares and estimates the value of the experience as the evidence presents it, concluding that Christianity possesses 'the promise and potency of the highest type of conversion, because Christian conversion is a reaction in which Christ is central.'

Disquieting questions arise in one's mind as one pursues such a careful study as we have here. How far, for example, are the accepted methods of mass evangelism in harmony with the claims of a spiritual message? When the evangelist marshals his forces to produce in his

'patients' a condition of hypnosis is he not dishonouring human personality? The choice of God must be, if God is to be worthily chosen, a choice of reason and not the mere effect of organized mass suggestion. Professor Underwood examines these and other problems with full knowledge and discernment. The end at which we arrive, when we have cut our way through a thicket of perplexities, is that such conversion experiences, whether in Bengal or in Wales, are to be judged by their intrinsic value; and when that value measures itself against Krishna it is one thing, when it measures itself against Christ it is another.

The one criticism that we would make on Professor Underwood's book is that he might well have reduced the number of his examples and then scrutinized them more closely. He has the great advantage of a personal acquaintance with the non-Christian *milieu* in India. This makes it easier for him in a study in which he is, as he says, a pioneer, to make his way among the facts which he arrays with a sure and steady step.

POONA

N. MACNICOL

SHORTER NOTICES

The Moslem World in Revolution. By W. Wilson Cash. (London: Edinburgh House Press. 2s. 1925.) The title of this book is well chosen as it admits of many interpretations. Present movements in the world of Islam are gyroscopic in their swiftness and diametrically opposite tendency, with the result of unstable equilibrium. The author passes in review the new influences that are reshaping Islam from within and from without: the shattering impact of the war, the iron-and-clay of peace treaties, the Bolshevik ferment, new nationalism, feminism, European materialism and scepticism, and the reactionary forces of the old Islam. His outlook is perhaps too optimistic, but this is pardonable in a study text-book for the rank and file. The changes are indeed startling. The Moslem world in transition undoubtedly offers a new opportunity to the Church to redeem her past neglect and make a bold advance everywhere. The author does not protrude his authorities, yet acknowledges his indebtedness to them and to the findings of the recent conferences and surveys. We regret, where all is so good, to point out an important inaccuracy. The Ahmadiya movement is in no sense connected with Mohammedan mysticism (p. 65), but is rather an attempt to rationalize Islam.

S. M. Z.

Whither Bound in Missions. By D. J. Fleming. (New York : Association Press. 1925.) Professor Fleming is an expert teacher, as his previous books have shown. In this his sixth volume he uses his Indian experience and wide knowledge on behalf of the home Church and more particularly of its younger members. His aim is to bring the conception of the missionary movement which prevails at home into line with actual modern facts. He supports the view that the first need is not that of getting more men and more money for old work, but 'the catching of God's leading in new ways.' In twelve chapters, thick set with illustrations from life, wide ranges of burning questions—such as the western attitude of superiority and the hindrance of a divided Church—are discussed. The book is full of challenge and will call out healthy reactions. But there is growing need for another volume, as thoughtful and as fresh, stating not one side only but both. Dr Fleming writes to dislodge presuppositions and marshals his evidence to that end. Material selected to discredit time-honoured fallacies and lay bare racial weaknesses may be true, and yet lack the poise of full-orbed truth. What has been called 'the pendulum method' in missionary education has done good service, but its day must pass. Will Dr Fleming give us, for example, a study, four-square and well proportioned, of the part which western civilization plays in the world to-day? Men will best learn to loathe its exploitation and its evil when seen against the record of its fruit in human welfare—the opening of communications, the irrigation of deserts, the improvement of agriculture, the conquest of disease, the enlightenment of an ever-spreading education and the growing emphasis on personality. The citation of western civilization as synonymous with Christianity may well be repudiated as erroneous, but there is danger lest in the recoil from it the manifestation of Christianity through certain aspects of that civilization should be denied.

My African Reminiscences, 1875–1895. By W. P. Johnson, D.D., Archdeacon of Nyasaland. (London : U.M.C.A. 4s. 1924.) This book will disappoint readers who look for an ordered presentation of a busy life given in vivid terms. The pages contain simple personal recollections, often admittedly blurred by lapse of time, of the early days of the mission and innumerable journeyings to and from the coast and round Lake Nyasa. Unlike the author's previous volume, *Nyasa, the Great Water*, there is little actual interpretation

of African thought, and only in two significant passages (pages 128-30, and 221-5) are larger missionary problems discussed. But two things emerge which will not soon be forgotten. One is the character of the man himself, shown in a thousand unconscious touches, and the spirit of the group to which he belonged. The other is the amazing and reassuring contrast between the lake and coastal regions of his reminiscences—when wild Angoni and slave-raiding Yao fought each other and ceaselessly harried the mild Nyasa on the lower ground—and the same regions as surveyed, for instance, in the recent Report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission to East Africa. Shame for things left undone by Europe in Africa when mingled with recognition of the fruit of honest effort are the strongest stimulus to advance. Those who quail as they shoulder the burden of trusteeship for Africa should certainly read this book.

Missionaries and Annexation in the Pacific. By K. L. P. Martin. (London: Oxford University Press. 6s. 1924.) This small volume recalls that by Mr Allen Young entitled *Christianity and Civilization in the Pacific*, reviewed in these pages in July 1922. The earlier volume dealt mainly with New Guinea; the later treats rather of Tahiti, New Zealand and Fiji. While both books commend themselves to truth-lovers as arranging carefully collected facts, there is, as Mr Martin suggests in his preface, a difference in the writers' general point of view. Where Mr Allen Young saw the best of things Mr Martin's tendency is in the opposite direction; with unenviable ingenuity he lays bare the darker side. This lessens the value of a conscientious and well-documented essay. The books illustrate the old couplet:

Two men looked out through their prison bars;
One saw mud, the other stars.

The Expectation of Siam. By Arthur J. Brown. (New York: 156 Fifth Avenue. 1925.) Any addition to the small number of books on Siam is welcome: one by the Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, New York, has an interest all its own. Except for some Roman Catholic organizations the American Presbyterians are the only society at work in Siam. After a long and chequered history, and a noble succession of devoted men and women, the mission, with a staff of nearly a hundred American missionaries and close on five times that number of Siamese evangelists

and teachers, plays no small part in the life of the country. There are fifty organized churches, numerous schools, hospitals and dispensaries, a leper asylum and an active printing press. But Dr Brown is too skilled a writer to offer a mere record of work ; by lively incident and graphic description he sets before his readers the charm and possibilities of the land and its people, calling out sympathy and desire for their good. In a word, he has given us not only a mission study book ; he has given us Siam.

G. A. G.

Om Sydindiens Rövarekaster och deras Religiösa Värld. (The robber castes of South India and their religious world.) By Johannes Sandegren. (Stockholm : Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bok-förlag. Kr. 6. 1924.) It is a curious fact that there exist so few monographs of different Indian castes describing their religion, social habits and history. The author of this book has taken up for examination an interesting and important group of South Indian castes, the robber castes. They occupy a high place in the social scale and are the followers of an original Dravidian religion in the process of being amalgamated with one of a distinctly different nature, that is, of Aryan origin, or rather the Aryan element of Hinduism. Though the author treats specifically of the robber castes, much of what he says applies with equal force to many people outside the pale of these castes, as the process described is affecting and has long affected the great mass of the middle classes of South India. His analysis has therefore a large bearing on actual religious life in general, especially in the Tamil country. The author is a missionary of the Church of Sweden Mission, and has spent almost his whole time since 1907 in and near the Madura district, where the robber castes here described chiefly live. He has brought to this examination the keen observing eye of the missionary and a thorough knowledge of literature relating to the subject.

H. S.

Prisoners Released : The Redemption of a Criminal Tribe. By C. Phillips Cape. (London : Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. 1s. 1925.) The uninitiated might suppose that the robber castes of the preceding book and the criminal tribe of this would occupy much the same social position. He would be wrong. While those have a good social standing, these have none at all. 'There are outcastes who will fondle a pig but refuse to touch a Dom who needs their help.' These vividly written chapters show

the Dom in his original environment in Benares, and in various stages of his progress as a pilgrim towards the Celestial City.

Fifty Years in Foreign Fields: China, Japan, India, Arabia. By Mary E. A. Chamberlain. (New York: Woman's Board of Foreign Missions, Reformed Church in America. \$2. 1925.) This Jubilee history of woman's foreign missionary work comes to join a little group of similar histories of other woman's boards, having their roots in the latter half of last century. The story is traced in five sections through the decades from 1875-1925, each section closing with a summary of work, at home and abroad, during the decade under review. At the end is a complete list of missionaries of the board from the beginning. The book is fully illustrated, and on laying it down one is fain to turn again to take a last look at two portraits, that of the first president of the first woman's missionary organization in America—out of which this board developed—and that of the first president of this board. Studying those two faces one loses all sense of surprise at the record of work begun under their care and guidance; faithful service and rich fruit were only to be expected.

Year Book of the Churches, 1924-5. Edited by E. O. Watson. (New York and Baltimore: Stohlmann. \$1.50. 1925.) Previous issues of this 'handbook of ready reference for facts to be found nowhere else in such form' have established it as a most useful production. Published for the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, it contains directories of religious bodies, inter-church and international organizations, army and navy chaplains; summaries; statistics and general information on religious organizations including missionary societies. The ease with which the reader can obtain information is the result of much study and labour in bringing it together in this handy form.

Making a Missionary Church. By Stacy R. Warburton. (Philadelphia: Judson Press. \$1.75. 1924.) This book presents an answer to the question how to get missions into the thought and work of the local church, and begins with the training of the pastor. The Training of Church Officers, The Church-school Curriculum, Keeping Informed, Prayer for Missions, Organizing a Missionary Church are some of the following chapter titles. The author is

nothing if not practical—resourceful might be a better word—and his pages are full of plans for winning the interest of young and old. Suggestions for reading are appended to nearly every chapter; among those at the close of ‘Keeping Informed’ appears ‘the daily newspaper.’ The preface states that ‘all the plans described have actually been tried with success,’ which should be an encouragement to any who think to take this book as a guide.

Forces of the Spirit: The Seed and the Nations. By Frank Lenwood. *The Road to Christendom.* By Kilda T. Jacka. (London: Student Christian Movement. 2s. 6d. each. 1925.) How should men proceed to live if they want to bring in the reign of God? The first book sets out to examine this question. ‘The only way that will really help us is the way that leads to a society founded on the Christian standard,’ declares the second book. Both are addressed primarily to students, and both point out quite clearly that the troubles—political, economic, racial—of the world to-day exist largely because men have not built on a foundation of Christian standards. Conversely, the establishing of Christian standards will demand a way of life, an attitude to other men, far other than what has come to be accepted as sufficient. What is this way of life and how it may be attained are indicated in words which challenge and force one to think out afresh what it is to be Christian.

Atonement: A Play of Modern India in Four Acts. By Edward Thompson. (Contemporary British Dramatists. Vol. xviii. London: Edward Benn. 5s. 1924.) Bearing in mind the warning in the preface that this is a play and not propaganda, one can read on without heat. Nationalism—speeches inciting to lawlessness—misdirected religious fervour—rioting—murder—swift and stern punishment—afterthoughts, such is the course run by the play. The *dramatis personæ*, Indian and English, are familiar enough figures (with perhaps one exception) to anyone who knows an Indian district, although they can hardly be said to be typical. Two of the characters, Ranade and Thorp, are quite recognizable under the thin disguise of altered names. No doubt the play reflects what some, perhaps many, are thinking and saying in these days, and in any case it presents food for thought in a new and arresting form.

M. M. U.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

PROFESSOR RAOUL ALLIER, A.Ph., D.D., formerly professor of philosophy, is now Doyen of the Faculty of Theology in the University of Paris. He is President of the Committee of the Paris Missionary Society. It is with sincere pleasure that we present to our readers the story of the origin of his important work on the psychology of conversion among non-civilized races, now nearing publication. The article was written in French and the translation has been revised by the author.

Professor JOHN CLARK ARCHER, B.D., Ph.D., chairman of the Department of Missions in the Yale University Divinity School, has for some years been making experiments in the missionary education of the home Church. His article embodies the results of his experience.

The future of Christian education in China, on which Mr T. Z. Koo wrote in the April issue of the Review, is dealt with in this number by President HAROLD BALME, F.R.C.S., D.P.H. (London), of Shantung Christian University, who has had unique opportunity for estimating the position in China, and by Mr F. H. HAWKINS, LL.B., one of the foreign secretaries of the London Missionary Society, who was a member of the recent Conference called in New York to discuss the action of western mission boards in view of the present situation.

The Rev. NICOL MACNICOL, D.Litt., who has belonged to the United Free Church of Scotland Mission in Poona since 1895, is already well known to readers of the Review. His article in this number contains—to quote his letter—‘the cream of his experience up to date.’

The Rev. R. O. HALL is one of the long succession of men who have followed Douglas Thornton in leadership in the British Student

Movement as a prelude to service abroad. Having been missionary secretary of the Student Movement since 1921 he goes shortly to China as an honorary missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel but in direct connexion with the National Y.M.C.A. of China and its student work.

The Rev. G. MATHEW THOMAS has qualified himself to discuss questions regarding the growth of the rural Church in China by service under the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in the Hupeh province of China since 1909.

Miss ALICE WERNER, whose works on East African subjects are widely known, is professor of Swahili and other Bantu languages at the School of Oriental Studies of the University of London.

The writers of book reviews are : the Rev. James L. Barton, D.D., a foreign secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and a recognized authority on Turkey ; Mr Arthur Mayhew, well known as a former Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces, India, now a master at Eton College ; Dr A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt., Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at Edinburgh University ; Professor Julius Richter, D.D., holding the Chair of Missions in Berlin University, co-editor of the *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift* ; the Rev. Samuel M. Zwemer, D.D., of Cairo, Editor of *The Moslem World* ; the Rev. E. W. Smith, literary superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, formerly a missionary in Northern Rhodesia ; Dr A. H. Francke of Berlin University, formerly a missionary of the Brüdergemeine (Moravian) on the borders of Tibet ; the Rev. W. H. T. Gairdner, Canon of Jerusalem and Secretary of the C.M.S. Egypt Mission ; and the Rev. N. Macnicol, D.Litt., of Poona, who also contributes an article.

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In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Professor J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Manchester), Professor Arthur Jeffery (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepeleyn (Denmark), Missionsdirektor Dr M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Rev. E. W. Smith (London), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingfors) Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Rev. Martin Westling (Stockholm), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 480.

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(LXX¹, ²), 2-19; 43-55. 476.

†UIT DE MALEISCH-SOENDANEESCHE-JAVA-
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477.

See also 327, 337 (China); 347-54 (India);
364 (Moslem World); 367a, 368 (Education);
378 (Congo); 388 (South Africa); 391
(Foreign Students); 396 (Asia); 408
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XIII. Hortatory and Practical

†DER MISSIONSGEDANKE IM ALTEN TESTA-
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ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die Evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JIR = *Journal of International Relations*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*

MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NAMZ = *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR = *National Christian Council Review*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

PUBLIC HEALTH AND THE TRAINING OF DOCTORS AND NURSES IN CHINA

By ROGER S. GREENE

IN considering the state of public health in a country like China which has a civilization and economic organization quite different from our own, there is danger of exaggerating the significance of certain unhealthful features of life in such a country and of minimizing some dangers to life and health in our own country to which we are so accustomed that we either fail to think of them at all, or regard them as matters quite outside the range of what is ordinarily called hygiene and public health. Sometimes again we attribute our freedom from certain diseases to superior knowledge, when our immunity is due more to geographical and climatic conditions. It is necessary, therefore, to be very cautious in attempting to make any comparative statement regarding progress in public health in two countries so different as China and the United States.

The Chinese people, as a result of experience of more than three thousand years of life in civilized communities,

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have learned a great deal about how to adjust themselves to their traditional environment. Take the matter of nutrition which is beginning to play so large a part in modern hygiene. I am inclined to think that the diet of the ordinary Chinese in moderate circumstances is on the whole more rational and contains a better balance of necessary elements than the diet of the ordinary family in similar circumstances in this country. The condition of the teeth of children and adults is probably better among Chinese than among Americans, when allowance is made for the lack of facilities in China for repair of teeth.

Rickets, which in its early stages is common among children of even comparatively well-to-do people in the United States, appears to be much less frequent among the Chinese, partly perhaps because there is so little artificial feeding of infants. The children of the poor are probably protected also by their habit of playing about in the sunshine in warm weather with little or no clothing to keep off the healthful rays of the sun. While many Chinese who can afford to do so use alcoholic beverages, they appear to be on the whole more temperate than Americans or Europeans, and drunkenness is comparatively rare among them. This national characteristic is an important health asset.

It has been only gradually, since Pasteur's discovery of bacteria sixty-one years ago, that we in the West have been learning how to protect ourselves against infection by bacteria and animal parasites contained in articles of food or drink. The Chinese from their experience have developed certain customs which have undoubtedly served to lessen the harmful effects of such organisms. Their habit of drinking tea or hot water when they can get it, instead of cold water, has certainly saved many lives in a country where the wells and surface water are so generally polluted.

The hookworm is common in China, but in many regions where the infection exists it is so light that in the opinion of competent investigators it is not a serious public health problem as it is in some parts of the United States and in

certain limited areas in China. The reasons for this local immunity have not been fully worked out, but it may be due in part to the very general wearing of shoes in the case of adults and to care in the disposal of human wastes.

The Chinese have been comparatively free until lately from the losses due to automobile and railroad accidents, and to the injuries to which workers in modern factories are subject. When we consider that in 1923 about 10,402 people in the United States were killed in railroad and industrial accidents, and that in 1924 about 19,000 people were killed and 450,000 injured in automobile accidents alone, we must recognize here one group of health problems with which we ourselves have not yet learned to deal effectively.

For thousands of years there has been an elaborate system of medicine in China. When we compare it with our best medical science of to-day it seems very crude, and it undoubtedly includes the use of many drugs and other treatments which have no real value. Some of these treatments do harm. There are, however, in the Chinese pharmacopœia many remedies which are recognized by modern medical science as valuable, and we do not have to look very far back into the nineteenth century to find our own doctors employing nearly as many useless drugs and treatments as the Chinese employ to-day. The greatest defect in the traditional Chinese system of medicine was in its ignorance of the structure and functions of the human body. Though our doctors of a hundred years ago did not perhaps know much more than the Chinese about the use of drugs they did know a great deal more about the human machine which they were trying to repair, and this knowledge probably enabled them to study their cases more thoroughly and to avoid more mistakes. Even to-day, however, many Chinese who have had a foreign education are dubious as to the superiority of western medicine. There is some reason for this attitude, for most foreign doctors in China have had so many patients coming to them, and until lately so little modern equipment, that they have not been able

to give to all their cases the careful study they required and consequently have not represented modern medicine at its best. In surgery the situation is quite different. The Chinese have known little about the subject, and have consequently been very ready to acknowledge the superiority of the western practitioner.

I hope this introduction may serve to show that, though modern medical science has much to contribute to China in both the treatment and prevention of disease, a complacent belief in the superiority of all our knowledge and customs relating to health as compared with traditional practices of the Chinese is by no means justified, and may even prevent us from being as effective as we might be in our efforts to help the Chinese people.

Diseases and conditions unfavourable to the health of the Chinese may be divided into two groups.

First, those diseases and conditions which existed in China before the beginning of foreign intercourse. Here the West has after all a great contribution to make, especially through placing at the disposition of the Chinese people the best scientific medicine of to-day, which is largely the product of the last sixty years of medical research. In spite of all that has been said regarding certain wise customs of the Chinese, the fact remains that there is much suffering in China which modern medicine can alleviate or prevent entirely. Parasites of various kinds entering their victims in all sorts of ways do a vast amount of damage. Most of them have existed in China for an indefinite time. The life histories of some of them have been worked out in other countries, and in certain cases simple methods of prevention and cure have been found. The same is, of course, true of many diseases caused by bacteria. In the past minor accidents and local infections, which would have been comparatively simple to deal with if they had received early attention, have developed into serious conditions that required surgical skill of a high degree for their cure, and such skill has been available at only a few places.

The second group of conditions dangerous to health is made up of those that have followed intercourse with the western world, and are largely due to that intercourse. Among these the accidents caused by the use of modern machines in industry and transportation must be mentioned. Even in countries accustomed to the use of such machinery accidents are numerous. In China, where most of the people are unfamiliar with power machines, automobiles and railroads, and where there is no efficient regulation either by the government or by labour unions, injuries from such causes are naturally frequent.

Closely related are the dangers due to the gradual substitution of large-scale factory industry for the small shop in the home of the employer, resulting in undue crowding and excessive speeding up of work, with the attendant evil of exploitation of child labour in factories. It must not be assumed that there was no child labour in China under the old régime, but in the home shop or on the farm the danger of abuse was less. In a country where labour is cheap and plentiful and capital is dear, the temptation to save money by avoiding what are often considered unnecessary luxuries in the way of improved buildings and safety devices is great.

The attempt to make education available to larger numbers of people, and to organize great schools and colleges after western models, has often resulted in crowding children and young men and women into unsanitary classrooms and dormitories where communicable diseases do much more damage than in the old days when the teaching of the few who aspired to an education was done mostly in the homes and in small village schools.

Foreign intercourse has brought in some new diseases and modern transportation has tremendously facilitated the spread of epidemics which in the old days would not have travelled so far nor so fast as they now do. Scarlet fever, for example, is considered a relatively modern importation, and it frequently appears in China in a much more virulent form than is common in the United States. The

greatest plague epidemics have been imported, the bubonic form by steamers and the pneumonic by rail in the extreme north, though pneumonic plague is probably endemic on both sides of the Russo-Chinese border. Cholera also travels largely by steamer and railroad and its outbreaks occurring every few years, especially near the coast and along the great rivers, do an immense amount of damage. Opium, which in some parts of China has done much to undermine the health of the people, was either unknown or a relatively unimportant factor until it was brought in by foreigners and virtually forced upon the Chinese people.

I have gone in some detail into the new dangers to public health in China, because we bear a particularly direct responsibility to the Chinese people for these evils which have been caused in part by foreigners who have gone to China to profit by the introduction of western goods or modern methods, and in some degree even by those whose purpose has been to help the Chinese by bringing to them the Christian religion or a modern education. If statistics could be presented as to the number of promising Chinese students and young teachers who have died of tuberculosis or have been incapacitated by it, I fear it would give us all a gloomy picture of one aspect of our western activities in China. This much is certain, that many administrators of foreign schools in China have been seriously disturbed by their own experience in this respect, and that they are endeavouring to give more attention to school hygiene than in the past. The pity of it is that those responsible for policy and for the supplying of funds too often fail to realize this need and are unwilling either to provide the money for health measures or to restrict the work to what can be done under proper conditions with the limited sums available. Even those of us who are engaged in medical enterprises need to be constantly reminded of our duty in this matter.

Having taken this necessarily incomplete survey of the health conditions in China let us consider what has been done to deal with the situation.

Medical work in China or in any other country may be divided into four main categories: research, education, prevention and cure. Study first of the diseases and conditions encountered and then training of personnel, doctors, nurses, and their helpers of various kinds for the ultimate work of prevention and cure of disease would seem to be the logical order of procedure, but it was not the order actually followed in China and possibly not the natural order.

So far as we know, western medicine was first brought to China in 1805 by Alexander Pearson, a surgeon of the East India Company, whose duty was to care for the employees of the company at Canton in the extreme south of China. He and some of his colleagues and successors, being humane men, did what they could for some of the Chinese sick about them. The first medical missionary to China was Dr Peter Barker, who arrived in 1834. In the following year, in co-operation with Dr Thomas Colledge of the East India Company, he opened the Canton Hospital, which is still in existence to-day having completed ninety years of service. Miss Elizabeth McKechnie of the Women's Union Mission at Shanghai was probably the first trained nurse in China. She arrived in 1884, just fifty years after the first missionary doctor.

During the nineteenth century nearly all the emphasis was laid on the treatment of the sick, the immediate relief of the suffering which the medical men saw all about them. Most of the work was done by medical missionaries except in the larger ports, where doctors who had come out primarily to look after the foreign communities gave in many cases a large part of their spare time to work among the Chinese. Few if any Chinese then went abroad to study medicine, and there was practically no teaching of medicine in China until the latter part of the century.

However, as soon as the Chinese gained confidence in any foreign physician, they began to come to him in such numbers that he was swamped and began to feel keenly the need of assistants. The foreign doctors had early begun

to train boys, usually of the servant class, to help them in minor ways, and here and there they began to translate medical books and to conduct regular classes for these helpers, some of whom became quite efficient as surgical assistants and could eventually perform many minor operations alone. Sometimes two or more doctors combined to organize schools in which students enrolled for a course lasting in some places as long as six or seven years, during which a large part of their time was given to nursing patients and assisting the doctors in the examination and treatment of their routine cases. It was really a kind of apprenticeship such as doctors used to serve in western countries. There was at first little or no laboratory work and no dissection or autopsies, in other words, practically none of the scientific foundation for clinical studies which in the United States now occupies at least two years of college work and two years in the medical school proper, but the students had more experience in practical work with patients than students in the poorer medical schools of the United States at the beginning of this century. Where there were enough doctors to give more systematic instruction, somewhat less hospital work was required of the students and the course was reduced to four or five years. In 1881 Dr Kenneth Mackenzie of the London Mission at Tientsin, who had made a great impression on the famous viceroy, Li Hung-chang, by curing his wife of a serious illness, was entrusted with the organization of a government medical school at Tientsin which still exists and is, probably, the best of the schools under government auspices to-day.

But all of these schools were poorly equipped and inadequately financed. None of them was able to turn out men equal in training to their teachers or capable of much further professional development after graduation. The dominant idea was to turn out men who could proceed as quickly as possible to help in dealing with the immediate suffering that was to be seen all about. A few of the men so trained became useful assistants to foreign doctors, some attained fairly

high official position, but as medical leaders one rarely heard of them. Their fundamental education in the sciences was too meagre to enable them to grow, and their consciousness of inferiority too often made them jealous of men better trained than themselves.

The part taken by women in this development had not been particularly conspicuous up to the end of the century. China was still under the old régime and there were few advanced schools of any kind for girls. But here and there as devoted practitioners in mission hospitals women doctors and nurses had played their part in bringing about what was perhaps the outstanding result of sixty-five years of medical missionary work. Their work and the work of the men similarly engaged had dispelled the suspicions of the communities which they served, and had created a very general appreciation of western surgery and to some extent of western medicine among the people in the more accessible parts of China.

In the latter part of the century four Chinese women who had studied medicine in the United States returned to China and began work among their people. These were Dr Yamei Kin of Ningpo, Dr Hu King-en of Foochow, Dr Mary Stone and Dr Ida Kahn of Kiukiang. I do not know of any of the older Chinese men doctors then working in China who could be compared with them in efficiency or in influence. Each of them organized hospitals for women and children which would compare favourably with many mission hospitals conducted by foreign physicians, and they were unusually successful in winning the confidence and support of their own people. They furnished a striking demonstration of the importance of a sound education for the preparation of Chinese leaders in medicine. It was beginning to become clearer that if modern medicine was really to take root and spread in China more attention would have to be paid to finding and training for leadership a few men and women of the very highest type, even at the cost of producing somewhat fewer of the old kind of half-nurse, half-doctor

who could do a good deal to alleviate present misery but was quite unable to go further, and was more likely to slip back.

Early in the twentieth century the situation was radically changed. The Boxer disaster had convinced the Manchu government that after all there was something in western education and it proceeded to send great numbers of students abroad, particularly to Japan. It also organized modern schools at home. There was generally a more open-minded and friendly attitude towards foreign ideas and methods. Some of the government students took up medicine, and on their return organized medical schools in which a few Japanese professors were often employed. Unfortunately, on account of the scanty training of the Chinese teachers and administrators in these schools, and in part on account of the inadequacy of the general educational system to prepare students for scientific studies, these schools have not yet accomplished much.

Missionary educators began to appreciate the necessity of higher standards, and since all the existing schools could not expect to secure many more teachers or much more liberal financial support they began to combine into a smaller number of union schools at strategic centres in which two or more missions co-operated. It was no longer necessary for one or two teachers to give the whole of the medical curriculum, but a certain amount of specialization was possible which showed results in the quality of the teaching. The movement became so strong that some of the smaller union schools again merged themselves with others. Thus during the last ten years schools at Nanking, Peking and Hankow have combined to form a very creditable medical school at the Shantung Christian University at Tsinan, and two years ago this union was joined by the North China Union Medical College for Women, making it a co-educational institution.

Of medical schools exclusively for women there are now only two that are worthy of consideration, the Hackett Medical College at Canton under the auspices of the American

Presbyterian Board and the Woman's Christian Medical College, a new union enterprise at Shanghai which is the successor of a school formerly conducted by the Southern Methodist Mission at Soochow. In the past the women's schools, like those for men, have had difficulty in getting and keeping an adequate number of qualified teachers, especially in the fundamental sciences. The new union school at Shanghai appears to be better off in this respect since it has secured wider support.

Union of some sort has come to be regarded as an economic necessity because of the scarcity of all the requisite elements—teachers, properly prepared students and funds, but there is not yet agreement as to whether the division between the surviving schools which it is decided to maintain should be on the basis of sex, or whether schools for men and women having similar educational policies and serving a common territory should be merged by deliberate adoption of the policy of co-education. The women interested in the North China school advocated the teaching of medicine through the medium of the Chinese language and were unwilling to send students to the distant school at Shanghai where the teaching is to be in English. They accordingly united (see above) with a school for men in the north, teaching in Chinese. The supporters of the Shanghai school on the contrary feel strongly that men and women should be taught medicine separately, and that all who are interested in medical education for women in China should support one or two schools for women only, no matter where the schools are located.

Co-education in China is a new experiment, but it can fairly be said that the idea is becoming popular and that there is little or none of the prejudice against it that exists in many institutions in this country. It may seem strange that this should be so in a country like China that is commonly, and to some degree rightly, regarded as conservative. We must remember, however, that the revolution in China was not merely an external political phenomenon but that there

has been also a real revolution in the thinking of great numbers of the people, especially in the student body. That an idea is new is no longer an objection but rather a recommendation. There is even a tendency to regard Americans and Englishmen as conservatives who are disposed to retard progress in religious, social and political thinking. While there are doubtless many conservative families which would dislike the idea of co-education for their daughters, many of them would be dubious about giving their daughters any education at all outside the home. Of those parents who are willing to make the break with tradition involved in sending their girls away to school at all, many apparently think little of the further step involved in sending them to a school attended by men.

Thus far co-education in medical schools has caused no difficulties apart from the necessity of maintaining a special dormitory for women. The problem is simplified by the fact that most of the students are animated by a serious professional purpose, and this is particularly true of the women, who would hardly have succeeded in getting their parents to support them through an expensive college and medical school course unless they had possessed considerable firmness of character.

Nearly all the best medical schools for men in China now admit women as students on equal terms with men and also include women among their teachers. At the Peking Union Medical College there are 9 women students this year, besides 14 in the preparatory department. At the Shantung Christian University there are 18 studying medicine and 10 in the preparatory course. The co-educational schools have more teachers and are on the whole better equipped and financed; their educational standards are probably higher than in the schools exclusively for women, being quite as high as those of some Class A medical schools in the United States. All this naturally makes an appeal to many of the more ambitious women students in China, just as similar considerations draw the majority of women medical students to co-educational schools in North America.

The schools for women have had a small registration, averaging in recent years about 10 to a class at Canton, the oldest school, and 5 at Peking, prior to the union of the latter school with the Shantung Christian University. Five students have been admitted to the first class of the new Shanghai school. Too much significance should not be attached to these figures since the recent establishment of higher standards has prevented large enrolment at all the better schools. At the Peking Union Medical College the classes now average 12, at Shantung 20, and at the Hunan-Yale school 9, both men and women being included in these figures. Nevertheless with classes so small the maintenance of each separate school becomes a matter for very serious consideration.

Experience with Chinese men and women who have studied abroad and with those who have been graduating from the better schools in China during the last few years justifies the belief that the Chinese are as capable as any people of becoming efficient and devoted medical practitioners. A few of them have even done brilliant work as teachers and investigators. At the best medical school in China two heads of scientific departments this year are Chinese, and a Chinese is acting as superintendent of the hospital to the entire satisfaction of the foreign staff. A Chinese woman is in charge of the chemical laboratory of an important hospital in Chicago, directing a staff of seven or eight American assistants. At a recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science a paper which she presented on some of her researches was given an important place on the program, and was received with respect by some of the most eminent physiologists of the country.

During the recent fighting around Shanghai, Chinese surgeons of the Red Cross Society of China for the first time organized the work of caring for the wounded with little assistance from their foreign colleagues and acquitted themselves most creditably.

With such facts in mind foreign leaders in medical educa-

tion in China are more and more coming to believe that their greatest opportunity for usefulness is no longer in trying to deal with the immediate needs of the sick and suffering of China or in training Chinese to become merely assistants or practitioners of a second-rate kind. It is obvious to anyone who stops to consider the matter that foreigners can never accomplish much by such a program in a country of four hundred million people. Their only hope of rendering an important and lasting service is to devote their energies to training men and women of the very best type, some of whom may become leaders among their own people. We cannot expect that the Chinese government or private persons will contribute largely to the maintenance of medical schools and hospitals until such institutions are largely staffed and managed by their own people. Until that time western medicine must be largely an exotic product. When the Chinese, some of whom we may hope to train, are themselves leading in the establishment of medical schools, and when they begin to make important contributions of their own to the development of medical science, we may be confident that modern medicine is at last acclimated. After its roots are once deep in the soil of the country it will begin to propagate itself without further foreign help. Then our small efforts will begin to produce a constantly increasing return in the greater health and happiness of the Chinese people.

Nursing in China has lagged far behind medical practice, and this is not to be wondered at when we consider the experience of other countries. At the time when the first medical missionaries went to China, nursing as it is known to-day did not exist there. Some of the older doctors, even down to recent times, had no proper comprehension of what good nursing meant, and were unwilling to give a superintendent of nurses the authority and the sympathetic backing which she needed to make her work effective. As a matter of fact hospitals in the true sense of the word did not exist in China in large numbers until quite lately. They were for the most part simply hostels where patients could live

near the doctor while under his care. In many of them the hospital provided merely a room and a bed or, in the north, a raised platform at one end of the room on which the patient could lie. The patient brought his own bedding and clothing, his own food, often his own fuel also. If he were not very sick he did his own cooking, and if he were not strong enough his friends or relatives who came with him cooked for him, often in the same room, the smoke from the fire being led through a flue under the brick bed and thus helping to warm the room in winter. The sanitary arrangements were much the same as in the houses of the people round about, in other words extremely primitive. The ordinary nurse in a place like that was almost helpless and did not know where to begin to work. If she tried to change methods she found that there was no money with which to make the necessary improvements, she encountered local prejudices and suspicions both real and imaginary, and sometimes became so discouraged that she gave up in despair, leaving the doctor somewhat relieved by the departure of such a disturbing element.

Eleven years ago there were about 140 foreign nurses in 244 mission hospitals in China, while the total number of doctors was nearly 450. About three-fifths of the hospitals had no real nursing service at all, as there were practically no Chinese nurses sufficiently trained to take charge of the nursing service themselves.

Since then the number of nurses trained abroad, still mainly foreigners, has increased to about 250, but, what is still more important, a great impetus has been given to the training of Chinese nurses in China. By the end of 1924 some 561 Chinese nurses, of whom 350 were women and 211 men, were members of the Nurses' Association of China, all of them having been granted the diploma of the Association for studies completed in China except a few trained abroad. Nearly all of them have come from mission hospitals which in general have higher standards of nursing than any others. Some of these locally trained nurses are quite as efficient as

some of the foreigners in mission hospitals, though most are not yet able to carry quite such heavy responsibilities. Adding less adequately trained nurses who have not been granted the diploma there are probably between 1500 and 2000 at work in China to-day. This is an insignificant number for a population of 400,000,000, but it shows great progress when we consider that the Nurses' Association was not organized until 1909.

There is an active demand for the service of these graduates. Most of them are absorbed by hospitals which need a still larger number of graduate nurses, but in a few large cities some are engaged in private nursing from which they secure returns that are unusually high considering the salaries commonly paid to educated Chinese women for other work such as teaching.

Ninety training schools, in which about 1500 students were registered, were recognized by the Association last year. A three years' course is required, but actually many of the schools take four years on account of the fact that they are obliged to receive pupils whose previous education is insufficient to enable them to complete their training in three years. Admission requirements are irregular, varying from the equivalent of completion of a grammar school course to a standard equal to that of graduation from a good high school. All are required to pass the same examination before they receive the diploma of the Association.

Doctors share with the nurses in teaching the students of nursing, and in a few schools held in hospitals with medical schools some of the scientific courses are taught by members of the medical faculty who specialize in those subjects, so that a high standard of instruction is assured.

Male nurses are still being trained in most schools connected with hospitals where men are received as patients, and most of the nursing in the men's wards is done by men. Not all nurses in China are satisfied with this system. A few hospitals are training women only and since it is possible to supplement the nursing service with good orderlies it

seems likely that in time most of the highly skilled work in the men's wards will be done by women nurses. One great objection to the men nurses is that they have a tendency to set themselves up in practice as doctors after a few years of experience. It is also felt that they take somewhat less interest in the welfare of their patients than the women nurses. For the present, however, a good class of men is entering the schools, and many of them are rendering satisfactory service.

The Nurses' Association exercises a stimulating influence on nursing education, not only through its examinations but through biennial national conferences, local branches meeting more frequently, through its quarterly journal published in both Chinese and English, and through visits of inspection made by its officers. Since 1922 one of its members has been giving all her time to the work of the secretary's office. The Association has also arranged for the translation and publication of a large number of nursing textbooks. In 1923 it was admitted to the International Council of Nurses, and it was represented at the conference held at Helsingfors in the summer of 1924.

Public health work hardly exists in China as yet. The Nurses' Association is a member of the Council on Health Education, which was organized by the Chinese and foreign medical associations with the help of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. The Council is engaged in educating the public on health matters through articles furnished to the press, illustrated lectures, demonstrations of school hygiene, maternity and child health centres and other similar methods. A few Chinese and foreign nurses have taken special training in public health nursing in the United States and a gradual development of this work may be expected.

The various government offices as yet do little for public health except in the matter of removal of refuse. In this respect great progress has been made in cleaning up some of the cities. The streets of Peking are more systematically

cleaned than those of some American cities, and even in the poorest neighbourhoods there is usually less rubbish lying about than in some parts of New York.

In Manchuria there is a plague prevention service which is responsible for dealing with emergencies like the great epidemics of plague and cholera, besides conducting hospitals at a few strategic points.

At Peking there is a government laboratory for the preparation of vaccines and serums and for doing diagnostic work. This promises to be a very useful institution.

A half dozen Chinese doctors have taken public health courses in the United States. Some of them are now teaching hygiene in China and it is to be hoped that before long they will be able to start some demonstration of real public health administration.

ROGER S. GREENE

THE CONGRESS ON CHRISTIAN WORK IN SOUTH AMERICA

By ROBERT E. SPEER, D.D.

THE Congress on Christian Work in South America which met in Montevideo, Uruguay, March 29 to April 8, 1925, brought together representatives of practically all the evangelical agencies which are at work in South America. It was called a Congress rather than a Conference because the word *Conferencia* in South America means not what it means with us but a single lecture or address. It was called a Congress on Christian Work rather than a Missionary Congress because, as will appear, it was primarily a Congress not of missionaries or missionary secretaries but of the national evangelical Churches, or native Churches as the South American members of the Congress often called them (rejecting the term 'indigenous' because that meant the aboriginal Indians and not seeking to enter into rivalry for the term 'national' with the Roman Catholic Church, which in some of the South American countries is still the official national Church). It was called the Congress on Christian Work in South America, rather than Latin America, because it covered South America alone and not the whole Latin American world. It is planned in 1926 to hold a similar Congress, probably in Havana, for the Latin countries about the Caribbean Sea.

South America itself presented a field of study of sufficient magnitude and diversity. In area the continent is as large as the United States, including Alaska, plus the whole of Europe. Brazil alone is nearly as large as Europe and is larger than Australia plus Germany. And Colombia, which is one of the smaller countries, has an area equal to Germany, France, Holland and Belgium combined.

In population the entire continent is less than two-thirds the size of the United States or about once and a half the population of France or Great Britain. Part of the magnitude and complexity of the economic and religious problems of the continent is found in the disproportion of its population to its area and resources. The population of Japan is about equal to that of all South America, but Japan is only one-third the size of Venezuela which is one of the smallest South American countries.

And the problem of South America is as diverse as it is huge. One of the revelations of the Congress was the reality and the extent of this diversity. So much has been said of the Latin American mind and spirit and its attitude and ideals that many had assumed that there was a substantial unity justifying such utterances. And in the development of Christian co-operation it had been expected that the Congress would result in some new form of continental action. It was made very clear, however, that neither Latin America nor South America can be truthfully conceived in these unitary terms. Brazil in area, language, development of the evangelical Churches and schools, is in a situation of its own. The three republics of the Rio de La Plata as another district group differ among themselves and differ from all the rest of South America. There are wide diversities between the East and West Coast countries and on the West Coast itself the differences are equally great. The national types differ throughout South America, due to diverse ancestral stocks and to diverse social conditions, while the widest diversities are found between countries like Uruguay and Chile where the social and economic movements are far advanced, and countries like Bolivia and Colombia where they have not begun. Indeed the delegation at Montevideo from Colombia and Venezuela said that they felt they were in a strange world and that it was clear to them that their relations lay with the other Caribbean countries and not with South America. In the relation of the State to the Roman Catholic Church and to religion

the South American countries present also the widest possible divergencies, from the Concordat between the Church and the State in Colombia, which gives the Church a great political and educational ascendancy, to the complete severance of relationships and the abjuration of church influence in Uruguay, with half a dozen intervening stages in Peru, Chile, Argentina and other lands. If ever a Congress was needed to think out and provide for the fundamental unities of interest and duty of the evangelical forces in neighbouring lands, and also their diversities and distinctions of task and responsibility, it was needed at this time in South America.

The Congress was one of many outcomes of the effort of the evangelical agencies at work in Latin America to deal with their work effectively and unitedly. This effort was itself the result of the omission of work in Latin America from the consideration of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910. The American societies were at first strong in their conviction that the Latin American field should be included at Edinburgh, but they waived that conviction, or at any rate they refrained from insisting upon it, in view of what they believed were the largest interests of the Edinburgh gathering. Immediately afterwards, however, they proceeded to provide in a special way for the study and development of the work in Latin America. They held a special conference on the subject in New York in March, 1913, which appointed a small committee 'to deal with the whole subject of the work in Latin America and especially with the question of co-operation and to make any presentations they may deem desirable to the boards.' This committee, enlarged to embrace representatives of all the boards at work in Mexico, proposed the plans which the boards and missions subsequently adopted for the complete co-operative reorganization of the work in Mexico after its political and social revolution. The next steps were a communication from the committee to all the workers in Latin America, proposing a new program of co-operation especially in education and literature; the employment of a full-time

secretary in the Rev. S. G. Inman, who had been a missionary in Mexico and who was contributed to the committee by the Women's Board of Missions of the Christian Church; and in February, 1916, the Congress on Christian Work in Latin America, held in Panama, attended by 304 delegates and 174 visitors from all the Latin American fields, the United States, Canada and Europe. The Panama Congress began a new day of interest and activity in the Latin American field. It recommended the establishment of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America which was at once constituted by the boards at work in Latin America, each appointing its own representative upon the committee, and for nine years this committee has now been at work promoting interest in Latin America at the home base and co-operation and expansion in the work on the field. In its last report regarding its work the committee states :

During the eight years of its regular functioning the committee has adhered to its program of promoting co-operation in the various fields which come within its scope. The executive secretary has made repeated visits to the several fields, while the editorial and educational secretaries diligently promoted the interests committed to them. Dr Browning, the Educational Secretary, has travelled extensively throughout Latin America, including Mexico, lecturing before schools and universities both public and private, assisting the workers in organizing schools and courses, promoting joint educational enterprises, coming into touch with the cultured classes, and in general doing the work of an educational evangelist. At present his headquarters are in Montevideo, Uruguay.

Each year literature work becomes a more important element in the committee's program. Its main objective is the provision of more and better Spanish and Portuguese literature for the Christian constituency in Latin America. The services of one half-time and four full-time employees are required in addition to much time and attention from the executive secretary and the personnel of the executive office. Dr Juan Orts-Gonzales heads the staff engaged in this work. Principally occupied as editor of *La Nueva Democracia*, he corrects and revises the various manuscripts being prepared for publication and prepares material for sermon outlines and religious and secular press services which go out at least once a month. The production of Portuguese literature is handled in Brazil under the direction of Prof. Erasmo Braga, whose salary is paid by this committee. A comprehensive program is being steadily pushed forward.

La Nueva Democracia, the committee's monthly Spanish magazine, is the answer to the desire of the boards represented in the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America for an evangelist to the educated class of the Spanish countries. It is the only publication in Spanish that seeks definitely to place before the educated classes of Latin America the ethical and social aims of world Christianity. It continues to grow in circulation and in influence.

All the work of this committee has been directed and its expenses have been paid by the boards with contributions proportionate to the extent of their work in Latin America. A few co-opted members have been added and some individuals have helped financially, but the strength of the committee's work has lain in the fact that it has been the representative and responsible agency of the boards themselves for caring for their common interests and responsibilities. It was in the fulfilment of this task that the committee, in consultation and co-operation with the regional committees in South America, arranged for the Congress.

The plans contemplated a small congress of two hundred members, one hundred from South America and one hundred from abroad. As it turned out there were 315 in all in attendance, of whom 161 were full official delegates, 19 fraternal delegates, 10 invited guests and 121 visitors. Eighteen nations were represented, including all the countries of South America, one Central American nation, Canada, the United States, Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy and Switzerland. Of the delegates more than three-fourths were nationals and missionaries from South America, divided half and half. Thirty-six organizations were represented, practically all the organizations and denominations at work in the South American lands, including the Salvation Army, the Plymouth Brethren and the Seventh Day Adventists, the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the Waldenses, the evangelical Churches in France and Spain and all the American and Canadian Churches interested in South America.

It was a dominantly South American meeting. At Panama the great body of the delegates were direct from

the United States, the chairman of the day sessions was a North American, the language was English, what was said in Spanish and Portuguese being translated into English, and the discussions were for the most part conducted by the American delegates or missionaries. At Montevideo, the Congress was unmistakably Latin American. It was not held on American soil as in Panama but in Spanish America. The largest group of delegates was South American. The Congress had only one presiding officer and he was Señor Erasmo Braga of Brazil. The language of the Congress was Spanish, usually though not always summarized in English. Portuguese also was used, as the language of Brazil, but was not translated into Spanish nor Spanish into Portuguese. And the discussions of the Congress were almost wholly in the hands of the nationals and the missionaries, the foreign delegation speaking but seldom. It was clear to every one that this was a Congress not of the missionary boards but of the South American evangelical Churches. At first perhaps these Churches were not sure that this was to be the case but they quickly realized it and were cordial in their appreciation of the attitude of the missionary boards in taking the leadership in preparing for the Congress and making it possible and then leaving it fully in the hands of the leaders of the national Churches.

The main work of the Congress was in connexion with the commission reports and the findings. These reports were put together in New York but were made up of material prepared in South America under the regional or sectional committees. They were printed in English and in either Spanish or Portuguese so that they were accessible to all members of the Congress, as those who read Spanish could easily understand the Portuguese and *vice versa*. The reports took for granted the material presented in the reports at Panama and built upon these, but they also broke into new fields wholly untouched at Panama, illustrating the wider power and social influence, the surer spiritual and moral grasp of the evangelical Churches in Latin America

to-day. The subjects of the twelve reports were: unoccupied fields, Indians, education, evangelism, social movements, health ministry, the Church and the community, religious education, literature, relations between foreign and national workers, special religious problems, co-operation and unity. The missions in South America have always been primarily evangelistic. In Brazil for some years there was a strong missionary group opposed to the use of education as a missionary agency, except for the training of Christian workers, and at Panama the fear of the modern social interpretations of the Gospel was very manifest. At Montevideo the duty of making and keeping missionary education unequivocally Christian and the warmth and directness of the evangelistic purpose were as clear as at Panama, but the Churches and the missions were already laying hold of the great social conceptions of the New Testament and realizing with a fuller mind the significance of the Incarnation for human relationships as well as for individual life. One of the reports—on the Church and the community—sets forth as satisfactory and convincing a statement as we have seen of the necessity and possibility of a true construction of the two aspects of the Christian Gospel.

I have spoken of the findings of the Montevideo Congress. In this respect the Congress differed from Edinburgh and Panama. The workers in South America made it plain before the Congress that they desired opportunity not to discuss only but also to state the results of discussion and experience in definite conclusions. Provision was accordingly made for this. On two afternoons the Congress broke up into six groups. Each group considered two allied subjects of the twelve treated in the reports and drafted a series of findings on each of these subjects. These findings were gone over and revised by the general business committee of the Congress and were then printed and considered for a whole day by the Congress, which amended and adopted them. There were 106 of these findings in all. They were subjected to the criticism of all such actions as academic,

as too general, as counsels of perfection, as representing the balance of divergent views, as timid, as extreme, but they were of great value both because of what they showed to exist in the life and thought of the South American Churches and because of what they are sure to result in.

Perhaps attention should be called to the findings regarding the Indians and the relation of the Churches and missions to social movements. In addition to a full report on the Indians prepared by one of the commissions, the Congress had the benefit of the experience of a number of workers among the Indians and especially the invaluable help of Dr Horta Barbosa of Brazil who had been sent to the Congress by the Brazilian Government. Dr Barbosa is one of the best representatives of Brazilian Comtism, a man of noble spirit and devotion, who endeared himself to every one and who represents the finest attempt which any South American government is making to deal with the difficult problem of the native Indian population. On the West Coast there is in addition to this problem the equally difficult one of educating and developing the great mass of people of mixed blood with the Indian strain predominant. The following are some of the findings on the subject of the Indians:

The Congress is impressed with the work being done by some of the governments, notably that of Brazil, for the economic and social welfare of the indigenous races. It feels strongly, however, the urgency of auxiliary work by evangelical agencies for the Indians, with a view to training them to become self-supporting and self-respecting citizens of their countries, and in order that they may share with their fellow-men the full blessings of Christianity.

The Congress recommends that the regional committees on co-operation appoint Indian sub-committees which will work in close co-operation with the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America and with the Indian Commission which was recently organized in the United States.

The Congress recommends that mission centres for work among the uncivilized Indians should be established at points to be determined as suitable by the regional committees, and that these centres should be adequately equipped for extending their service into the surrounding territory.

The Congress would recommend that missionaries to the Indians, in the interests of understanding their problems as well as to win their confidence and be able effectively to express the Christian message, should acquire the native tongue, where permitted by law live among the people and bear in mind that while industrial, medical, agricultural, educational and social work are urgently necessary, the Indians' fundamental problems will never be permanently solved without helping them to a vital faith in Christ.

The Congress would place upon the heart of the national Churches the burden of responsibility for Christian work on behalf of the Indian races, and would urge that they seek in this service an outlet for the consecrated activities of their young people.

As already stated, there was a far more assured and adequate treatment of the social problem than at Panama or perhaps than has been the case in any conference thus far held in Asia or at home. A most instructive report was presented on the social movements now affecting South American life and at several sessions the Congress considered the question of the relation of the Churches to these movements. A few of the findings will indicate the result :

The Congress would express its deep interest in all movements, tending toward the application of the principles of Christ, for the improvement of the physical, mental, moral and social habits and standards of the members of the community and their environmental conditions and influences. There are many such movements seeking to raise the level of individual and community life.

Since Christ Himself made no unequal distinctions between men and women, the evangelical forces should educate public opinion to stand squarely for equal rights and duties of men and women before the law, and for an equal standard of morality in its highest interpretation.

It is urged that special study be given to the problem of immigrants (particularly in Argentine and Brazil) with reference to securing for them a wholesome environment and suitable opportunities for economic, social and spiritual development.

We rejoice in the growing social idealism of the university students of South America and the devotion they have shown in the practical application of their ideals, and recommend that the Churches take steps to establish closer working relationships with them in the solving of the social problems of the continent.

We recommend to all the Christian forces which are at work on the American continent that they make a study of the causes and cure of war, and that they both work and pray unceasingly that the spirit of

peace and the practice of justice may eliminate from the world, once and for all, the terrible curse of war.

Christ calls us to universal brotherhood. Peace in industry and among the nations, economic security for all, the elevation of the classes without opportunities, the development of backward races, the enrichment of all peoples by the free interchange of scientific and spiritual discoveries, the complete realization of our highest human possibilities—all await the recognition and practice of universal brotherhood. We therefore call upon all Christian forces to purge their hearts of all suspicion, prejudice and selfishness; to begin now to trust all men as brothers; to foster the spirit of good will in schools and Churches by voice and by pen; to challenge all sources of discord between national and international groups; to establish such personal contacts with men of different faiths and social status and national affiliations as shall become a leaven of brotherhood all over the continent; to study sympathetically the activities of men and women in other lands, in order that knowledge may banish suspicion; to become leaders at home in the development of a conscience whose touchstone is the Golden Rule of Christ.

While recognizing the existence in some cities of good hospitals, well-trained physicians and modern clinical facilities, we recognize the need of providing such health service in rural and other districts. Christ healed, taught and preached. Can we afford to omit one of the means which He used? Why should medical work be established in South America? Because tens of thousands of lepers on this continent challenge Christianity; because huge tracts in some republics are without a medical man; because many towns have no medical attendance, or, at best, the visit of a physician once or twice a year; because in a city of approximately a million inhabitants there is no children's hospital or special care for tubercular patients; because in at least one country six out of ten children die before reaching the age of two years.

In order to help remedy these conditions, it is recommended that there should be put into the field, under interdenominational auspices, a highly trained medical and health specialist for the following purposes: to make a thorough study of medical and health conditions on the South American continent; to formulate a far-seeing, comprehensive policy and program of development in health education on the basis of the study made; to serve as expert adviser on these matters to the church boards; to co-operate with the national health forces in extending their program and propaganda to the neglected masses; to train the missionary forces on the field for the work of health education and to foster the training of evangelical nationals for the service of health promotion.

The unity of mind and spirit which came to characterize the Congress and which led it to adopt the findings in a full

day's discussion, with but few amendments and with practical unanimity, was the more remarkable when one considered the wide diversity of types of thought, experience and organization represented. Some one stated that he had made a list of at least thirty divergent trends of opinion and temper. All who have had to do with work in Latin America know that this observer's list was very conservative. At first, perhaps, some feared that differences would prevail over unity but it was not so. The spirit of unity gathered up all diversity into a richer whole and the last morning of the Congress was the happiest and best, ending with a notable address by Bishop McConnell in which he drew attention to the underlying facts or assumptions of the Congress, that we are already one in spirit, that true Christianity and true knowledge belong together and that there can be no conflict between them, that the social program of Christianity is a natural and integral part of the Gospel, that in the distinctive problems of South America the South American Churches of course have to speak the determining word, that doctrinal differences are not to be allowed to thwart us, that our hope is in Christ and that He is to be found in the way of daily, steadfast duty.

Interlaced with the gravest problems of missionary policy which were discussed the Congress found and faced the deep problem of evangelical work in South America, the types of Christianity known to South America and desired or rejected by the people, the place of mysticism and beauty in the worship of the Churches, the attitude of the evangelical Churches to the Roman Catholic Church, the social, individual and spiritual problems of the Latin American nations. As a help in the understanding of these problems and especially in informing the delegates from North America and Europe regarding them, a number of representative men and women had been invited to the Congress, who, it was known, were in sympathy with the ideals for which the Congress stood (although some of these guests were members of the Roman Catholic Church and

others were members of no Church at all) such as Dr Molino, Rector of the University of Concepcion in Chile, Señor and Señora Salas Marchant and Dr Cora Mayers of Santiago, Dr Ernesto Nelson of Buenos Aires and Dr Barbosa of Rio. One of the evening meetings was called 'The Evening of the Open Heart' when these friends spoke with complete candour. At first some of the evangelical church leaders were distrustful of this arrangement but it was followed by an evening in which these evangelical leaders opened their hearts and by the end of the Congress I think all felt that the innovation had been well worth while and the visitors left with many expressions of affection from them and to them. It was clear that whatever separated, there were deeper things that bound together.

Among the side meetings of the Congress was one called by the nationals themselves to consider their attitude to the Roman Catholic Church and the matter of any deliverance regarding it. Some would have taken a very polemic position and indeed all recognized that whatever the attitude of the evangelical Churches might be, the Roman Catholic Church as such would not look upon the evangelical Churches otherwise than as outlawed schismatics, and would have no relations of co-operation with them. On the beautiful verdure-clad hill of Santa Lucia in the heart of Santiago can still be seen the tablet to the memory of the Protestant dead who have been buried there for half a century and who are described on the tablet as 'exiles from heaven and earth.' Officially that is the attitude of the Roman Church in South America toward the evangelical Churches and their members whether native or alien. But many of the nationals at this little meeting pointed out that with Roman Catholics as individuals they were sustaining increasing relations of understanding and intimacy and that their evangelical position in South America was too assured to make it necessary for them to apologize for it or defend it.

This is one of the two lessons which every one must have brought away from Montevideo, namely, first, the strength

and power of the evangelical Churches in South America, and secondly, the warrant and necessity for their presence and work. A word may be said on each of these points.

The evangelical Churches of South America are an actual reality, a part of the present indigenous life of the republics, as truly at home and national as any other force or institution on the continent. According to the statistics of the World Missionary Atlas (1925) the Protestant Churches in South America have a communicant membership of 122,266 with 2006 clergy and other workers. The Churches in the other Latin American countries of the Caribbean area have 65,146 members with 1871 workers. If Jamaica and the British Lesser Antilles and Trinidad were included, these islands would add 180,873 communicants and 2217 workers. These are not to be included as Latin America, however. In Latin America alone, accordingly, there are 187,412 Protestant communicants. In other words, numerically the Protestant Churches in Latin America are two-thirds as strong as the Church of England in Canada or more than twice the whole Protestant Church in China after the first ninety years of missionary work there among four times the population of Latin America. But the position of the evangelical Churches in Latin America is not to be measured numerically. Their influence, as in Japan, is out of all proportion to their present numbers, and that influence is increasing every year. The late Dr Jose Carlos Rodriguez, founder of the *Jornal do Comercio* of Rio and one of the most influential leaders of Brazil, who devoted the last years of his life to writing a great book on the Bible, once remarked to a visitor, to whom he was describing the dire needs of his country, 'And yet I see a hope but I am almost ashamed to tell you where it is. It is in the Protestant Churches which are multiplying in my land.' 'In our moral fight for temperance and purity,' said the outstanding leader of reform in another South American country during our visit, 'the Protestant Churches are our greatest religious ally.' In Brazil alone the communicants of the evangelical

Churches number nearly seventy thousand with more than double this number of adherents and with more than sixty thousand children in the Sunday schools. The name of these Churches stands for probity and character. And no one could see the Brazilian delegation at Montevideo and fail to realize that these Churches are entitled to a full place in the councils of the Churches of the world.

The second clear impression received at Montevideo and at the regional congresses in Rio, Buenos Aires and Santiago, which preceded and followed the continental Congress, is that Latin America needs and welcomes the forces represented by the evangelical Churches. The need is beyond exaggeration. Dr Nelson told the Congress plainly that the Christian Churches came to South America under a discredited banner. South America had learned to identify Christianity with the institution of the Church and had rejected both. This is true of a large section of the population. And that is in itself a revelation of the need of what Paul calls 'Christ's Gospel' in Latin America. These nations are facing all the destructive political ideas of the modern world. Argentina has a problem of immigrant assimilation and agrarian readjustment, Chile a problem of economic and social evolution, Peru and Bolivia a problem of popular education as grave as any nations in the world have to consider. The whole continent faces acute problems of physical and moral health and well-being. It needs every agency of help which it can secure. And it welcomes them. From every Latin American element, the governments, the press, the people, only a hearty welcome was given to the Congress and all for which it stood. And perhaps the heartiest words of all were spoken by the president of one of the leading South American republics.

The Congress began far more than it concluded. It called for a long list of co-operative services to be provided for directly by the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America or by that Committee indirectly through the regional committees on the field, three of which at least are already doing

good work, led by the Brazil committee. This committee is under the guidance of Señor Erasmo Braga, who with four languages at his command and with rare grace and wisdom presided over the Congress at Montevideo, and demonstrated the capacity of the leadership already developed in the evangelical centres in South America. In other words, this Congress, which was in the hands of the nationals of South America, instead of suggesting that the era of foreign missionary help was over, called for more of it than ever and gave indisputable evidence that such help offered in the true spirit of equal brotherhood and service is more desired than ever before. And it also proved that this help is deserved and may issue soon in South America in the full development of great national bodies fitted to render in South America the same sort of service rendered by the evangelical Churches in Europe and in the United States and Canada. No body will profit more by this service than the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America. 'The difficulty with the Roman Catholic Church in South America,' the ablest bishop in one of the South American countries is said to have remarked, 'is that here the Church is like a rich man's son. In the United States it has had to work for its living. Look at the difference.' There is every reason why the Churches of Great Britain and the United States should follow their sons who go to South America and try to hold them to the Christian faith and character. It is appalling to see how easily Christianity falls away from our young men when they go abroad. The Anglican and Union Churches which are seeking to serve and help these men deserve a far more adequate support. And whatever reason exists for the Churches in Great Britain and the United States to look after their own sons in South America is vital also as a reason for them to help the evangelical Churches of South America in their effort to bring the Christ of life and power to the place of leadership in the great struggle which is going on in Latin America.

ROBERT E. SPEER

AIMS OF AFRICAN EDUCATION

BY A. G. FRASER

I. AVOIDANCE OF DENATIONALIZATION

HOW are we to educate the African and yet see to it that we do not take him clean away from his people? It must be remembered that the schools are not the only nor are they the main factor in educating, and in denationalizing, the African to-day. Unless this is clearly remembered, our school policy is sure to go wrong. Take the Gold Coast for example. In 1905, the cocoa exports were seven thousand tons. In 1910 twenty-two thousand, in 1915, seventy-eight thousand, in 1920, one hundred and twenty-five thousand, last year, two hundred and twenty-three thousand. The whole of that cocoa is grown by African farmers. In 1913, the total exports were one hundred and eighty-one thousand, in 1918, one hundred and forty-nine thousand, in 1924, five hundred and one thousand. It is obvious how much that means in increased purchasing power. And this power is scattered over large country districts and over an ever-increasing area. It means new standards of social importance, new contacts between distant districts, new ideas of livelihood.

Again, the old society was largely held together by the need of preparedness for war and by religious sanctions. With the *pax Britannica* the first cement has gone. And the faith in the old *ju-ju* religion is sorely shaken. It remains in part, but the presence of strangers who have no fear of *ju-ju* and are unaffected by it, the mixing with travelled Africans who pay it scant respect, have so weakened its power that it no longer commands the dread which made it powerful as a safeguard of the morals of the village or tribe. Much

of the old was bound to go, and the sooner it went the better. But there is more than a tendency to fling away the whole of the heritage of the past and to despise it ; and those who do this are infinitely the poorer for so doing.

The schools have done little to help the African in this difficulty, and much to make things harder for him. To begin with, they were often started with a view to turning out clerks. It was their primary object. Accordingly, their curricula were drawn up to that end. English was early and rapidly introduced. Vernacular work was neglected, and so were matters of tribal and village interest. Clerks were quickly turned out, and soon there was a glut on the market. But the rejected would not return to village life, for they did not understand it and despised it. But criticism of those who worked without experience is easy. What can we do to make the schools useful to the African now ?

Well, quite obviously, the schools cannot nationalize the African. We cannot re-make the African in his own image. But we can try to see that he understands the new factors that are coming into his country so rapidly, the meaning of the changes they are effecting, and the nature of the traditional laws, customs and lore threatened. We can show him parallels elsewhere and help him to study them and think on them. We can get him keenly interested in and thinking over the life of his village. But the adaptation of the new to the old, the synthesis, we must leave him to make. We can show him that no one can be a true leader or friend of his people unless he sees from their point of view, standing in line with them. But he must find out where they stand and get there for himself. And he should begin to do so at school, and it is our job to see that the environment is favourable for his doing so.

Our task is not to give rules and lay down lines and make moulds, but to develop the powers of insight and initiative of our pupils, to get them to try and ask questions, and to try and suggest further thinking. We are not there to make

fellows do right or to tell them what is right, but to try and rouse in them a keen desire for the right, and a capacity to judge rightly. We are training pupils for a rapidly moving society, nothing like so static a society as that of England. There, any fool should be able to paddle a canoe in the almost quiet waters. Here, there are eddies, rapids, lots of rocks. No chart can be drawn up, but a keen eye to recognize eddies, currents and rocks, and a strong arm to paddle consistently can be trained.

It is essential, of course, that all teaching should have Africa in mind, and the home of the pupil. All should be rooted in the vernaculars, even though it may be impracticable to use the vernaculars far up the school. But the teachers must know the vernaculars, and be really interested in the life of the community from which their pupils spring.

To get reverence for the things that are passing, to show the students the true and good in them and, much more, to get them to look for and find them there, is a great part of the way to success in training true leaders. Without that respect for their traditions, the young are largely cut off from sympathy with the older folk. A separating barrier is raised. The young are homeless in mind and spirit, and the old die. And it is death to the tribe. Continuity, aim, force, are lost to a people when the old and young are thus separated. The tribe is no more an entity; it is like a bisected snake. Both parts can wriggle, but steady advance, ordered life are beyond them.

But to reverence the past the students must know something of it. How is it to be taught? We must, I think, look forward to bringing out books for the purpose. History, as taught in most non-English speaking schools in the Empire, is a waste of time. It becomes a learning of names and dates, and it is scarcely possible it can be more, for the life it depicts is of a tribe in such a distant epoch, in so strange a climate, and with such an unrealizable outlook on life, that imagination is scarcely touched.

But we might start in with the old folk tales for the

children, then with the legends of tribal origins and history. Then the history of the land since Europeans first visited it. Lastly, there should be the study of laws, customs and constitution, showing how society was preserved, and how the country stood together in crises. Much of the material is already to be had from anthropologists, who are a mine of wealth on these subjects. More can be got through encouraging students by means of prizes to study village lore and customs. There is no reason why a really good school of African history should not be built up in the next two decades.

Another line of advance is almost as important. Science will be taught in the school, so will mathematics and much else new to the pupils. These subjects must be taught in relation to the life around. Science will begin with the observation of ants, seeing mosquitoes breed, getting to know the flowers and plants. It will go on to destroying mosquitoes, preventing the inroads of ants, improving the flowers and trees, and studying soils. Mathematics will come in in making at first small model houses, only big enough for the maker and a friend merely to creep into. But soon knowledge of mathematics and hygiene will be employed to help actual housing conditions, and to get rid of such foes as hookworm.

Of course, I should add that I think instruction in western subjects should be thoroughly efficient if the pupils are to be able to make the synthesis I have described. The range of knowledge need not be great, but the quality must be such that the student can use it as an instrument for clear thinking. There is a great tendency to lower the standard in western subjects to what is thought to be the local capacity.

If I were to define denationalization, I should say it was irreverence for and ignorance of one's own nation and culture, and of the things now chiefly affecting it. To save pupils from that, education should teach them how their people came to be what they are, what are the new factors in their present situation, and their probable effects.

II. CHARACTER TRAINING

Wherever one goes in the school world, one hears the phrase 'character training.' Often the most disreputable school, with no sense of honour in its treatment of teachers, boys or finances, shouts loudest of its character training aim.

We are all inclined to be rather vague about character training, and perhaps it is because we hardly know what character we want to reach, not only that we do not know how to set about training for and to it. Many of us need not be so vague as we are about the character to be reached anyway, for we call Jesus Lord and Master. His ideal character is summed up as one who shall love the Lord his God with all his heart, with all his soul and with all his mind, and his neighbour as himself. Of course, it is a desperately high standard, and the nearer a man gets to it the more he sees the amount of the ground to be covered between him and his goal. But that is no reason why we should not hit out for it. We start science or history or art, knowing that no one yet has been the complete scientist or artist, and always we shall have to reach beyond our grasp. Why in character should we aim at a mediocre or attainable standard?

Our Lord tried to train men to the character He desired. He lived with His pupils in such a way that each had the chance of seeing how He got there, and each in his own way was able to live his own life after His pattern. None became as their Teacher, but they got a long way towards it, and His pupils could be recognized afterwards. When their enemies and rulers saw their courage, the courage of these peasants, they were astonished and realized they had been with Jesus.

Now Jesus Christ was out for the whole man. Whilst He spoke much of separate virtues, He was not primarily concerned with them. 'First make the tree good'; and even when He says 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' He thinks of the fruits not as an end in themselves, but as a test of the tree. If the tree is sound, the fruits will come.

And I am sure that in the work of education we have to expect virtues but not to inculcate them. Our work is to get home to fellows a true point of view from which to see life. Our Lord did this, and He did it first by living His own life in closest communion with God, and second, by living His life in closest communion with His students. The result was they caught fire from Him. His point of view became theirs, and they went out aflame. Like those who saw the King invisible they never wavered or flinched.

Is this too much in the air ? I do not think so. We are not training pupils who are later to live bolstered up by the society around them. Everything in their civilization is in a state of flux, including moral standards. The old sanctions are gone, the new have not replaced them. Fresh temptations and new difficulties will meet them daily, questions not yet solved to their knowledge. Many of them will be isolated and far from friends who think as they do. They then must be ready to make decisions and to make true decisions. Their task is a hard one. They must flame out for righteousness if they are to lead their people, but they must often flame alone. They must judge difficult questions, but without outside counsel. They are to belong to a society and to love a society which is too unsettled to give them a firm stance. They must stand and give a stance to their society.

To get men of this kind, the first necessity is teachers of the same type, men who can stand alone and yet work together. And, so far as I know, the only way of getting a staff of ordinary men and women like ourselves up to such a standard is to get a staff who will each practise the presence of God. I believe Jesus Christ was the greatest teacher and trainer of character that ever lived. But He was so in virtue of His constant touch with God. As one of His students said, He was 'in the bosom of the Father.' But He was there because He took time to be there, in quiet, in nights of prayer and in solitary walks. That kept Him constant and clear and calm in mind, never nervy or unpoised, fear-

less, considerate and loving in thought and deed. And every man and woman can rise above pettiness, disunion and nerves to unselfish devotion and the love that understands and helps wisely. But for each it means deliberate self-discipline in devotional quiet. Steady daily practice of quiet communion with God gives the power to live clear and single-eyed and freedom to help others. It is in our quiet we get to love the whole student, not only his attractiveness. 'Love and do what you like,' said Augustine. Love gives one freedom in dealing with men, and more, it gives the power to lead them on and up.

The first essential in any real character training is, then, to get a staff of practical mystics.¹ And these will live closely with the students, and as surely as they do so will one loving heart set on fire another. Men teach more and learn more through the heart than through the brain.

Having got such a staff, the next essential is to get them living closely with the students and seeing things from their point of view. The Teacher of teachers said, 'As my Father hath sent me even so send I you,' and no teacher is worthy of the name who is not getting alongside, and who is not above all things the servant of his students.

But the general work of the school, and its organization, should be a help and not a hindrance to the teacher in his service. The question of the quiet hour has been mentioned. The school time-table should allow of free time for quiet, both to teachers and taught, every morning. They may not use it, still, all should have it to use if they wish to.

Then love of one's neighbour will be the great lesson of the school, and such love comes from knowledge of him and chances to serve him. In this connexion the biggest asset in any schoolmaster's hand is the love of country already in the heart of the student. That love should be developed by

¹ This should not be difficult amongst our African teachers. Think of some of the many names used of God on this Coast, names independent of the missionary and used long before his coming: Twerampon, the Unchangeable or Faithful: Nyami, the Abundant Filler; Ewuradzi, the Great Friend; and the longer phrase which means The Father-Nursing-Mother.

adding knowledge and by opportunities of practical service. The teaching of history should be first of all, and for many years, mainly confined to local history, and it should be taught in sympathy with the point of view of the child's people and race. But with it should go opportunities of serving the people by taking up games for children outside the school, or practical housing, or child welfare, or agriculture, or dispensing, or hygiene. But from the beginning the student, however young, should have the opportunity of doing something to help his people, and that in personal touch with them. Love of country can be the greatest asset the teacher has in the work of character building, but it must be enlightened by well thought out lessons and made practical if it is to be the purifying and disciplining and truth-desiring passion which will make strong trusty men.

The school must have firm discipline. This does not mean that authority should always be in the limelight, or that rules and penalties should be much in evidence. It means goodwill, and co-operation must be the normal attitude of masters to boys and *vice versa*. It means that masters will not have to spend time and trouble in getting order established. Good order will be natural to the school where teachers and taught are one in their interests. The maintenance of discipline in a good school is effortless. The boys are almost entirely self-disciplined. And thus they learn true freedom, for that is always the fruit of true discipline.

A school possessing a strong and devoted staff will soon, if the teachers respect the freedom and personality of their pupils, branch out into many-sided activities. There will be an atmosphere of keenness in the classroom, for there it must be, or any discipline will be but a shadow of the real thing. There is no greater opportunity for service of the school and of self-discipline than that which comes to the average boy in class work. But outside of the classroom there is the dormitory or house to be served, the village near by to be understood and helped, its children to be

instructed in games; there are the school teams to be entered by steady practice, and the team to be put before the interests of one's own games, and a score of other activities.

The more of these that a school can pursue efficiently, the more it will be able to train and give a fair chance to all of its many differing pupils. But in all its work it must never be forgotten that character springs from within. First see that the tree is good. And all activities are but opportunities for willing to do the right when one has seen it, chances of bestirring oneself. So all activities should, as far as possible, be voluntary, not compulsory. The desire for right should be stimulated rather than the right act made inevitable. And when a boy leaves school he should take with him not so much skill in a large number of activities, as a reverent outlook on life, and a keen desire to help others and to be of real use.

'No life is pure that is not passionate,' and without the passion for the true no life is safe. It is this passion that the school should aim at inspiring. But such a passion only comes from God and one's neighbour when loved. And that is caught, not taught. The first essential then is a staff that have this contagious passion.

The aim of character training is to get the student up to his very best for the service of his land and people. The method is for the teacher, himself inspired, to get so close to the student that he may inspire him to seek a true understanding and love of his people as at present situated, and to work towards a wise appreciation of the new factors affecting their life, that he may use the knowledge gained in their service.

A. G. FRASER

A SCHOOL VILLAGE IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

By MABEL SHAW

I

‘**O** THOU Great Chief, light a candle within our hearts that we may see what is therein and sweep the rubbish from Thy dwelling-place.’

It is the prayer of an African schoolgirl in a little school on the forest uplands of Northern Rhodesia.

That prayer lit a candle for me and showed me the way, the only way I think, in which the African girl is to come into her inheritance as a child of God. I who am her teacher need to pray daily, ‘Lord, keep back Thy servant from presumptuous sins.’ All that I am there for is to lead that child to the feet of Him who alone can light the candle, and give it into the eager, outstretched hands, and then to stand aside, or follow in love and prayer, while she, carrying that steady light, walks through life, her own life, individual and tribal, seeing all that is therein, seeing the good and true in custom and tradition, seeing the evil and sweeping it away, until at last, by the light she carries, her house of life is made fair and beautiful—the very temple of the living God. But it is not for me to step harshly along the dim corridors of tribal life, condemning all because it is foreign to me and oftentimes inexplicable—that is not my task as a Christian missionary, it is a sin of presumption, and yet it is a temptation that comes not once but often. Strange though it may seem, the hardest thing for a missionary to do is to trust utterly and completely that light which he carries to the nations, to believe that the light is all-revealing, and that

once lighted in the heart of man it will dispel all darkness of error and sin.

It was Christmas Eve in our school compound, and the girls gave a representation of the Nativity in symbolic scenes. The shining light of moon and stars lit up the wondering faces of a silent throng of people gathered there. From a little round thatched shelter in the centre the light blazed forth, and round the quiet figure of an African girl holding a little peaceful babe there knelt those who had come out of the shadows from north and south, east and west. There were shepherds and kings, little eager children and seeking women—the whole hungering, wistful world of Africa represented there. When the last sweet notes of their song died away, they rose to go, but not empty handed, each one carried with her a little lighted candle. The darkness now was broken by innumerable gleams of light, the soft yellow glow made beautiful the rapt faces of children as they guarded the flickering flame in steady hands. For each child the way was clear, stones in the path were revealed, she could walk without fear and stumbling. Perhaps it was that picture before the child's eyes that called forth that prayer of hers, it is the picture in our hearts as we live our life amongst the girls in our school village.

There may be other schools in Africa very similar, certainly there are many doing far more excellent work. We are just learning, learning often with the children as our guides and teachers; making experiments in education the results of which cannot yet be judged because they are all so young and new. When I first went out I tried the dormitory system, but I was not happy about it. I think the experience of my first term was very like that of one groping in darkness, seeking for some thing to hold on to, putting forth a foot into the void, having to withdraw it and stand still bewildered, then trying again in another direction, moving with painful slowness, hardly knowing the direction in which one moved or where it would lead.

Now we have a school village in which a hundred girls

live. There are small houses, each one with its little family. Our prefects are called 'house mothers,' and each one is the owner of her little house for the time being. The eldest of her family is promoted to 'auntship.' She helps the mother in all the care and governance of the house. There are other buildings in our village, school, classrooms, kitchen, stores and a European dwelling-house, and there is in the centre of the big enclosed courtyard that picturesque thing seen in every village round about, a large circular thatch supported on poles. It is the centre of all village life, social, political, religious, and it serves very much that same purpose in our school village. Each little family under the direction of the mother spreads its meals on the ground outside its little house at meal times—or in wet weather under the grass shelter—and eats together as a family, in the ordinary African way, round a common pot, with no awkward implements but with well-washed, useful fingers. The duties of the household are distributed equally amongst the members of the family by the mother, the youngest—often a little thing of five—having her own particular duty, and the duties are changed each month, so that each child in her turn does all the duties of an African household, and learns to do them regularly, efficiently, happily. There is keen and healthy competition amongst the house mothers, and the children too, each eager that her house should not be behind another in orderliness, cleanliness and beauty.

Each day at stated times the mother marshals her family, and all with pots or buckets on their heads go off to the stream for water. Two days a week she, with her axe, takes them off into the forest for the week's supply of firewood. Every afternoon, armed with a piece of soap, she takes them to the bathing place in the river and sees that every child is well soaped, from head to foot, before she plunges into the cool cleansing water. On Sunday morning she anoints her large family with oil, till the dark skins look as soft and beautiful as velvet. Should one of her family be sick, she prepares special food for her and nurses her in as far as she

is able—often and often waking and getting up in the night to see how the sick child is. She, with the aunt, washes and irons the garments of her family, mends clothes and blankets. All of them, from youngest to oldest, make the one simple cotton garment they wear.

These house mothers and aunts are the elders of the village, responsible for its well being and good conduct. They take out their children at the end of the rains and clear away the long grass and low bushes all around their village; they clear the paths to the gardens and to their outhouses; they help in the sanitary arrangements of the school—learning such simple methods of sanitation that they are able to copy them when they marry and have another little house of their own, and another little family. They also settle many disputes that arise, and with us discuss and plan for the whole life of our school.

It is a village life in every way, not least in the time and energy spent in the school gardens. We grow in abundance all that the African woman grows. The growing of the cassava root from which flour is made, the preparing of the root and then the pounding of the flour is done by the house mothers and aunts with the help of some of the bigger children. Then there is the shelling of the ground-nuts and beans, the drying and storing of them, and the making of the peanut oil for the anointing of their bodies—all this has its place in our village time-table, such duties changing with the changing seasons. New things are being grown, fruits and vegetables, and all the work except the actual hard digging is done by the girls.

Many of the smaller pots are made by the girls; we now have a potter's wheel and are looking forward to doing great things with it.

The days are very full, from dawn till set of sun from that little village there rises the hum of happy voices, the music of laughter and song. The hours are full of work, lessons, play, and when the night comes up swiftly out of the forest it brings God's 'quiet festival of sleep' to all.

The little houses lie still and beautiful under the white radiance of moon and stars.

The school session is from 9 to 12.30 ; our staff consists of two Europeans and four of our own girls as teachers, and considering the very little training we are able to give them they do remarkably well. We teach the usual things, always with the needs of the children and the life they are going to live at the back of our thinking and teaching. The three R's, simple geography, history in the form of stories, English, hygiene, mothercraft and housecraft, taught not only in school hours but in all kinds of practical ways throughout each day's life. The girls are not lacking in intelligence, many of them could pass through the standards, but to take them beyond Standard III means that they would be going ahead of many of the boys in our district, and this does not seem to be wise at present.

Singing and games, drills and dances, feature largely on our time-table; net-ball is one of the links between the old girls and the present school, for our matches are old girls *v.* school.

The parents bring their children to school when they are quite young, some five or six years old, and they stay until they are married. At present we have girls of seventeen or eighteen, even nineteen, with us. There is no lack of suitors for the girls, quite the reverse, the girl's difficulty is to select the right one from the many who beg her favour.

It is difficult to separate the definite religious exercises from the whole life of the school. The morning prayer service at sunrise is a receiving of a new day with thanksgiving, the inflooding of our own emptiness with the life that is in the dawn and the light and the clear sweet air, that life which we have in common with trees and flowers and birds and animals and all the fair growing earth; and at night it is a gathering up of our day, in all its incompleteness, and giving it into the completeness of Him whose love overshadows us as the night does the earth. That life to us is incarnate in Our Lord whom the children call the Great

Chief, a living, spiritual, loving presence about us the whole day through, sharing our life, guiding us, protecting us, raising us when we fall; and all that we do in school, in yard, in garden, is towards the one great end—the receiving here and now of the life eternal which He offers. The closest link with the old girls—those married in our own village—is a little devotional and intercessory service held weekly for old girls and for the elders of the school.

Those fair things which the children have lying deep within their inmost being we make use of in so far as we know them—their strong, dramatic sense, their genius for imitation, their deep sense of reverence, and that strong sense of the spiritual round about them.

It is too soon to speak of results, growth is slow and unseen, we are apt to forget that time is not with God. Certain outward things one sees clearly, the growth in a sense of responsibility, in intelligence, cleanliness, self-control and thought for others.

The most interesting thing to watch is the growth of initiative and development of personality. The apparent lack of these things was my despair at first, the children seemed all of a pattern—individuality is not encouraged in African tribal life. In school one sees the bigger girls thinking for themselves and acting as their thought directs them.

The test of the school's worth is to be looked for in the lives of the old girls and in their influence on the community in which they live. There are only about twenty at present and the majority of these have only just left, so it is not yet possible to judge. One sees clean houses, healthy well-cared-for babies and a desire to keep in touch with the school when and wherever possible.

The problem of discipline largely solves itself as the years pass, the African child forms habits remarkably soon. A tradition is quickly made. Their power of imitation helps, new children coming in are eager to do as the others do. They are all open to suggestion to an extra-

ordinary degree, and with these things goes that other which I have already mentioned—that rather haunting sense of a spiritual realm all round about, a realm not to be trusted. The wise person does his best so to live that he does not in any way draw its attention to himself; nothing annoys the African so much as to be made conspicuous in any way or to be pointed at; if you call him loudly by name he will be with you before you can call a second time, for in these ways the attention of the spirit world may be drawn to him. Lying is an art, because truth is a thing to be hidden from that same spirit world. But, if you can fill for him that untrustworthy spirit realm with a spiritual presence that is good, true, all-knowing, all-loving, utterly to be trusted, that presence which is incarnate in Our Lord, then fear slowly dies, it is no longer harmful to speak the truth, all things become possible.

In school the house mothers are in close and constant touch with us, working with us, and we working with and through them. Our endeavour is to instil into them a sense of mission, the serving of others within their own community, a sense of responsibility not only towards those of their own house, but towards all. There has grown up a sense of unity in the school, there is no longer any consciousness of tribal barriers, and we have children from at least four tribes. In these days, when tribes are intermingling as never before, when a girl may have a stranger for her neighbour, a woman of a different tribe, or may have to go with her husband to live in a native location outside a European town, it is all gain to her that the interpretation of the word neighbour should not be limited to a member of her own tribe, but rather apply to all members of all tribes.

II

We have taken the village life as the basis of our school life, we have started with that which the girls know. It is good in many ways, and our aim is to show them more and

more of good in it, to show them God in that which is theirs. For us to attempt to make any sudden break, complete—or even partial—with life as the girls have known it, may do very real harm. There must be a unity deep down underlying all custom, and to tamper with one particular bit of custom we see, which is repulsive to us, and even wrong, without seeing what underlies it, may do infinite harm. The one end of an African girl's life is marriage, there is no other thought of life for her, and for her it is the normal thing to begin to prepare for that life while she is still a child. There is an infinite variety of custom bearing in on a girl child's life, bringing with it a rapid and strong development of sex life, and I am convinced that we do no good, rather harm, in striving to repress this. To begin with, we make a sense of guilt where there was none, and even if we do forbid these customs, I think the girls will still go on practising them in secret, with a sense of guilt, or go on, even if giving them up, still obsessed by the sexual instinct, and we shall have done no good. Repression will do no good at all, it does harm, I am sure. The first thing to remember is that the strong physical instinct of the African girl is as much a part of her human make-up as that spiritual consciousness with which she has been endowed. We are there to lead her into life, the life more abundant, physical, mental, spiritual—life in its three aspects, at its highest, with a harmony and balance between the three. We as missionaries are often accused of doing destructive and therefore harmful work in Africa; where our teaching is almost entirely negative, a condemning and a forbidding of custom and the penalizing of offenders, I am not at all sure that there is not some justice in the accusation. We are indeed—or should be—those who for ever turn the world upside down; but are we, or the power of the life we carry to the nations, the revolutionizing force? If I did not most surely believe that the power and passion of the life that is in Our Lord working in the African's heart did not lead him to see for himself that which is untrue and diseased in his own and his tribal life,

and to build anew on the foundations of truth and holiness, I would not be a missionary.

All we can do in Africa is to offer the power of the life that is in Jesus Christ, and I see it working in those girls and leading them on. I need not say, 'These things are wrong, must not be done'; in the power of that life they come to discover it for themselves.

Of all the customs in which an African girl child grows up I was almost entirely ignorant in my first term. I saw only the surface of things, though I dimly knew that there were deep forces underlying it all. But I was still a stranger to them, considered a child by the women. And so I waited, not daring to seek entrance before the door was opened for me. A letter received during my first leave was the first indication I had that the door was opening. A girl was married during my absence, and after the first night of married life her husband took her back to her mother's house, saying she was no true woman of her tribe; certain physical things which quite small girls are taught to do in preparation for marriage she had neglected to do. Her father, a deacon of the Church, wrote in some dismay that the girl told him I did not teach them that these things were wrong and not to be done; she simply had not thought of doing them, and he thought she must be lying. When I returned, the same girl and one or two others came to me and told me of it: 'We did not think about it, we just did not do these things.' It meant that in school the girls had lived so full and happy a life that old things had been crowded out. Later on some of the others in the school came to me and told me that these and certain other customs they had been practising they now felt were shameful: 'We want to hide from God when we do them,' was their expression, and they had decided they were not going on with these things. The parents and youths saw that it did not in any way make them less fitted to be good wives and mothers, and accepted the decision of these children. The new way of life that had been presented to them in class, in playground, in friend-

ship, in prayer time and in all the departments of school life had led them to this. I gave thanks that I had been fearless enough not to negative these things in the school when I had first heard of them, much as they shocked and appalled me. The movement towards something sweeter and truer must come from within, but it needs the strong patience of hope in the heart of the teacher and an unflinching faith in the power of the life she offers to the girls.

All the time we have to go on offering that life in all kinds of ways, in new thoughts of their bodies and the body's place in God's purposes. It is new thoughts, new ideas, new conceptions of life that matter, thoughts and ideals are more powerful even than custom. If the girls are led to think reverently and truly of their bodies, if they are taught the sacredness of the body as the chalice in which the life eternal is held, if they are given happy and absorbing occupations and interests, all these abuses now so prevalent, which so retard the full and free development of life, will in time die out.

One can only touch the fringe of this subject, which is one of the big problems in all educational work in Africa, not more so with girls than boys, but the things of the tribe sit more deeply in the hearts of the women, and one needs to walk warily, and withal reverently.

So far I have been dealing with boarding schools, and only comparatively few girls can be gathered into them. But one such school could be linked up with the lives of the women and girls of the district and become an educational centre. If each girl leaving school had had so sound a teaching in the care of the home and of children, in simple rules of health and good living, in personal and domestic hygiene, and if the influence of the school had been such as to send her out eager to help her own people, especially the young married women of her village, then her home would be a centre of influence. African women are conservative—none more so—they cling to the old ways far more tightly than the men, but once win their confidence and let them

see how the old order can gradually change without bringing disaster, and they become willing to learn. Their prejudice against the school was strong in the early years; now the mothers are often more eager than the fathers to bring their children, and, moreover, willing to pound flour with which to pay their school fees. And this is, I am sure, not only because the bride price, paid when their girls are married, is considerably more than that paid for village girls, though undoubtedly this has its place and a large one, but because they see the value of many things that the girls are learning. It was the women who wanted to marry their daughters as soon as they matured, at thirteen or fourteen years of age, but now that they see the fine, sturdy, happy babies that some of the old girls have, instead of the poor puny mites that girls who have married at fourteen have, they are content to leave their girls in school until they are sixteen, seventeen, even eighteen years old. They see sick children nursed, and recovering, whereas in the village they might die; they see the girls clean, strong, healthy, and these things make their impression on the women, and it makes some of them eager to learn the new ways.

III

It is difficult to have regular classes for women, their days are well filled, often they are in their fields till long after midday. When they come home they have to pound flour, and prepare for the one big meal of the day, which is between four and five, and after that they are tired and sleepy. In our country we have no classes after sunset; it is unsafe to be out after dark. We have a women's school in the slack garden season of the year, held two afternoons a week for two months; our own teachers help us in this. One afternoon a week our teachers and a few of our more enlightened women go to various parts of our own village and gather a few women together and talk to them of the application of the principles of Christianity to their own lives and customs.

We have previously selected the subject and talked it out together. This again is only for the women of our own village. With a European staff of two and a school of one hundred it is impossible to do efficient work amongst the women. I think more and more we must work through the girls we train, and to do this means constant supervision. The girls are so much at the beginning of things themselves, they need constant help and guidance; at present their husbands are often a drag upon them rather than a help. It is easy to keep in touch with them when they are in our own village, the difficulty comes when they go far afield.

It seems to me it should be possible and workable to have a little settlement built near the school—a little group of four or five houses to begin with, to which old girls may come with their children and live there for two or three weeks, sharing the religious and social life of the school but having their own classes for instruction and help to meet their new needs. Such a settlement might be extended to take in other women anxious to learn and then to help their fellows. To do this work at all effectively it would need a European teacher at liberty to give herself wholly to it, devoting herself to the women at the seasons when they come to live at the school and then to make tours through the villages, making a short time centre here and there, teaching the women in their own homes; she might have with her as her assistants one or two girls from the boarding school.

Then there are the girls in the villages. At present there is for them the little often ill-equipped village school with its boy teachers. Quite obviously the great need is women teachers. All that I have seen of growing girls taught by boys is bad, bad for the boy teachers as well as for the girls. It is an extraordinarily difficult matter. I think in very few parts of Tropical Africa would it be wise to send into the villages unmarried girl teachers. It is possible, if there is a large enough staff, to have a day school for girls where there is a boarding school. And where a boarding school girl marries a teacher the two might work together in one

school, the wife having the girls and the women. But here again there is a difficulty. What of her garden work? To deprive a woman of that is more unsettling to her than anything else. If her time-table could be so planned that there is time for a certain amount of cultivation, if her garden might be part of the school garden in which the girls work with her, that difficulty would be removed.

This raises the question of the marriage of trained girls. Our mission is in rather an unusual position, we have our girls ahead of the boys in some ways, not in book learning, but in their attitude towards life, in self-control and restraint, and often, I think, in an understanding of Christianity. It is because we have had no boarding school for boys up to the present time. There are small village schools and a central school on the station for teacher training and what might be called higher education, with an annual session of ten weeks, and the teaching given is almost entirely literary. A boys' boarding school with a normal training department, evangelist training department, industrial and agricultural departments, is about to be started on the same station as the girls' school.

Three years ago I questioned the wisdom of this, but not now. I think one has to be courageous enough to face the risk of individual failures now and again for the sake of the unity of the work. It seems to me essential that there should be close co-operation between the staff of the boys' school and that of the girls, a working together consciously towards the same end, and equally essential that these boys and girls, who will doubtless intermarry, should in their growing time see something of one another and know something of one another's school life.

I should like to touch upon the extraordinary suggestibility of the African—one sees it in old and young. I see it most clearly in matters of health. We have not had a death in the school in spite of two fierce epidemics of influenza, and much sickness, in the early years. The African is only too willing to think he is going to die, and actually to lie

down and die, when he is ill. The recovery of the children in the school and their general good health is due not only to healthy surroundings, an ordered life and nursing, but to all the suggestions of health to which they unconsciously respond. They are always sure they are going to recover in sickness, in fact they never dream of dying, and their parents share this certainty. They are quite unconcerned when I call them to see their child who lies desperately ill, with a temperature of 105° or 107°. 'She cannot die here,' they cheerfully remark, and go back to their daily task, so sure that the child will recover that they do not even return to ask how she is.

One sees it in other ways; once get it into a child's mind that she can be honest and clean and truthful, believe it yourself too, and it comes—slowly, how slowly sometimes—but in the end it comes.

In so far as I know the African girl and woman from my ten years' experience (and that is very imperfectly), it is only a person who really touches her; it is the teacher that matters most, not the things taught. No scheme of education, however sound and comprehensive, is going to lead her onwards unless it is imparted by some one who has won her trust, who knows her life and thought and does not shrink from it. She herself does not see beyond the narrow bounds of tribal life and custom; she is afraid to step forward, not seeing the way. But if one is by her side who sees the vision of a wider, fuller life for her, she will take her forward step, or if not daring to do that she will turn her eyes in that direction, and, although she will be dragged back again and again by the old things, she will turn again and perhaps take one faltering step with the one she trusts, and may be—nay, very surely—she will in the end catch the 'rapture of the forward look' for herself and for her race.

MABEL SHAW

THE PROBLEM OF NATIVE LABOUR IN THE BELGIAN CONGO

BY A BELGIAN CATHOLIC

SINCE the Congo Free State was taken over by Belgium as a colony (November 15th, 1908), Belgian public opinion has followed with peculiar interest the development of the physical and moral welfare of the native population. This interest loses no opportunity of expressing itself in Parliament, as well as in the press and public meetings.

Those who are interested in some aspect or another of colonial affairs meet at every step people who want to know what is the situation of the Congolese. You speak to them of the economic progress of the colony, or of the value of its natural resources, and they ask: 'But is the native population happy? Are they prosperous?'

The Belgians are highly distressed on account of the depopulation of the Congo, a fact generally acknowledged by the colonial residents, though it is denied by a few officials. They seek the causes of that calamity; is it due to disease, starvation or the intensive recruiting of men for labour? On many occasions the Government has plainly stated its anxiety; doctors, missionaries, officials, traders and all men of good will have been appealed to in order to stop the evil.

Opinions may differ as to the real extent of the depopulation and the danger of its steady increase. Nevertheless, the actual labour supply is quite insufficient for the needs of the present and of the near future. To face this situation, the Minister of Colonies set up a Commission to study the great problem of the labour supply. It was composed of several provincial governors, some high officials of the Colony and the Colonial Office, several representatives of

charitable institutions, commercial firms and industries, and also of the medical corps. The Commission was appointed in December 1924. In April 1925 the Report was ready for publication.¹

This Report reflects a sincere desire to guarantee to the native population the freedom and protection to which they are entitled when their territories are rapidly being developed by European enterprise. The report of the Commission is concerned chiefly with the freedom of the workers, the regulations for recruiting and measures for the protection of the enlisted workmen.

FREEDOM OF THE WORKERS

The *Charte coloniale* of the Belgian Congo says in article 2 alinéa 3: 'No one can be constrained to work at the pay or for the profit of private people or societies.' Public opinion is backing up the Government in the application of this clause. The Catholic Congress held at Malines (September 23rd-26th, 1909) passed the following resolution: 'A rational colonial policy must rest on freedom of trade and freedom of labour.'

On September 30th 1922, M. Lippens, Governor General of the Congo, wrote to the provincial governors:

Must we impose forced labour on the Negro? No, because the use of force is repugnant to our education and by force no permanent results are obtained in that field, any more than in the realm of evangelization and of the propagation of ideas. We can only act with efficiency or lead the Natives to work by educating them and showing them the advantage of work and its unavoidable necessity.

The House of Representatives expressed also its hostility to forced labour, even for public welfare (*Annales Parle-*

¹ The *Rapport de la Commission pour l'Etude du Problème de la Main-d'Œuvre au Congo Belge* has been published (between April 11th and May 9th) in *L'Essor Colonial et Maritime*, a weekly paper issued in Brussels. The Report is also appearing in *Congo*, a monthly review published in Brussels.

An article summarizing the contents of the Report appeared in *The Times* (London) on May 12th, 1925.

mentaires, 1908-9, p. 1132). The local government of the Congo says in the Circular of January 29th, 1913: 'The Government strictly forbids the officials to supply settlers, traders or manufacturers with native labour. . . . All intervention of our agents to secure transportation (by canoes) for the benefit of private people must be excluded.'

The Commission has taken into account the voice of Belgian public opinion expressed by the two first Ministers of Colonies, by the Parliament and the *Conseil colonial*. Therefore, the Commission does not favour any means of moral or physical compulsion used in order to enlist native workers for private enterprises. In his speech at the opening of the sittings of the Commission, the present Minister of Colonies, M. H. Carton, declared :

Another question is put before us : must we consider the contingency of constraining the Native to work ? In this respect, we must not overlook the fact that the *Charte coloniale* contains the principle that no one may be forced to work at the pay or for the profit of societies or private people. Nevertheless, is it not possible within the limits of the prescriptions of the *Charte* to make use of a wise administrative persuasion ?

The Report of the Commission does not give this question any clear answer. What 'administrative persuasion' is not apt to lead to moral coercion and to give ground for physical compulsion ? Is not its inadmissibility therefore evident at first sight ?

The Report refers to governmental intervention in the following words :

The administrative occupation of the country in itself will teach the Natives what benefit they can gain from work done in the service of European enterprises. Many years would, however, elapse before the contact between Natives and European enterprises became sufficient to bring about the co-operation of the former, unless the representatives of authority by active propaganda made the Natives understand that it is to their own interest to better their condition through the work offered to them.

The Report goes on : ' It is inadmissible that the representatives of the Government should be induced to interfere in order to provide enterprises which are not established

on a sound economic basis with labour.' Let us note that the Report does not make clear by what means the representatives of Government could be induced to interfere in order to provide private enterprises with labour. It is certain that this intervention ought never to express itself through physical or moral compulsion or through an administrative persuasion that would be equivalent to moral compulsion.

We are convinced that such is the very evident meaning of the Commissioners. If it is not so, public opinion and Parliament will have to watch very carefully the means used for recruiting and the activity of representatives of the Government in the Congo.

RESTRICTIONS TO RECRUITING

To what extent will the practice of recruiting of native labour be allowed ?

In his speech at the House of Representatives, in January 1923, M. L. Franck, Minister of Colonies, declared :

I said last year to the House that we must take care not to require from native labour work exceeding its capacity. . . . In all new countries any attempt to make undue claims on the activity and effort of the native population has led to bitter repentance. . . . I am so utterly convinced of these truths that if I had to face the alternative of either delaying works or exacting from the Congo Natives an effort exceeding their real capacity, I should not hesitate to choose the former of these courses.

The Commission endeavours to find a middle way by conserving the labour supply and surrounding the workmen with all necessary means of protection.

At the outset, it is granted that the portion of the adult able-bodied population that is needed to secure the economic and social life of the native families must remain in the village. In what proportion will the enlistment of workers be allowed ? It is one of the most interesting points of the Report.

First, an estimate of the available population has been

made by the governors of each of the four provinces of the Congo with approximate accuracy. The new territories of Ruanda and Urundi are not included in the survey. Here are the figures :

PROVINCE	CENSUS (tax-payers)	ESTIMATED (adult males)
Congo-Kasai	653,000	753,000
Equator	447,000	506,000
Oriental Province	976,000	1,100,000
Katanga	292,000	317,000
	2,368,000	2,676,000

What proportion of that male population can be enlisted for the service of the state, public works, transportation, agriculture, trade, industry and domestic service, without endangering the economic welfare of the native communities and lowering the birth rate? The Report recognizes that any proportion fixed will only have 'the value of a general indication and can in no case make legitimate enlistments that in particular instances would tend to break the economic, political or social balance of certain groups of Natives.'

(a) In all cases, without taking into account special local conditions, the Commission are unanimously agreed that 5 per cent of the adult able-bodied males ($1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the whole population) can be enlisted without damage. 'These workmen can be temporarily taken away from their surroundings provided that they find through their employer a situation more favourable than that in their native place.'

(b) For European enterprises in the same region, in a radius of about two days' march from their village, it will be possible to enlist a further contingent of 5 per cent of the adult able-bodied males, taking into account the facilities of transportation, so that the links with their families are not broken.

To maintain in a normal state the economic and social life of the tribes, there must be present in the villages at

least 22·5 adult able-bodied men to 75 women, children, old people and invalids. If we compare the general mobilization in European countries, we find that this takes sometimes 15 to 16 per cent of the population, while the Report reduces the possibilities, of labour recruiting to 2·5 per cent of the population, or one-sixth of what is demanded from a European population under mobilization.

(c) Lastly, in the villages themselves, part of the population can be occupied in European enterprises (short distance portorage, agriculture, picking of crops, etc.) while living their full family life. It is no exaggeration to think that 15 per cent of the adult workers can in rotation be employed in that manner.

On the basis of the foregoing principles, the estimated able-bodied male population gives the following results :

	5 per cent	10 per cent	15 per cent	25 per cent
Congo-Kasai . . .	37,500	75,000	112,500	187,500
Equator . . .	25,000	50,000	75,000	125,000
Oriental Province . .	55,000	110,000	165,000	275,000
Katanga . . .	16,000	32,000	48,000	80,000
	133,500	267,000	400,500	667,500

The total amount of labour required has been calculated as follows :

	1925	1930
Congo-Kasai	115,000	135,000
Equator	104,000	120,000
Oriental Province	125,000	150,000
Katanga	72,500	95,000
	416,500	500,000

This estimate includes state service, public works transportation, industries and mines, industrial and native agriculture, gathering of natural products and domestic service. 'In spite of these satisfactory figures,' concludes the Report, 'we must be extremely prudent in dealing with native labour and spare it as much as possible.'

MEASURES FOR THE PROTECTION OF LABOURERS

Feelings of humanity and the modern conscience demand efficient protection for the native workers. The decree for regulation of contract work between Natives and civilized masters (1922) is concerned with safeguarding and protecting the rights and interests of the native workman as much as of the European employer. In keeping with these regulations, the Report of the Commission states the general principles which must govern the regulations for the protection of Natives working for European enterprises. These principles are as follows :

(a) Only men in good health and able to do the required work may be enlisted.

(b) Defective means of transportation, especially on the rivers, have caused illness, spreading of disease and an excessive death-rate. Measures to ensure comfort must be well organized and errors of the past must not be repeated.

(c) Lodging must be carefully regulated. Couples must be provided with decent accommodation.

(d) Dress and bedding must be according to native customs, but account must be taken of the climate.

(e) The workman must receive a ration not only equivalent to what he gets in his village, but with a sufficient supplement of calories to counterbalance the special effort required from him. Adequate medical service must be provided.

The first term of service must not exceed one year, at the expiration of which the workman ought to be sent back to his village. The same care must be taken for the return journey as for the journey out from village to work.

For the organization of recruiting the Commission gives the outline of a *bourse du travail*, or Labour Exchange, and describes the one at work in the Kasai. Two Articles in the regulation of that Labour Exchange are insisted on in the Commission, namely :

‘ Art. 4. The Natives are free to choose the organization for which they desire to work. . . . ’

‘ Art. 5. The Natives are never to be put at the service of employers for whom they are unwilling to work.’

On this point a member of the Commission representing Christian missions states : ‘ It is probably understood that the Native who desires to work at home cannot be obliged, by physical or moral compulsion, to work for a European organization.’

It goes without saying that in such questions all depends on the way in which the principles are actually applied in the dealings of the local officials and the native chiefs with the individual Native. But it is a great thing to have sound and humane principles unhesitatingly proclaimed by the most responsible authorities in colonial administration. We are convinced that the Belgian Government, as well as public opinion in Belgium, will watch with scrupulous care, so that the freedom of the Natives may suffer no infringement whatever and that the workmen may be really and efficiently protected.

A BELGIAN CATHOLIC

THE CHURCH IN CHINA AT THE CROSS ROADS

BY HENRY T. HODGKIN

IT has been the writer's privilege during the past few years to meet many of the leading spirits in the Chinese Church, to have long and intimate talks with not a few, to join in retreats and conferences where the deepest questions have been discussed, and to serve the Protestant Christian community in closest association with three Chinese colleagues and with missionaries chosen for such work largely because of their sympathy with the aspirations of Chinese Christians. While painfully conscious of the impossibility of interpreting adequately the Chinese point of view, one can at least make the attempt. The hope with which this article is begun is that the reader may see, partly from the inside, partly as a sympathetic outsider, the real situation with which the Christian community in China is to-day being faced, and the spirit by which it is inspired in meeting its many problems.

To put the heart of the matter into a sentence at the outset, one may say that the Church in China is in the process of becoming mistress in her own house, and that everything depends upon the way in which she carries through the transition from the stage of dependence to that of independence. This transition is being worked out at a time of peculiar social and political unrest, and at a time when theological and ecclesiastical questions are being very hotly debated. In this heated atmosphere the inexperienced Christian community is called upon to make decisions of the utmost import, decisions which may, for centuries to come, affect the progress of the Christian faith in China and indeed in the rest of the world.

Although these words are being written little more than

two months after the events in Shanghai at the end of May, it is already clear that these have led to a very decided change in the situation. They have served, at the very least, to speed up the processes which were working towards independence, and they have created a situation in which it is much less easy to move forward with due consideration of each step taken. A certain tension has been felt in all quarters which puts a strain on relationships. Chinese Christians feel the need of standing in with their fellow-countrymen, and are tempted to go farther than they might feel wise under normal circumstances. Missionaries are torn between their great desire to stand in with their Chinese friends, on the one hand, and a very real questioning as to some of the methods proposed and some of the judgments formed in regard to the actual facts and their significance. Thus a situation inherently difficult has been rendered many times more so. The strain upon good relationships has been increased, and the danger of wrong decisions being reached is considerably greater. Let us first of all review the position prior to May 30th, especially as revealed by the meeting of the National Christian Council which concluded a few days before the shooting in Shanghai. We can then look at the results of that incident so far as it may be possible now to estimate them.

I

Readers of the Review are familiar with the fact that the last three years have seen the development of a definite anti-Christian movement in China. Its history and manifestations need not be described, but a few words as to its causes seem to be needed. It may be regarded as the product of two streams of thought with quite different origins which have converged upon the Christian Church. The first of these is the anti-religious stream which has struck China from outside. The second is the anti-foreign stream which has its origin in China and is a reaction to the aggression of foreign nations and groups. The Christian Church, being

both a religious and, in the eyes of most Chinese, a foreign organization, has received the full force of both of these streams.

(a) To the minds of many Chinese leaders of thought the battle is now joined between religion and science. The former, they believe, stands for tradition, superstition, unreasoning authority. It seems to belong to the past. They urge that Chinese thinkers have never been very religious. Their moral code has been based on practical social considerations and has called in supernatural sanctions scarcely at all. The mass of the people have indeed feared hell and prayed to the Goddess of Mercy and other deities; but the scholars have regarded these ideas as suited only for the common people. To a social structure built on the Confucian teaching science comes with its added endorsement. It is based on the law of cause and effect. It seems to explain the world sufficiently for practical purposes without any reference to an inscrutable Creator. It breaks down the vain superstitions of the past and claims only such authority as can prove its claim by reasonable argument based on experiment. Thus to many Chinese science seems to be the saviour of mankind. Its rewards are obvious to all. The penalties of neglecting it are inefficiency and impotence. This self-sufficient creed has caught the imagination of young China. Its exponents from the West have taught many who now lead the thought of China, through visits paid to that country or in the universities of America, France, Japan and Britain which have welcomed Chinese students. This anti-religious stream is at its height, and during last year many exponents of the 'scientific view' did battle on the printed page with the defenders of the 'metaphysical view.' The majority of the readers seem to have felt that the former got the best of the argument.

(b) This line of attack alone would never have served to create and sustain a national movement against the Christian Church. It would, doubtless, have continued to influence many, and would have stimulated interest in religious

questions which probably would, in the end, have strengthened religious faith. There has been added to it, however, the other more powerful anti-foreign stream. This derives its strength from a re-study of the dealings of foreign Powers with China during the last hundred years, such history being written up in a sense that makes the most of their aggressive designs. The recent events on which the lime-light has been chiefly turned have been the twenty-one demands by Japan, and the delay in carrying out the provisions of the Washington Conference.¹

These issues, however, have been regarded as only a part of a long persistent policy in which all foreign nations have had a share. This policy, it is believed, is calculated to lead to the permanent disablement of China politically and economically for the benefit of foreigners. It is supposed to include a deliberate attempt to denationalize young Chinese through missionary education. It is set forth as being a major cause of China's present weakness. The economic and political 'invasion' and 'exploitation' of China are regarded as one side of the picture, the 'cultural invasion' as the other. The intensest type of anti-foreign propaganda has been developed in certain centres; this has certainly been encouraged by Russian influences, which have had the greater weight because Russia alone among the Powers has voluntarily surrendered her concessions and her extra-territorial privileges. The point of most bitter attack has been the 'unequal treaties' which seem to stamp upon China the brand of inferiority among the nations.

The Christian Church is commonly supposed to be identified with this determined policy. Not only is it a part of the general impact of the West on China, but it is regarded as itself manifesting in the person of its missionaries that sense of superiority and domination that are peculiarly

¹ It should be pointed out that this delay was actually requested by the Peking Government and that the technical difficulty has been France's failure to ratify until she had reached a satisfactory agreement on the 'Gold-franc issue.'

resented to-day. It brings its message as something better than China has produced. Its methods are alien, its government has been largely in foreign hands. When grievous injury has been done to China by foreign nations the Christian missionary has not stood forth, as a rule, to protest. It has been urged on behalf of the missionary movement that its success furthers the economic interests of the countries which send the missionaries. Is it not obvious to China that Church and State are but two aspects of the same aggressive force ?

II

Herein then lies the extreme difficulty of the Chinese Christian to-day. From the West he has received the Gospel which has transformed his life. Among missionaries he counts some of the friends who have helped him most and whose friendship he is anxious not to lose. Nevertheless he is keenly patriotic, he hates the unchristian elements in the West which are regarded by many of his fellow-citizens as an essential part of the Christian propaganda, he is more than half doubtful about some of the practices and ideas which are associated with Christianity and which make it more alien to the Chinese than perhaps it need be. If he associates himself too closely with his foreign friends or the ' foreign ' Church he is accused of lack of patriotism and of yielding to superstition. If he takes a more independent line he runs the danger of breaking a valued connexion and losing some part of catholic Christianity.

For Christian leaders who feel themselves in such a dilemma there arises a series of problems which might well tax the ablest and which require for their solution a very different atmosphere from that which prevails. Can we hope that right choices will be made by individuals and by the Christian communities in China ? Never was greater need for prayer and real sympathy and for our avoiding any kind of undue pressure even in the interests of truth itself.

The problems I have heard discussed by Chinese leaders

in many parts of China during the last few years might be considered under four general heads: ecclesiastical, theological, social and political. Taking these up seriatim I shall attempt to indicate certain directions in which the chief difficulty is felt in such groups as I have met with.

(1) The ecclesiastical problems include such questions as these: Are the organizations of church life as introduced by western Christians really suitable to China, where religion has flourished without any form of central organization? Can we feel our way to some type of church life such as China would have worked out for herself if primitive Christianity had come to her direct? Would this include such a complete dependence upon a paid and full-time ministry? Are the sacramental elements in the Church essential or incidental? Why should the Church in China be split into unrelated groups which in many cases do not even have interchange of membership? Are these groups an expression of different temperamental attitudes and needs, or are they simply due to defects in mutual adjustment—a quality in which China has been pre-eminent?

It would not, I think, be unfair to say that many Chinese Christians feel something akin to resentment when they realize that Christianity has been given to them in a form in which it is loaded with ecclesiastical impedimenta which certainly make it harder for many Chinese to accept the Christian faith and which may not be, and in certain cases are not, integral parts of that faith.

(2) The theological problems cut still deeper and raise the most fundamental issues for East and West alike. Some may be instanced: How far do the historic creeds represent original and essential Christianity? Is their form suitable to the structure of Chinese thought, and, if so, how far is it permissible to change them? Do creeds really serve the purposes for which they are supposed to exist? Can a genuine Christian faith be developed by a Church that is less exact in its theological definitions? Should we aim to gather round an expression of purpose and of

devotion to Christ rather than round any intellectual formulation? How can the Church in China best express her sense that God was revealing Himself through the Chinese philosophers? Must Chinese Christians be forced (prematurely or indeed at all) to take sides on the fundamentalist-modernist issue? Is it not much more possible than many western Christians think to be truly united and to work together when on very grave matters of faith there are wide differences of opinion?

Such are some of the many questions I have heard discussed by Chinese Christians. To many it seems an outrage upon the young Church that it should be driven into a controversial maelstrom when it is just learning the art of navigation in quieter waters. Between this attitude and one of sheer bewilderment I find all shades of difference. Some Chinese Christians are keen partisans on such questions. But even these give a hearing and sometimes a welcome to those who differ widely from them which is not offered by some of their missionary colleagues.

(3) The perplexity caused by social problems is scarcely if at all less and is, in my view, more widespread. Nothing awakens a keener discussion in a Chinese Christian group than the problem of the home. How far shall it be westernized? Can the old family or clan system be perpetuated in the new China? What does Christianity mean for marriage, parenthood, home education? There is a strong move to concentrate Christian activity upon such questions as gambling, opium smoking, concubinage and other great social evils. Militarism is constantly referred to as one of the major problems which the Church exists to combat. How far can the Church venture, with its present force, upon these programmes? It is clear that Chinese Christians would go a good deal farther than some of their missionary friends are prepared for. Is there a danger that the individual message be lost sight of in the social emphasis, or is it true that in China, at any rate, the message can most effectually reach the individual through a Church on fire

with social passion and putting forth most of its strength in meeting these problems ?

(4) It is in the field of politics that the clash is being felt at the present moment most acutely. On the one hand are those who see that the Christian Church has lost its spiritual power when it has grasped temporal power. They fear, not without reason, especially in a land like China, that the Church may become a mere party organ. They see how engrossing these political questions become when once we seriously enter upon them. They do not question that moral issues are involved in political ones. But they believe that it must be left to individual Christians to work out the implications of our faith in this field and that the Church should keep to her 'proper functions' of evangelism and education. My own impression is that Chinese Christians generally are not satisfied with this line of reasoning and that they feel that, in China's present weak state, the Church is the one body that can speak out on great political matters, and that she will betray her trust if she keeps silence. But here, even more than in the other fields, it is difficult for the foreign missionary to be a partner with Chinese Christians in facing the issue and in taking any action that might seem to be indicated. Clearly many of these political issues are such that a body of nationals of one country can act in a way impossible for an international group. The responsibility of decision and action must rest, in the last resort, upon the Church in China.

Here then is the dilemma for this Church. The issues are far-reaching ; the very best thought is needed for their right handling ; those to whom Chinese Christians would naturally turn are in some ways disqualified from giving help and those who could best help are often most sensitive to the fact of this disqualification and least inclined to press their views upon their Chinese friends. These issues, as already mentioned, have to be faced at a time of acute stress. How is the Church meeting the situation ?

III

Every one of these perplexing problems has been brought into the lime-light by the activities of the anti-Christian movement. Here is a loosely organized but widespread indigenous movement which raises from without many of the issues which had already arisen within the Church, and which by its criticism has caused Chinese Christians to think more furiously into their position vis-à-vis the missionary on the one hand and their own people on the other hand.

In a number of centres Chinese Christians have been vilified and their meetings have been broken up. They are spoken of as the paid dogs of the foreigner, eating out of his hand and losing all sense of patriotism. The unfairness of these charges does not take out the sting. At a time when national unity is so urgently demanded it is difficult indeed for a patriotic Chinese to be driven away from association with his fellow-countrymen. Yet such has often been the case.

When the National Christian Council faced up to the criticism of the anti-Christian movement last May the notes struck at the outset were deeply significant. They were these : understand the point of view of the critic ; examine yourself to see wherein his criticism is partially or wholly justified and seize this opportunity for a well-considered forward move, giving thanks to God for the awakening of so much interest in religion. No note of fear was struck and no note of hesitation. It was fully recognized that there are faults in the Church which give colour to the attack, and that these needed to be rectified. It was admitted that the Church was in part to blame for the prevailing misconceptions of the Christian faith. Foreigner and Chinese alike recognized that association with western nations offered a target, as it were, at which the enemy could aim, and that much in the policy of these nations is essentially unchristian. There was a determination to

meet the attack in a friendly spirit and with such readjustments as were needed, but by no means lowering the Christian flag to meet the storm.

From the Council a message was issued which centred round the ideas of Truth, Freedom and Love. The truth as we see it in Christ Jesus our Lord is boldly set forth. It is further pointed out that 'the great truths seen by China's sages come from the one source of all truth which is in God. The Church needs to make a far larger use of Chinese literature as a preparation for the full light to be found in Jesus Christ.' Freedom 'means the increasing substitution of inward for outward control as man's spirit makes progress towards its goal. The Christian religion can never be forced upon a man or a nation.' This involves difficulties in the life and work of the Church and it is urged that the 'lack of the most effective Chinese leadership in the Church' is 'due not so much to scarcity of potential leadership as to a failure to secure conditions under which real leadership can develop.' When dealing with Love, the message admits that no country is truly Christian and in particular that 'the aggressive manifestation of the western civilization is no part of the Christian Gospel.' It calls upon the mission boards to give heed to the implications of this position. The Council believes 'that when foreign governments carry out aggressive designs in China, or fail to show due respect to her as a member of the family of nations, Christian love calls for plain speaking, especially by the Christian citizens of the country concerned.'

The Council dares to believe that 'a forward movement by the Church on these lines will naturally draw to itself the best elements in the country; it will knit the Christian and the scientist in patient search for truth; it will show how to ground democracy on unshakable foundations; it will give passion and power to all movements for social betterment.' Co-operation with the missionary and with the western Churches is still desired. Yet it is clear that the Church of China means to be mistress in her own house and

that only as she is so can she hope to take her rightful place in the country's life. To meet the anti-Christian movement Chinese Christianity must be free to express its own mind and to take its own course. At our peril and at hers will the missionary organizations hold to the rudder when they should hand it over to those well qualified to take it. The answer to criticism is to be found in advance both in spiritual power and in Chinese leadership. 'Thus,' says the message, 'will the missionary movement *to* China lose itself in the forward movement of the Christian Church *in* China. Thus will the Church establish itself unmistakably as the representative of a spiritual religion rooted and grounded in love.'

IV

This then was the note which the Church in China, so far as it is represented in any one group of persons, sounded forth in answer to the perplexing situation outlined in the previous sections of this article. Within ten days of the issue of this message a blow fell which threatened to destroy the unity of Chinese and missionary, which tested the leadership of the Church to the utmost and which at once raised the question as to how far we would really stand by the expressions to which Chinese and foreigners alike had just committed themselves. The forty shots fired outside the Louza police station on Saturday May 30th have re-echoed through the whole of China. They have awaked many a sleeping lion; they have speeded up the processes which have been forcing the Church in China to make great decisions; they have brought missionaries and missionary societies face to face with problems which can no longer be evaded. Let me first give a few quotations which will show something of the nature of the reaction.

The Union of Chinese Christians of Peking, in the course of a brief and dignified appeal, dated June 7th, uses these words:

We venture to call the attention of all those who have the interests of world peace at heart to the fact that what seems to lie at the bottom of

the bitterness and misunderstanding, of which the Shanghai incident may be regarded as a spontaneous outburst, is the sense of injustice done to China and the Chinese people by the maintenance of legalities, based on treaties exacted from China in the past as the fruits of war, whereby foreign nationals enjoy unfair advantages over the Chinese in their own land. Any fundamental solution must involve the removal of such irritating causes through treaty revisions.

The Chinese staffs of two Christian institutions addressed a letter to missionary friends in China in the course of which they say :

So long as the unequal treaties, with all their implications such as extra-territoriality, foreign concessions, limitations on the customs duties, spheres of influence etc, remain unabolished, there can be no equality and justice in the relationships between China and other nations.

They express their appreciation of the statements made by certain missionaries in regard to the Shanghai incident, but they feel that past experience warrants them in expressing a doubt as to how far such statements are meant to go.

Time and again we have heard such expressions of high sounding principles, but we have now come to the point where we find ourselves unable to have faith in words which are not validated by corresponding deeds. Furthermore, we desire to know whether or not such statements represent the consensus of opinion of all the missionaries in China.

In a number of cities Chinese Christian Unions have been formed, springing into activity under the influence of this new wave of nationalism. These unions contain no foreigners. It is not impossible that these may be the precursors of a national organization in which Chinese Christian opinion could find expression without embarrassing the missionary members of the Church and without being itself hindered by them. If so, a new problem would be created for the National Christian Council. In this situation it has become clear to many, perhaps to most, Chinese Christians that there are occasions when they must speak without such embarrassment. The immediate emphasis has been upon the study of China's international relations, but it is clear that the leaders look to a complete and early dissociation of the

Church from any connexion whatever with foreign treaty rights, such as have been invoked in the past for the protection both of persons and property. It seems likely that the movement will put to missionaries the like question as to whether their position would not be stronger if they could find means to divest themselves of all such rights. At least the issue is raised by the very fact that Chinese Christians are organizing for these purposes.

In order to emphasize this point, let me quote again from an able and very moderate article by Dr C. Y. Cheng, in which he deals with the results of the Shanghai incident, counselling patience and courage. He says :

The formation of friendship calls for both positive and negative action. Impartial study of the motives of the students, frank discussion among the groups concerned, actual working to secure friendship, are all important things to be done. They are on the positive side. On the other hand we must remove international barriers. When foreigners come to China they live under such unnatural conditions that a line of separation is drawn between them and the Chinese. 'When you enter another country enquire about its laws. When you set your foot upon a new boundary line find out the customs of that place.' This is a natural and logical thing to do, and a universal principle. The foreigners who come to China do not do this. They live under special conditions ; they live in another country without observing its laws ; their intercourse with the people of that country is based upon their own special lines of reasoning. They retain 'spheres of influence,' leases of land, concessions, the regulation of customs duties, extra-territoriality, the Mixed Court (no treaty provides for foreigners thus to judge cases involving Chinese), and all those rights gained from the unequal treaties disturb the peace between Chinese and foreigners. Because of these barriers there seems to be a deep river separating them. If international intercourse is built on such a basis, you cannot have real friendship ; even if you attained it, it would be hurt by these things. Under ordinary circumstances these conditions do not matter so much, but once the fuse catches fire, explosion will result. . . . Friendship founded on the above conditions must be a vain hope, or merely superficial. It cannot bring real gain on either side.

Under the leadership of Dr Cheng and others of like mind, both foreign and Chinese, the National Christian Council Executive Committee addressed the Shanghai Municipal Council and pointed out that the 'incident [of May 30] has

already had very serious effects upon the friendly relations between Chinese and foreigners of all occupations in different parts of the country and is endangering the educational, church and other activities conducted jointly by Chinese Christians and foreigners.' They proceed to make specific suggestions as to Chinese representation on the Municipal Council.

In a long letter just to hand from the President of one of the Christian Universities, an account is given of the way in which the staff and students were able to hold together during the critical days of June, when a terrific strain was put upon their relationships. This was largely due to the fact that the staff (international in composition) expressed itself very clearly and quickly on what seemed to it to be the moral issues involved. The writer says :

In all this, we have in a real sense been doing evangelistic work, witnessing to the Christian spirit and message, neutralizing hostility and misconception and giving our students a certain practical training for life. . . . During the past three weeks there has been many an anxious time when feelings ran high and they [the students] were swayed by an excitement which made them as reckless of consequences as they seemed regardless of courtesies. But on the whole I feel immensely proud of them and more confident than ever of the results we hope to secure in and through them.

V

It is much too soon to say what this all means for the future of Christianity in China. One thing is certain, these recent happenings have brought into sharp relief the nature of the problem which faces the Church in China. It is not too much to speak of it as standing at the cross roads. Can Chinese and missionaries hold together and by mutual forbearance and sympathy take each his right place in these difficult days ? What attitude are missionary societies going to take—one that emphasizes the difficulty, maintains the 'rights,' either ecclesiastical or national, in just the form in which they have been recognized in the past, and stands timorously on the brink of fresh adventure ; or one that sees clearly

the new situation, accepts it boldly and dares to believe that the Spirit of God is leading the young Church even along what some would feel to be dangerous paths ?

What decisions will the Church in China come to if left to itself, or rather if allowed to take as much or as little as it likes of foreign advice ? How will it deal with the problem of denominationalism, with modernism and fundamentalism, with creeds, with the family problem, with these pressing political questions ? Will it maintain its spiritual vigour and give its spiritual message without loss of power while also speaking out strongly on great national issues ? One of the most trusted Chinese leaders criticized a draft prepared for publication in this crisis on the ground that it failed to stress the spiritual side. He maintained that the situation would 'reveal what we are, where our heart really is, what we truly stand for, what we work and pray for.' 'I have a very deep conviction,' he added, 'that the Christian Church in China is called upon to show what Christ really means to the world. We ought to be absolutely loyal to God and Christ.'

This article, put together when news still comes to hand each week that modifies one's views of the position, cannot pretend to do more than indicate the general trend of events. It is written in the firm conviction that God is in the midst of His Church in China, leading her forward, that she will not make any serious blunder if she be allowed to follow her own Christian intuitions and that in seeking to prevent her from making minor mistakes we of the West may easily prevent her from doing those great and daring things to which she is being summoned by her Lord. Certainly recent events call us, on our part, to a reconsideration of some things we have long taken for granted and to a willingness to learn and to dare.

HENRY T. HODGKIN

A SURVEY OF ISLAM IN SOUTH AFRICA

By S. M. ZWEMER, D.D.

IN Lady Duff Gordon's charming *Letters from the Cape* (1864) we find this telling picture of the Malay community in her day :

I am just come from prayer at the Mosque in Chiappini Street, on the outskirts of the town. A most striking sight. A large room, like a county ball-room, with glass chandeliers, carpeted with common carpet, all but a space at the entrance, railed off for shoes ; the Caaba [Kibla] and pulpit at one end ; over the niche, a crescent painted ; and over the entrance door a crescent, an Arabic inscription, and the royal arms of England ! A fat, jolly Mollah looked amazed as I ascended the steps ; but when I touched my forehead and said, ' Salaam Aleikoom,' he laughed and said, ' Salaam, Salaam, come in, come in.' The faithful poured in, all neatly dressed in their loose drab trousers, blue jackets, and red handkerchiefs on their heads ; they left their wooden clogs in company with my shoes, and proceeded, as it appeared, to strip. Off went jackets, waistcoats and trousers, with the dexterity of a pantomime transformation ; the red handkerchief was replaced by a white skull-cap, and a long large white shirt and full white drawers flowed around them. How it had all been stuffed into the trim jacket and trousers, one could not conceive. Gay sashes and scarves were pulled out of a little bundle in a clean silk handkerchief, and a towel served as prayer carpet. In a moment the whole scene was as Oriental as if the Hansom cab I had come in existed no more. Women suckled their children, and boys played among the clogs and shoes all the time, and I sat on the floor in a remote corner. The chanting was very fine, and the whole ceremony very decorous and solemn. It lasted an hour ; and then the little heaps of garments were put on, and the congregation dispersed, each man first laying a penny on a very curious little old Dutch-looking, heavy, iron-bound chest, which stood in the middle of the room.

The crescent and the cross are seen outlined to-day against the deep blue sky from minaret and steeple, not only in Cape Town but in Durban, Pretoria and Johannesburg. So strong has the Malay community grown that they held their 'First Moslem Congress of South Africa' June 18th-20th this year, and crowded the great City Hall of Cape Town until it was transformed into a sea of red and black fezes which packed floor and galleries; and of such political importance was the gathering that the Minister of Education and the Minister of Labour were both present and took part in the discussions.

How did Islam reach Cape Town? How far does it extend? What is its character and influence in South Africa to-day?

In response to an invitation from the Foreign Mission Board of the Dutch Reformed Church and of the Committee of the General Missionary Conference of South Africa, I spent part of the summer investigating these questions. Arriving at the Cape on June 1st I took a share in the closing meetings of the United Missionary Campaign under Dr Donald Fraser's splendid leadership, attending the Natal Missionary Conference at Durban, the General Missionary Conference for South Africa at Johannesburg and the Triennial Student Conference at Pretoria. The carefully arranged itinerary, and the excellent railway facilities, not only of the Union but of the Rhodesian and Trans-Zambezi lines, made it possible to crowd much into two brief months.

At the conferences and by correspondence we cast out the net of a questionnaire to gather information; in the mosques and schools Arabic was our passport and every Moslem community received us with courtesy. We offer these fragmentary notes to call attention to this southernmost corner of the world of Islam, not without its own importance. It is on the border-marches that the destiny of the African continent lies in the balance.

South of the Great Lakes, or the 13th degree of latitude,

the number of Moslems may be conservatively estimated as follows :

Cape Province	24,513	(Government Census, 1921).
Natal	17,146	„ „ „
Transvaal	8,237	„ „ „
Orange Free State	141	„ „ „
Basutoland	102	„ „ „
Bechuanaland	9,051	(Estimated).
Swaziland		
Rhodesia		
South-West Africa	1,000	„
Portuguese E. Africa and N.W. Madagascar	150,000	(Based on Census and earlier estimates in <i>The Moslem World</i>).
Nyasaland	73,000	(Government Census, 1923).
TOTAL	<u>283,190</u>	

In some cases these figures are too low. In the Government Year Book for the Union (1924), there is a map showing 'The Distribution or Density of the Asiatic and Mixed and other non-European population *excluding* Bantu.' From this map, where each dot represents 100 persons, as well as from personal observation, one would conclude that the number of Moslems in the Union is larger than the census figures. The government report speaks of the difficulty of drawing an accurate line between the borderland types of Coloured persons and Bantu :

To this fact was due the number of Bantu Mohammedans. A careful scrutiny of the schedules showed that a certain number of these individuals were Swahilis from Central and East Africa, who had either been passed by enumerators as Bantu or entered on Bantu schedules by the European householder employing them. In appearance often they are not unlike Bantu ; but they are not true stock and are partly of Arab race. For census purposes they should, therefore, be classed within the group 'Mixed and other non-European.'

Not without reason do they say at the Cape, 'Islam is the Coloured man's Church.' In the Cape Province mosques

and groups of Moslems are already found in about twenty towns and villages.¹

Islam at the Cape dates back to 1654, when the Dutch East India Company determined to use it as a penal settlement, and as far as can be ascertained all of the early prisoners sent from Batavia were Moslems.

In 1713, when the great epidemic of smallpox broke out in this settlement, the number of convicts was 570. Two hundred of them died, but the remainder were allowed liberty, marrying women from among the Coloured population, who accepted Islam, and this community thus became the nucleus of Mohammedanism in South Africa. One exile, moreover, exercised so great an influence at the time of his banishment that his grave, adorned with a lofty minaret, has become the centre of pilgrimage for all South Africa. Sheikh Yusef of Bantam, Java, was a spiritual leader of great sanctity, a nobleman of royal birth, a warrior of great and true patriotism, who undertook the commandership of the armies of the Sultan and fought to the verge of extermination for the independence of the kingdom of Bantam. Through treachery, he was induced to surrender to the Dutch in 1683. The Governor-General and Council of India considered it unsafe to detain this brave man in India and so kept him a close prisoner on the Island of Ceylon till 1694, when he was transported to the Cape of Good Hope. He landed on these shores with a following of forty-nine souls in all. Land was provided for them near Stellenbosch and on May 3rd, 1699, he died and was buried on the farm of the Dutch Reformed minister, the Rev. Petrus Kalden, at the Eerst River mouth, called Zandvlei.

Another name in the early history of Islam in South Africa is that of Abdullah Abdu-Salam, a later convict who, when he received his liberty, called the Moslems together, and instructed them in their faith. He knew the

¹ Cape Town (chiefly in Bree Street and Hanover Street), Cradock, King William's Town, Strand, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Wellington, Wynberg, Plumstead, Claremont, Salt River, Simonstown, Mossel Bay, Piquetberg, Worcester, Walmer Estate, East London, Uitenhage, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth.

Arabic Koran by heart, and is said to have written out the whole of it from memory. This first copy of the Cape Koran is a treasured possession among the Moslem community. He died at the age of ninety-five, and many of the faithful visit his grave in Cape Town on Fridays and pour oil on the tombstone which, although well kept, bears no inscription. His descendants became prominent men in the Moslem community of South Africa. One of them is head of a Derwish order.

In Natal, Islam entered from India about 1860, when large numbers of Indians, Hindu and Moslem, were imported as indentured labourers for the sugar plantations. Although at first they came for the sugar industry, their skill and enterprise opened up other avenues of employment. At present less than one-fourth are on sugar estates. Many are engaged in general farming work, on the railways, on tea estates, in coal mines or as domestic servants. They have their chief mosques and settlements in Durban (six to eight thousand), Pietermaritzburg, Dundee, Newcastle, Umzinto, Stanger and Port Shepstone.

The railway employee, the small trader and skilled artisan have carried Islam inland from the coast to the Transvaal and Rhodesia. There has also been an infiltration of Arabic and Swahili-speaking Moslems from Zanzibar and Mauritius—wherever the railway and mining industries have opened up new centres.

Pretoria has nearly fifteen hundred Moslems and supports three mosques; in Johannesburg, Rustenburg, Vrijburg, Bulawayo, Salisbury, Shamva, Umvuma and other mining centres there are considerable groups.

Islam first entered Portuguese East Africa and Nyasaland from the East Coast through Arab slave-traders in the eighteenth century. The Yao tribe, one of the largest and most vigorous, is mostly Moslem. Other tribes, like the Anguri near Zomba, and the Natives of Portuguese territory are also affected. With the Indian trader, who is found all over Southern Nyasaland and Portuguese

territory, Islam is steadily gaining ground everywhere. Beira and Lourenço Marquez have several fine mosques. At Caia, Port Herald, Limbe, Blantyre, Zomba and Fort Johnson, Islam has gained a strong foothold. A British official at Fort Johnson, who is in close touch with village life, said Islam was undoubtedly and rapidly spreading.¹

Islam south of the Lakes is polyglot, although Arabic is used everywhere in the mosques for worship and taught in the village schools. In the Cape Province Afrikaans and English are chiefly used, although I found, even in a greengrocer's shop on Bree Street, well-thumbed books in Urdu, Persian and Arabic. In Natal the Moslems speak Urdu, Gujerati, Tamil, Sindhi or English. The same is true of Portuguese East Africa, although here and for Nyasaland we must add Swahili and Yao. At Tapani I spoke in Arabic to a large village crowd of Moslems, and my interpreter into Yao had never left his home country but acquired Arabic from his father. He understood the simple classical perfectly. In the mosques I generally carried on my conversation in Arabic. Many whom I met had been to Mecca or to Cairo.

Economic and social conditions naturally vary over so wide an area and among people of such mixed origin, yet the trade-mark of Islam is visible everywhere in dress, bearing, customs, salutations and an *esprit de corps* which is unmistakable. The red fez or tarboosh distinguishes the Moslem at the Cape and in Natal. One regrets, therefore, its adoption as the head-dress of 'boys' in hotels and in government service or for the King's African Rifles in Nyasaland. The latter are not exclusively Moslem troops. Circumcision is universal. The food laws and the entire ritual on purity are observed as carefully as in any part of

¹ The last Government Census gives these figures for Nyasaland :

Total number of Christians	.	.	.	.	103,001
" " Pagans	.	.	.	.	1,023,918
" " Moslems	.	.	.	.	73,015

The latter are chiefly in Zomba, Dedza, Fort Johnson and Blantyre districts. Special village centres are Mponda's, Kotakota, Korunda, Tamballa, Tapani and Bomba.

the Moslem world. The women generally are still unveiled and have considerable freedom, but in Cape Town the veil has recently been introduced by the ever increasing number of pilgrims returning from Mecca and these leaders are advocating greater seclusion. Polygamy is practised and publicly defended. Divorce is very common. At Cape Town conditions prevail to which attention has been called in two novels (*The Lure of Islam*, Miss Prowse, London; and *Beware of the Purdah*, Mrs Olga Peruk, Cape Town). Both books are based on fact and tell how white girls are lured away to marry Malays and Indians.

The subject is referred to in the report of the Archbishop's Missionary Commission (Cape Town, 1924) as follows :

It cannot be denied that in the course of years many hundreds, and more particularly of young women, have lapsed from the Christian faith to Mohammedanism. In giving evidence, one experienced worker said she believed that as high a proportion as 50 per cent of Mohammedan women visited in her district were lapsed Christians, the children of lapsed Christians or born of Christian parents and adopted in childhood by Mohammedans. Adult perversion, as it would appear, commonly begins with immorality as judged from the Christian standpoint, and not with religious conviction. Perverts for the most part are young women (very often domestic servants) who form attachments with men who, for the occasion, discard the fez and assume a Christian name, but who subsequently, and when a moral lapse has occurred, acknowledge adherence to the Mohammedan faith.

The records of St Monica's (Rescue) Home, Cape Town, also tell the story of how fallen women with their tiny infants are tempted away. Testimony of this nature could be multiplied, but the situation is delicate and the Moslem press at Cape Town furiously resents reference to the subject. The books mentioned have been suppressed.

Something might be said on the other side. The Moslem's social consciousness is strengthened, and sometimes justly aggravated by the race relations that obtain in South Africa. The native press boldly proclaims its policy to secure the supremacy of the Coloured race through Islamic

brotherhood. Socially, Moslems at the Cape are recognized by the Government as Coloured people distinct from the native Bantus, and there is now a bill before Parliament to put them on the same footing as Europeans. They have the franchise in the Cape but not in the other Provinces. At the Cape they are engaged as tailors, masons, builders, carpenters, grocers, fruiterers and cab drivers, and along the coast as fishermen. Many of them own their houses and earn good wages. Their women are among the best laundry workers and factory hands and they seem to be well treated by their husbands. They have large households of children, and are seen in public, in the streets, mostly unveiled.

The Moslems of South Africa belong almost exclusively to the orthodox or Sunni sect. There are a few Shiah's from India, however, and at Pretoria these have a mosque. Most of the Cape Malays belong to the Shafa'ite school, following in this their original leaders who came from Java. The Moslems of Nyasaland are also Shafa'ites, although among them and elsewhere the Indians are Hanifites. The new Islam is represented by a few Ahmadiyahs, whose literature (from Woking and Lahore) we found in a number of places.

The Derwish or mystic brotherhoods are found chiefly at Cape Town, where *Zawias* exist for several of the orders. In *The Moslem Outlook* (Cape Town, February 20th, 1925) we find an account of the annual festival of the *Chistiya* order held at Thornhill, Cape Town. The following orders exist: *Qadariya* at Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria, Beira, Zomba, Mponda, Caia; *Rifa'iya* at Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Mafeking; *Naqshabandiya* at Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Beira, Bulawayo and in Nyasaland; *Chistiya* at Cape Town and Fort Johnson; *Shathaliya* at Cape Town and Johannesburg. When one remembers the influence of these orders in the history of Islam and their appeal to the negro mind, by rhythmic dancing, barbaric music and loud ritual, one is not surprised at the strength of Islam.

Photographs were given me of Derwish dances at Fort

Johnson, on the occasion of a *Mawlid*, which might have been taken at Tanta or Damanhur in Egypt.

The mystic orders are in close touch with Mecca, Cairo, Bombay and Constantinople as is evident from their literature, the lithographs that adorned homes and mosques and the reports of 'distinguished visitors' in the Moslem press of Cape Town.

Other organizations exist. Letters to the press in Johannesburg were signed by the 'Hon. General Secretary of the Transvaal Islamic Congress.' Receipts were posted in several mosques, of money received by the 'Caliphate Committee in Bombay for relief to the Moplahs and the Riffs.' A meeting was held at Cape Town to elect delegates to the Cairo Caliphate Congress.

The Moslem periodical press is of recent origin. Its most active organ, *The Moslem Outlook* (weekly), was first issued January 30th, 1925. It announces itself as 'The mouthpiece of the Moslem community in South Africa,' and already has a circulation of six thousand. Its pages reveal the character and activity of Islam and its growing self-consciousness and self-confidence. Other English papers that more or less represent Islamic or nationalistic thought are *The Cape Indian*, in English and Gujarati, Durban; *The African Chronicle* (Vol. xviii), Durban, 'A journal of political, social and literary matter circulated all over the Union of South Africa and India' (political); *Indian Opinion* (Vol. xxiii), in English and Gujarati, Durban, edited by Mahatma Gandhi's son; *The African Voice* (Vol. iii, 1925), Cape Town. The last named is a 'paper for the people' in English and Bantu 'to propagate the interests of non-Europeans throughout the African continent,' and is printed at the Moslem press in Hanover Street. So also is the new paper, *The African World*, in English and Bantu, which bears on its title page, 'Africa for the Africans, Europe for the Europeans.' Moslem newspapers from India and Egypt also find readers. I noticed especially *Al Minar* from Cairo; *Din*, a Gujarati Moslem

paper, and *Al Sufi*, in Urdu, from Lahore. Knowing there is a distinct revival of Arabic study, I was yet surprised to find four hundred children studying this language in one school at Cape Town, to see in the library of an *imam* Howell's Arabic-English Grammar in eight volumes, and to receive a faultless epistle in Arabic from a villager near Zomba. The other literature used by Moslems in the Union, in Natal and in Nyasaland, is mostly imported. The usual religious classics in Arabic, Urdu and Persian deck the shelves of the *imams* or are found at the tombs of saints and in mosques. Arabic Korans or portions printed in Cairo or in Bombay; Bukhari; Beidhawi; the *wirds* of the Derwish ritual; Tha'alabi's story of the prophets; the popular treatise on eschatology called *Daya'iq-ul-Akhbar*; very simple Arabic grammars—these are found everywhere. In Cape Town there are larger collections including the works of the mystics. A series of little books in Afrikaans is also published at the Cape—some in Roman character and others in Arabic script, lithographed. (It was strange to read a description of Mohammed's paradise in mongrel Dutch.) Catechisms and Koran sections in Afrikaans¹; Swahili manuals; Yao primers in Arabic character; Tamil and Marathi books of devotion; and a Zulu catechism, recently put on the press at Durban—these were some of our discoveries. We were also told of a school, opened at Bulwer near Durban, to train natives in Islam. The leaders in this Arabic revival are returned pilgrims from Mecca or wandering schoolmasters. I met one such at Beira, born in Yemen, educated in Egypt, who had visited Buffalo, N.Y., and after being *Imam* in Durban now teaches Arabic to Indian lads in Mozambique. Johannesburg has one or two Beirut *mullahs*, and at Zomba there is an Arabic teacher for their new mosque school.

In the Cape Province conditions are more or less static. This is not the case however further north and in Portuguese territory.

¹ Cf. 'Two Cape Town Catechisms,' in *The Moslem World*, 1925 (Oct.).

Will Islam there continue to penetrate southwards among other tribes and win them like the Yao? Or is the native Church strong enough and united enough to hold its ground and win the remaining three million pagans before they are Islamized? The Rev. Ernest W. Riggs, of the American Board, after his recent visit to the East Coast writes :

Mohammedanism is permeating Natal and Portuguese East Africa by slow methods of infiltration. Indian traders, largely Moslem, have opened small stores all along the coast region. These Indian traders, inured to the sub-tropical climate, quickly establish themselves where no Europeans find it possible to live. Frequently coming as young unmarried men, they marry one or more Natives and, together with the children which come rapidly, quite a Moslem community results. One of the Portuguese administrators in an isolated region of the Mozambique Company's territory informed us that the influence of these traders was so strong that the Natives no longer kept pigs as these animals were offensive to the Mohammedan religion.

Fifteen years ago Maurice S. Evans, in his book, *Black and White in South East Africa*, called attention to the situation :

Some of those who are watching the signs of the times in Africa predict that before long the religion of Islam, moving gradually from the north to the south will find a seed-bed ready among the Abantu (Bantu) of the south ; and think that in this will be supplied the cohesive element which will bind together all tribes and groups of the people. They point out that there is much in the religion of Mohammed that will appeal to and satisfy the race characteristics and desires of the Abantu. Much more unlikely things have happened. The Mahometans now resident in South East Africa are aliens from Asia and the only connection between them and the Natives has been one of trade—no attempt as far as I know has been made to proselytise. But Africa is opening fast and in centres like Johannesburg and Durban are men representing many cultures and religions, and in the break-up of the old many gaps are left for the entrance of the new (pp. 111-2).

Much water has flowed down the Zambezi since these words were written and yet the situation would not be alarming if the missionary societies on the field were really grappling with it. But this is not the case. Excellent work is being done at Cape Town by a few men and women of the Anglican and the Dutch Reformed Churches, but none

have received special training and there is a lamentable dearth of suitable Christian literature. The native Church is ignorant of Islam and so far as we could learn there is no missionary, Roman Catholic or Protestant, south of the Lakes able to read Arabic.

It is not a question of greater numbers but of better distribution. In Swaziland, with a population of 112,051, there are sixteen societies at work. The setting apart and training of workers is the only true policy. Islam is regarded as a peril instead of an opportunity and the native Church will continue timid until the missions furnish trained leadership. The *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg) summed up the situation in a remarkable editorial (July 3rd, 1925). Deserved tribute was paid to the work of missionary education, and the recent findings of the Phelps-Stokes Commission 'as unanimous and increasingly emphatic in the recommendation of the influence of religion in the education of the native peoples' were heartily endorsed. The article then asked :

What religion? That is the question which the white population must decide so far as the Union is concerned. The point for them is simply whether Christianity or Mohammedanism shall form the basis of civilization in this country. They will not hesitate, we believe, to declare their choice. It will be for Christianity, and the benefits which will follow for the black races. And having chosen they cannot leave the missionaries to fight their battle without help. It is a national and not merely sectarian work which the missionaries are doing, and for that reason they must have public support.

The Moslems of South Africa are accessible and live in the midst of Christian communities. They are approachable and responsive to kindness in a remarkable degree. Many of them are strangers in a strange land and hungry for friendship. All of them have felt the galling yoke of race prejudice and race hatreds but they realize that this is not the spirit of Christianity, for Christ knows no 'colour bar.' To win the Moslems to His allegiance would be a long step forward in the solution of the black and white problem of South Africa.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

WOMEN'S WORK FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS: THREE HOME BASE STUDIES

II. ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE

By G. A. GOLLOCK

A COMPARISON between the study of the work of American Woman's Boards in the July number and the article which follows affords a convincing illustration of the diversity of the home base of missions. The differences arise out of no mere arbitrary adoption or rejection of methods. Behind them lie great sweeps of history, influences of racial combinations, of political ideals, of religious and ecclesiastical developments. The situation in each country can only be understood, and the value of the work estimated, when interpreted in the light of national institutions and characteristics. It is neither possible nor desirable that methods of women's work in widely differing countries should be identical. Only on the mission field, where American and European women work side by side, is it essential that methods and ideals be harmonized as the various national streams unite in one great current of common prayer and work.

The work of American Woman's Boards is set forth in numerous reports and pamphlets. For the continental countries little has been published on women's work. As a basis for this article facts have been gathered by correspondence with local missionary leaders, both men and women, and by personal visits within the last two years to all the continental countries concerned, except Finland. This has given opportunity for a study of the situation

from within. Owing to the difficulty of obtaining material, and the distinctive character of the questions to be discussed, it has proved impossible to include the work of Roman Catholic missions in this survey.

The first part of this article records some general impressions which may be found to have significance; the second part gives a summary, country by country, of some illustrative facts.

PART I

1. The first outstanding impression resulting from a study of the missionary work of continental women is that of its substantial amount and sterling worth. It is true that there are no large women's boards and comparatively few small ones, and that the share of administrative work which falls to women on the Continent is less than that given in Great Britain and far less than that in North America. Yet women are spreading over the whole area of the Protestant Churches of Europe a network of devoted service which wins admiration and respect. They lead in calling out prayer, in raising funds and in all forms of practical service. They are among the most effective agents in local home base work. The wives of retired missionaries, and former single missionaries—generally deaconesses or sisters—supplement the work done by the small number of women sent out as organizers and speakers from the mission boards. In the mission houses, frequently used as offices, as residences and as training centres, the wives of directors and inspectors not only exercise a generous hospitality, but often take active part in thought and work. Within spheres which to women of other countries might seem inadequate, some first-grade work is being done. No woman from continental Europe has yet been a member of the International Missionary Council; it would be easy, from those already associated with the work of mission boards, to name many well fitted for such work.

2. The European countries without exception share in

the strong sense that women's work as done in the past will be insufficient for the future, and that changes must be faced. Three illustrations of this new and growing consciousness may be given :

(a) It is being recognized in many quarters that the position of women at the home base will ultimately govern to a large extent the position of women in the Churches on the mission field. This sense has been fostered by the Enquiry instituted by the International Missionary Council, which has aroused great interest in continental Europe. There are three links in this chain of thought. When in any country the status given to women in civic, university and political life is in sharp contrast to that given in the Church, the Church must suffer loss. When the attitude of a mission board is more conservative than that of the State, and sometimes even than that of the Church, certain consequences follow. The gravest of these is that younger women of high intellectual and spiritual qualification, conscious of a deep vocation to use their gifts and knowledge in the service of God, hesitate to offer their life-work where conditions are crippling and opportunities are scant. When a home board finds small place for the fuller service of women, its extensions on the mission field are apt to reflect its views, and that in turn affects the outlook of the indigenous Church and threatens its future welfare. The summaries in the second part of this article give some idea of the extent to which such limitations exist among continental mission boards. They also show where they have already been or are being removed.

(b) There is a wide—though not a universal—desire among continental women for further scope in connexion with the work of the mission boards in places where limitations still persist. Personal contact, in one centre, in one country after another, has demonstrated this. Not for their own sakes are mature and loyal women seeking larger opportunity. They seek not to get but to give. Some of them are explicitly asking for enlargement of sphere ; others

who equally desire it prefer to wait silently till it is given. Here are two concrete instances from statements received. The president of the women's auxiliary committee of a large and long-established mission writes, 'Women feel the urgent need of their voice being heard in the general mission board.' The secretary of an independent women's organization in another country says, 'The women missionaries often express their desire to have women on the central staff of the mission to deal with their special questions. By and by this will probably come to pass.' Some of those in inner touch with educated girls and the associations to which they belong are of opinion that the presence within official missionary circles of women of the right sort, in sympathy with the aspirations of the younger generation, would further better understanding between possible women candidates and mission boards and lead to offers of service.

(c) Women are waiting, but in many places the waiting time will not be long. The summaries on pages 577-85 record changes already made and large new opportunities already given to women. Where no outward change appears as yet the subject is often under consideration. Men in office as well as women outside it are discussing the expansion of women's work, whether at the home base or on the mission field. A way for fuller co-operation is being sought. But the rate of progress will not be always the same. Questions of traditional usage in church, in committee room and on the mission field have to be faced. Changes which are easily made in one quarter are fraught with problems in another. In some cases deep-seated conscientious objection to the equal partnership of men and women in work still has to be overcome. The forces of conservatism are strong but they are yielding—not to any desire to follow the line of another country or to echo the opinion of its nationals but to conviction taking independent shape in each country as to the most complete expression of its life.

3. In all questions which touch the springs of human

society at a peculiarly confused and perplexing time there is one problem which arises in differing degrees in North America, in Great Britain and on the Continent—in Germany, perhaps, at the moment it is most acute. The disruptive forces of war have changed the trend of life; new thoughts and feelings have been released; tides of spiritual life are swelling unaccustomed channels and it is upon the large groups of the finest of the younger men, and the younger women who alone concern us here, that these currents mainly bear. The influences of their time have removed them from the outlook and position of their fathers far more than is normal as generations pass. There is sometimes doubt in their eyes as they face the acknowledged leaders of missions. There is strong reaction to the conservative or liberal side. No pains, no love, no patience is too costly to spend on bridging the gulf from both sides.

Can the girls and women of the new generation, at its deepest and best, come into co-operative missionary fellowship with the men of an earlier day who hold the key to the mission field? Can they enlist under the leadership of those who, to their thinking, have given scant opportunity to women in the past? Can the men who have known the sober work of deaconesses and sisters, the faithful service of missionary wives, find generous room for those who have true devotion to Christ as their centre but seek freedom to express it in new ways? Can the offices of wise and gentle women be enlisted to further understanding between those who see life through such widely differing eyes?

Those who by personal contact have entered into fellowship of thought and service alike in one long-established mission after another and in group after group of eager girls and their leaders, poised for the adventure of life, find these questions of burning interest. Are they not of supreme moment for the home base of missions in every country, for all the waiting mission fields and for the coming of the kingdom of God?

PART II

The illustrative matter for this article is arranged in the following order: first, notes on Belgium, France and Holland, three countries in which, for differing reasons, women's work for foreign missions is not highly developed; then notes on the northern group—Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland—which has gone ahead in several directions and has a unity of its own; then a note on Switzerland, which occupies an intermediate position; and finally a note on Germany, where a situation of extraordinary interest has recently emerged. In referring to missionary agencies the English title as given in the new *World Missionary Atlas* is used.

For purposes of comparison, and as a background for their missionary opportunity, an attempt has been made to indicate the general position of women in political and church life in each country. Relations between situations at the home base and in the mission fields cannot be adequately considered until the Enquiry now being carried out by the International Missionary Council is complete.

In BELGIUM women had no franchise before the war. In theory they were eligible for public office but were never elected. Since 1919 all women over twenty-one have votes for municipal elections; many have been elected to municipal councils and a few as burgo-masters in villages. For provincial and parliamentary elections votes have been given to widows of soldiers killed in the war and to women who were political prisoners under the German régime. A few women have been elected to the provincial council, one is in the senate, none in the house of representatives. A keen debate has been going on in the Belgian parliament as to giving all women votes for the provincial elections.

Women have long had votes in many congregations of the Belgian Missionary Church for the election of pastors and elders. One woman is in the synod and several in the church councils and church sessions. The Protestant Church related to the State does not as yet give votes or office to women.

The executive committee of the Belgian Society of Protestant Missions to the Congo was the first religious body to elect women to its membership. The two women originally elected are serving still. At the home base in Belgium the raising of funds is done equally by men and women.

In FRANCE women have neither municipal nor parliamentary

franchise, nor are they eligible for election to public office. In the universities they work side by side with men and the professions are open to them.

In the Protestant Churches, there is a difference between the practice of *Eglises Réformées* (formerly established) and the various Free Churches. In the former, women are sometimes members of local councils but not of central governing bodies. In the latter, women do official work on the same level as men. So far no woman has been appointed as assistant minister though a large number of parish deaconesses are doing excellent work. These are not appointed by any official body, but by the minister himself, either with or without the approbation of the local presbytery (parish or church council). There is in Paris an *Ecole de Service chrétien* which trains for this work. The question of admitting women to the ministry has not been considered in any regular synod. Up to last year there were no women divinity students; two have now been accepted at the theological college at Strasbourg.

The Protestant Evangelical Missionary Society is the only one representing the Protestant Churches in France. It has no women on its central committee, nor have women any responsible share in the training of women candidates. It has an auxiliary committee of women in Paris who help in the education of missionaries' children and in the equipment of women missionaries. Throughout the country women take a large part in organizing meetings, raising funds, especially through the *Sou missionnaire*, and doing needlework.

In HOLLAND women have the franchise; they are eligible for election to municipal councils and to the first and second chambers in parliament. In university life their status is the same as that of men. Women may hold office as professors, lecturers and private teachers. They can be advocates but not judges.

In the Netherlands Reformed (National) Church (3 million members) women have recently been given votes for the consistory, or the body which elects ministers, elders and deacons, but are not eligible for election to those offices. In the Reformed Churches (half a million members) women have no vote. The admission of women to the ministry has often been discussed in recent years. In the National Church women who have got the degree of candidate of theology are now admitted as assistant ministers. Two of the smaller church bodies admit women as ministers. In some congregations they are deacons of the church. In Holland there are many

women religious teachers, some with and some without academic education.

The missionary societies regard women as eligible for election to their governing bodies; on one or two women already serve. Holland has no separate women's missionary organization, but an auxiliary committee of women has carried on active work under the Netherlands Missionary Society for over a hundred years. Medical women workers are sent out to the great mission fields in the Dutch East Indies, and school teachers too, but Holland stands alone in having no women missionaries. Offers of missionary service, when made by women, are at present declined. The provision of fit preparation for the wives of future missionaries is under consideration.

There is said to be some movement towards finding larger place for women in the home base in Holland and on the mission field.

Turning to the northern countries, in SWEDEN women were given municipal and parliamentary franchise in 1919. A few are members of parliament.

The universities are open to women; they may be 'docents' (lecturers or dons) but not professors. Women cannot become ministers, judges or military officers.

In the Church, women may vote in elections to Kyrkomötet but are not eligible for election. The question of admitting women to the ministry has been discussed, but public opinion is against it. Meantime some women have taken the full theological examinations with distinction.

The Swedish Missionary Conference in 1920 unanimously agreed that women should have place in central administrative work. The Swedish Church Mission in response appointed one woman to its central committee. Six of the general missionary societies have followed this lead. In one of the smaller general missions both president and secretary are women. Most of the general boards have women's committees to deal with special questions; one of these has a woman secretary who travels all over Sweden and has special work in schools and among university students. Every church and mission board recognizes the splendid power of women's local work, whether singly or in groups. Their voice is said to grow increasingly articulate.

Sweden has one separate women's society¹—the Women Mis-

¹ The new *World Missionary Atlas* shows the K.M.A. of Sweden as a 'society sending missionaries.' The organizations bearing the same name in Norway and Denmark, which had their origin from Sweden, are entered under 'collecting and co-operating societies.'

sionary Workers, founded in 1894 and known as the K.M.A. Organized entirely by women, it works for heathen and Moham-medan women and girls. It supports missionaries under other societies but has independent work in Bengal, Tunis and Lapland. Its last reported income for mission work amounted to Kr. 126,254.

No other national missionary council has appointed a Women's Committee. This was done in Sweden in 1915, three years after the national council began. The committee consists of two members from each missionary society. It neither sends out nor supports missionaries, but is a link between the Swedish societies in their common work.

In 1894 there was formed in Sweden the Missionary Society of Women Teachers, which co-operates with the general boards. It aims at fostering missionary vocation among teachers and finding support for teachers who go to the mission field. Members are already working in Swedish missions in China, India, Natal, Egypt, and among the Jews in Austria. The Y.W.C.A. of Sweden also contributes to the support of missionaries and has itself sent out a secretary to China and partly provides her support.

In NORWAY women also have both municipal and parliamentary franchise and are eligible for election to governing bodies. In university and professional life they are said to lie under no disability.

In the central and local administration of the Church women are on equal footing with men. Some of the women's organizations have raised the question of admitting women to the ministry ; a proposal to that effect has been sent forward to parliament by the National Council of Women.

The missionary societies in Norway do not yet regard women as eligible for membership of their executive bodies, nor are there any special women's committees for departments of the work. Women are often members of local mission boards and are relied on to collect the main part of the funds.

There is no separate women's missionary society in Norway, but there are active co-operating auxiliary agencies. The Women Missionary Workers (K.M.A.) was founded in 1902, with the same aims as the Swedish and Danish organizations. It has an income of Kr. 60,000. It supports Indian workers in the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches, conducts a home for Armenian children and works among Laplanders in the North. The Women Teachers'

Missionary Association was begun in 1902 by a few teachers and now has 1500 members. It reports an income of Kr. 19,500 and supports five teachers in various mission fields. In Norway the Y.W.C.A. works with the Y.M.C.A. under a joint committee of men and women, with equal places and votes, and supports secretaries in China.

The growth of these auxiliary agencies is said to tend towards winning a larger place for women in the general mission boards.

In DENMARK women have the same municipal and parliamentary privileges as in Sweden and Norway. The present Secretary of State for Education is a woman. University life is open to both sexes. Women can sit for all the examinations men take before ordination but are not eligible for the ministry.

In the central administration of the Danish Church women have no place. For the parochial church councils they have votes and are eligible for election. A proposal to admit women to the ministry, specially with a view to their working as prison chaplains, has not yet won general approval.

Several Danish missionary societies have a small minority of women on their central boards. The treasurer of the Danish Missionary Society is a woman, but is not a member of the governing body. The same society unites many strong local centres of women's work under a women's committee with a view to their undertaking the support of the women's work abroad. Other such centres work for a special school or hospital. The Danish Y.W.C.A. also has vigorous local missionary centres and supports secretaries abroad. There are two missionary associations for hospital nurses.

The co-operating women's missionary organizations are parallel to those in Sweden and Norway. The Women Missionary Workers (K.M.A.) has just celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. Its income for mission work is Kr. 107,982. It contributes to the support of women missionaries in China, India, Palestine, Syria, Tunis and Algeria. The Danish Women Teachers' Association provides in whole or in part for members who go abroad under the various societies; it also fosters missionary vocation and aids teachers with missionary material for their school work.

Both men and women correspondents in Denmark are agreed that the general tendency is towards finding larger place for women in the general boards rather than towards increasing the number of separate women's organizations.

In FINLAND women have had general suffrage since 1906.

Municipal franchise is conferred at twenty-one years of age, parliamentary franchise three years later. Several women are members of parliament or serve on municipal councils. Universities and professions are open to women.

Up to the present women have had no share in the central administration of the Lutheran Church of Finland. A proposal has been made that membership of church councils should be opened to them. Women who have taken the B.D. degree are allowed, though unordained, to act as ministers in women's prisons and in hospitals. In the Free Church of Finland women take a considerable part in the administration of home mission work, acting as local chairmen and secretaries and as evangelists.

The governing body of the Finnish Missionary Society has two women members to eighteen men. In the Free Church Mission half the members are women. In the Methodist Church the women's committee has recently been empowered to elect one woman delegate to the general committee. The Finnish National Missionary Council, which is related to the International Missionary Council, has a woman as its secretary.

Finnish women have done noble work in times of unusual economic depression to maintain and enlarge work in their mission fields. Women are active members of local missionary committees. Many women teachers are associated for missionary service. There is no women's missionary society in Finland, nor are there co-operating women's agencies as in Sweden, Norway and Denmark. The national Y.W.C.A. through its missionary committee selects, trains and supports missionaries under the various societies. Twenty such workers have already been sent out, some to Siberia and to Jewish work in Paris, others to Africa, India and China.

In SWITZERLAND women have neither municipal nor political franchise. They are not eligible for election to the governing bodies of the cantons or to parliament. They cannot as a rule hold municipal office. In some cantons they can be members of school commissions and of children's and industrial tribunals. The universities and most professions are open to them, but they are not given office as tutors. A woman may be an advocate but not a judge.

The place given to women in the Churches varies in different cantons. Sometimes they may vote; they are seldom eligible for office. In two or three areas, however, women may be elected to

parish councils or to local synods. Women are being trained as assistant pastors and already do good work.

The three principal foreign mission boards which have their home base in Switzerland owe much to the prayer, the gifts and the enterprise of women. In the Basel Mission, which is international, great part of its home base being in Germany, women have place on the home representative body but not on the general board. A special committee with a majority of women members deals with women's work and training for women missionaries. Four women missionaries are appointed to do propaganda work in Switzerland and Germany. Several groups connected with the German Women's Missionary Union (D.F.M.B.) with their base in Switzerland aid the Basel Mission. There is a wide range of local work and a strong spirit of devotion among the women. The same is true of the Mission Suisse Romande, with its base in Lausanne. The Mission has no women on its central body, because none has yet been sent up by the local church bodies whose representatives form the committee. The Mission has no committee specially for women's work. The Swiss Committee of the Kanarese Mission has six women on its general committee, but up to the present none on its small executive. It has a fine group of ardent women workers.

In GERMANY up to 1919 women were, as in France and Switzerland, without municipal or political franchise. The revolution brought them full voting rights and opened to them the membership of all governing bodies. Being the outcome of a time of upheaval and conflict this abrupt change was not indicative of a gradual development in public opinion, as was the case in other European countries. The new status of women in Germany is as yet only in process of being incorporated into national life. Nevertheless Christian women are realizing the responsibility of the franchise and even in the Reichstag one or two of them have made a mark.

In university life all posts are open to women. In all Germany some fifteen or twenty have been appointed to professorships. It is reported that the number of women students is decreasing, because parents cannot afford to educate both boys and girls fully, and the economic conditions involve such privations for students that girls break down. In professional life the German woman is said to lie under no disabilities.

The Churches in Germany, owing to their close relation to the State, were profoundly affected by the revolution. Under the new

constitutions, women have the right to vote and are eligible for election to all bodies open to laymen, whether in the Lutheran, United or Reformed Churches. There are no women members in the highest governing bodies, but in the local synods they constitute from 15 to 25 per cent, and in the provincial synods from 5 to 15 per cent of the membership. It must be remembered that Germany is a great country and that church life varies considerably in, say, Bavaria and Prussia, so that general statements do not always apply locally. At the time of writing the church elections all over Germany are in process. It is proposed largely to increase the number of women who act as assistants to pastors in towns. They take the theological training, but are not allowed to preach.

From a missionary point of view it is the social and spiritual rather than the political and ecclesiastical movements which have the most profound significance in regard to women's work. The awakening which after the war has come to girls and women in every land is specially evident in Germany. Thousands are astir. Many are caught up into religious movements, some of which have a missionary trend. The numbers are startling. Over three thousand girls were assembled by the National Young Women's Christian Association for a week at Bremen last May. The Mädchen Bibel Kreise (Bible Association for Girls) which has its charming Bundeshaus in Leipzig, already has nearly 800 circles enrolled in its membership. Bible schools for girls and women, like that in the Malche near Freienwalde, are full of students. Daughters from families bound by social conventions for generations are released for service, whether at home or abroad. Many of these new movements are allied in thought with the earlier pietism to which Germany owed and owes so much, but with a varying measure of conservatism they combine great liberty in spirit and in outlook upon women's work.

To pass and re-pass between the leaders of these new movements and those of the older German missions is an illuminating experience. The same life, with differing expression, the same hopes, sought by varied means, are so obviously common to both. In view of the past policy of German missions, it was inevitable that some disintegration of the component parts of the home base should come—that women should stand out visibly and speak. But the analysis already moves towards a new synthesis with some re-arrangement of parts.

The general missionary societies of Germany have given no place to women on their governing bodies or found need for them in

administrative work. The exceptions are the North Germany Missionary Society (Bremen) which two years ago appointed two women to membership of the central committee; the small Sudan Pioneer Mission; and the Liebenzell Mission, which works on the lines of the China Inland Mission,¹ and to some extent at home, and quite fully abroad, gives women full scope. The other societies in varying degrees make use of women workers; some—as the Berlin Mission—have women's central committees; many—as the Leipzig Mission—have local associations for large areas; others—as the Rhenish Mission—have a training centre under a capable woman leader. Many have women officials who travel and speak at meetings; all without exception have devoted bands of women supporters.

The German Evangelical Missions Federation, formed in 1922, in relation with the International Missionary Council, admits women's societies to its membership. The Missions Ausschuss, formed in 1885, which is now the small executive committee of the Federation, has as yet had no woman among its members.

The separate women's missionary societies in Germany, as shown in the new Atlas, are two connected with deaconesses' institutions, one at the well-known Kaiserswerth, the other the Friedenort Deaconess Mission which works in affiliation with the China Inland Mission; the Women's Association for Christian Female Education in Eastern Countries, founded in 1842, which works with the Berlin Mission; the Berlin Women's Missionary Society for China; and the German Women's Missionary Union, known everywhere as the D.F.M.B. This vigorous body, which celebrated its jubilee in January 1925, has enrolled over 12,000 women for work, prayer and service abroad. It sends out missionaries in connexion with the China Inland Mission and the Rhenish and Liebenzell Missions. This autumn two members of the Mädchen Bibel Kreise, supported by that Association, are going under the auspices of the D.F.M.B. to open up new work in connexion with the China Inland Mission.

G. A. GOLLOCK

¹ The close co-operation between continental countries, especially in Northern Europe and in Germany, and the China Inland Mission has a real bearing on the subject of this article.

MISSIONARY PREPARATION IN NORTH AMERICA: ITS DEVELOP- MENT AND PRESENT OUTLOOK

By J. LOVELL MURRAY, D.D.

AS one sets out to discuss the history and trend of missionary preparation in the United States and Canada, one is conscious of three successive states of mind. Firstly, there is a sincere humility because on our side of the water this vastly important matter had to wait so long before being taken up for serious attention by mission boards and by institutions of learning and because there still remains so much for us to learn and to do in regard to it. This state of mind is followed by one of gratefulness for the lessons learned and the inspiration received from across the Atlantic, where the significance of the subject had been earlier recognized and much useful experience had been gained. Lastly, one is under a sense of gratification because with us some really striking advances have been made in missionary preparation within the last decade or two.

Not that we have attained—far from it. One's mind has only to turn towards the quality of missionary training that is needed to-day, broadly based, thorough, scientific, often rather sharply specialized, and with all this of the deepest spirituality, and then towards the great unoccupied fields of investigation, of the development of necessary literature and courses of instruction, fields which before this we should have entered, and one comes back quickly into the first state of mind in which one laments our shortcomings both in programme and in achievement.

In sketching the development of missionary preparation in North America there are two lines of progress to be

observed. One has to do with co-operative study, discussion and organization by missionary societies, the other with the development of facilities for missionary training in various institutions of learning.

I. CO-OPERATIVE STUDY, DISCUSSION AND ORGANIZATION BY MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

Most of the progress that has been made does not date farther back than the World Missionary Conference in 1910, which proved to be a base line for advance of so much missionary policy and method. Prior to that time the missionary candidate had in most instances to dig up for himself the greater part of his missionary preparation. The boards were not zealous to require it nor prepared to guide it, and few institutions were in a position to offer it.

At the Edinburgh Conference in 1910, however, a profound impression was made on American and Canadian delegates by the report of Commission V on The Preparation of Missionaries. This impressive document reflected the judgment of competent thinkers the world over, and in particular of missionaries in the various fields, that relatively too little attention was given to the preparation of missionary candidates and too much time requisitioned for this purpose from the first term of missionary service. It went to the root of the matter in revealing that missionary candidates were not sufficiently availing themselves of the preparation courses that were already provided, and that institutions in which candidates were enrolled were not offering instruction adequate to the needs in the case. It recommended, finally, that boards of missionary studies be created at the home base to take the lead in placing the whole process of preparation on a more satisfying and scientific basis. In pursuance of this recommendation there appeared almost immediately in Great Britain the Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries ; a few months later in North America the Board

of Missionary Preparation, with President Douglas MacKenzie as chairman, came into being.

Prior to this certain missionary societies had devoted considerable attention to the training of their candidates. The same was true of the Student Volunteer Movement, which not only had, in 1894, originated for this distinct purpose its educational department (out of which the whole modern mission study movement has grown), but had also developed considerable literature for the use of prospective missionaries and had convened frequent conferences of board secretaries, missionaries, and teachers of missions to discuss the subject. It had an important, perhaps a major, part in bringing into being the Board of Missionary Preparation, and its general secretary, Mr Fennell P. Turner, served as the first executive officer of the Board, until succeeded by Dr Frank K. Sanders, who resigned a college presidency to take up this work. It is around this new agency that developments in missionary preparation in the United States and Canada in recent years have largely gathered. For, although some worth-while things had been accomplished before 1910, they had not been systematized nor correlated. Now for the first time, in the Board of Missionary Preparation, there was at hand an organization in which the various missionary bodies could concentrate for a thoroughgoing exploration of the subject of missionary training and through which they could function in stimulating the provision of such instruction for missionary candidates as might be deemed necessary.

In 1922, the Board of Missionary Preparation became officially one of the committees of the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, under the title: The Committee on the Preparation of Missionaries. Dr Frank K. Sanders continued as director to guide the investigations and activities of the new committee. In this way, and because the objectives remained the same, the continuity of the committee with the antecedent board was complete. These

objectives may be summarized as follows: To bring into a working unity the various organizations interested in solving the problems of missionary preparation; to select the problems of missionary preparation which seem most urgently to need investigation; to appoint sub-committees to investigate the various problems and prepare reports upon them; to call conferences at which the problems of missionary preparation would be given full consideration; to issue annual reports of its activities, and also reports of the conferences it has held and of the investigations made by its sub-committees; to keep in touch through its director with institutions providing missionary education at home and with language schools on the field; to serve through its office as a central bureau of information on questions of preparation for secretaries of boards, for missionaries on furlough, for schools and for candidates.

Obviously the Committee on the Preparation of Missionaries has had to face in three directions. Firstly, it faces the mission boards. Submerged as they are by a multitude of administrative problems, the secretaries of the boards need not only the researches of a specialized agency in the field of missionary preparation, but also a sustained exposure to the discoveries made and the recommendations growing out of them. The Committee on the Preparation of Missionaries renders this service in various ways, but chiefly through a series of conferences dealing with various aspects of the question. For example, the last of these dealt with the testing of missionary candidates, the place of the short term worker in the missionary enterprise, the ideal candidate department and what it should cover, the young missionary on the field and the use of his first furlough, a proposed handbook for young missionaries, recent candidate literature and what is needed by candidate departments. It should be stated that the Committee on the Preparation of Missionaries has consistently advocated the formation of adequate candidate departments in all of the larger boards.

Secondly, the Committee faces the institutions in which missionary instruction is being given. Through the facts uncovered in its investigations it stresses the need for increased facilities for missionary training and seeks, again through conferences to which these institutions are invited to send representatives, to bring them face to face with the demands of the hour in the equipment of new missionaries and missionaries on furlough. Some of its publications also have distinctly in mind educators at the home base. More will be said later regarding this subject.

Lastly, the Committee faces the missionary candidates themselves and returned missionaries, especially those on their first furlough. It addresses its counsel to these most directly through its literature. It has prepared, besides the reports of its conferences, three series of booklets, growing out of group studies. One series deals with the preparation of ordained, of educational, of medical missionaries, of those engaging in literary work, of workers among women. There is also a general booklet on the specialized training of missionaries. A second series covers the presentation of Christianity to Hindus, to Moslems and to the people in Confucian lands. A third discusses preparation for work in China, India, Japan, Latin America, the Near East and Pagan Africa. The method of preparing these documents is important. Take, for illustration, the booklet : *Preparation of Ordained Missionaries*. A carefully chosen group was appointed to prepare a report on the subject. The results of their painstaking work were then submitted to a much larger circle for modifications and supplementary ideas; Proofs were then prepared and circulated among a still larger number of people, especially among thoughtful missionaries in many lands. This stage led to a decided enrichment of the material. Next there was called a conference of board secretaries and theological professors, at which the whole matter was canvassed from all possible angles. Finally the original group worked over its report in the light of all the suggestions that had been assembled.

The Committee is at present engaged in preparing a number of small volumes for prospective missionaries, called *The World's Living Religions Series*. These are not academic discussions, but introductions—impressionistic accounts of 'the atmosphere and life engendered by and under each religion.' Two other recent publications of the Committee should be mentioned, *The Missionary Wife* and *The Missionary Furlough*. These are proving exceedingly popular and helpful.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF FACILITIES FOR MISSIONARY TRAINING

Before discussing the progress that has been made in providing classroom instruction for missionary candidates, it should be explained that in the United States and Canada, this is given mainly in general institutions—in colleges, universities and theological and other schools for Christian workers—rather than in training centres which specialize in missionary preparation. The opinion that prevails in these two countries is that to segregate prospective missionaries from other students who are preparing for Christian work in their own country would prove unwholesome by emphasizing artificial distinctions between service at home and abroad and by limiting the fellowships which in later years would prove so inspiring; that it would be inefficient because in scope and quality the total curriculum would of necessity fall short of what could be secured in great institutions of learning that rest on broad foundations; that it would be expensive because it would in many instances duplicate instruction that is available in such institutions; and that it would be impracticable in the case of the large number of students who do not decide to devote their lives to foreign missionary service until far along in their theological or other course. In North America the ministerial student, for example, who expects to serve abroad, gets his main preparation for that service in the

classrooms of the college or university and of the theological seminary. Side by side with his classmate who is to become a clergyman at home he receives the foundational instruction which they need in common. They receive ordination and both of them become and continue to be ministers with equal rank of the Church in the home land.

The danger that lies in this method is one of leaning too heavily on general training and making too little provision for the specialized preparation of young men and women who have before them a lifetime of decidedly specialized demands. Our shortcomings in this respect are still very great; but in fairness it can be said that, speaking quite generally, the co-operative efforts of missionary agencies in North America, during the last decade and a half, to render possible a more thorough preparation of their missionary recruits have been paralleled by a development, both in range and quality, of the instruction that has been made available for the purpose in a host of institutions.

When Commission VI on The Home Base was preparing its report for the Edinburgh Conference it investigated the amount of missionary instruction that was then being offered in theological colleges. The discovery was made that in Canada and the United States about one third of these curricula left the subject severely alone, another one third touched it distantly or incidentally—possibly in an optional course on comparative religion or the history of religion—while the remainder gave the subject some serious attention as an essential theological discipline. There were one full professorship of missions (at the Yale School of Religion), two instructorships and four part professorships. According to the report, ‘just fifty per cent of the whole number reported that the study of missions forms an integral part of the required curriculum. In most cases, however, the required courses are brief and often fragmentary. The time usually allotted for these courses is one hour per week, during one year of the three years’ course.’ This limited instruction was all that was then

available in theological colleges in the way of missionary preparation. The showing was somewhat better in Bible and missionary training institutions. In the larger colleges and universities there were available, as electives, courses in ethnology, social anthropology, Oriental history and civilization and other cognate subjects, but little attention was then being drawn to them as contributing to missionary preparation.

Since that time, however, there has been an encouraging progress. The recent volume, *Theological Education in America*, prepared by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, states that 'three fourths of the (theological) seminary programs examined give some courses in missions.' A goodly number of theological colleges now have chairs of missions, while a few maintain departments of missions. In a larger number of others one or more missionary subjects, such as the history of missions, missionary principles and practice and comparative religion are compulsory for all students. Some have also elective courses for prospective missionaries. Over half of them offer at least a course in the history of missions. The curricula of five contain eight or more different missionary courses. Indeed the theological colleges and other institutions for religious training which make no provision for missionary instruction have probably dwindled down to a very small minority. This is a decided gain over the conditions that existed in 1910.

Equally significant is the emergence of a few institutions devoted primarily to the training of foreign missionaries and missionary candidates. One of these is the Kennedy School of Missions in Hartford, Connecticut, the dean of which is Dr E. W. Capen. Though affiliated with a Congregational institution (the Hartford Seminary Foundation) it is in effect an interdenominational school, whose impressive staff and large student body represent a great variety of communions. Then there is the College of Missions in Indianapolis. Established by the Disciples of Christ and under the presidency of Dr Charles T. Paul, it

offers a wide range of specialized instruction to prospective and furloughed missionaries. Like the Kennedy School its doors are open to students of all Christian communions. Both are residential and maintain their own teaching staffs.

The youngest of these institutions is the non-residential Canadian School of Missions which was established in Toronto less than four years ago. As it represents in some respects a new departure, a somewhat fuller account of this institution may be permitted. The special interest in the School lies in the fact that it is distinctly a union institution. Nine missionary societies, representing five communions—Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian—are united in its support and control. It capitalizes the instruction available in the University of Toronto and directs the study of missionaries and candidates in various institutions both in Toronto and elsewhere. It also provides special courses for which, having no faculty of its own, it drafts a large staff of instructors, mainly from the University of Toronto and its affiliated theological colleges. It has courses for candidates running throughout the academic year which are recognized as elective courses both by the four co-operating theological colleges and by the three Church training schools for women which are located in Toronto. For missionaries two or three special sessions are held during the year, the curricula for which are determined in consultation with the missionaries themselves. Conferences on missionary problems are held from time to time. Special attention is paid to securing individual instruction for missionaries in any special subjects they may desire. The fact is that the situation in Toronto is almost uniquely favourable to such an experiment in missionary training as is being made.

Mention should be made, too, of a group of institutions, some of high grade, which are devoted to the training of Christian workers in general. While they do not specialize on the preparation of foreign missionaries, they offer varied and highly useful courses in missionary training and are

attracting an ever larger number of students of this group. They are an evidence of the growing attention which is being devoted to the subject of missionary preparation in North America. In some instances they draw subsidies from foreign mission boards.

Another recent development worthy of recording is the establishing in 1920 of the Association of Institutions engaged in Missionary Training. The Association, which now embraces forty-four institutions in its membership, meets about once a year for the discussion of subjects of common interest. Its chief value lies in helping to standardize missionary preparation in North America.

III. THE OUTLOOK FOR MISSIONARY TRAINING

There is perhaps no phase of missionary work that is kept more alive with new problems and calls for more alertness to revise its standards and methods and literature than that of missionary preparation. Since conditions in the mission field are in a constant state of flux, preparation to meet them cannot be allowed to become static. This was in the mind of the Committee of Reference and Counsel in planning for a discussion on three afternoons at the Washington Convention (January, 1925) of questions relating to the preparation of missionaries. The conferences having this matter in hand were well attended and the discussions were alive and suggestive. A dozen of the more urgent aspects of the question were under review. It was evident that sustained and vigorous thought is being given to the whole problem in many quarters and hope was strengthened that further progress may soon be registered in this field.

The prospects for increasing the facilities for missionary instruction in the years just before us are promising. A few lines of probable advance may be mentioned. More and better missionary courses will be made available in theological colleges. These are becoming more and more a

recognized necessity in all of the larger institutions. The same will be true of the general training schools for Christian workers. The rapidly developing group of missionary specialists in theological institutions will be augmented. More colleges will establish departments of missions, which will be presided over by a competent dean or director and which will draft for their teaching staffs men coming back on furlough from their fields. There will be an increase in the number of missionary scholarships offered by various theological colleges. More will be done to capitalize for missionary training the resources of educational, medical and similar faculties in great universities and also to expose candidates and furloughed missionaries to the teaching methods of institutions like Hampton and Tuskegee. The experience of such agencies as the United States Department of Agriculture at Washington will probably be made more available to students of missions.

Among the matters which at the moment are claiming the attention of the Committee on the Preparation of Missionaries are a study of the whole question of standardization; a re-study, along the lines described above, of questions of preparation for various types of service and for different fields; the completion of the series on the World's Living Religions;¹ the preparation of a handbook for missionary candidates; co-operation with other countries in the development of language schools on the field, and further consideration of the interrelations between these and training institutions at the home base; an examination of forms of service appropriate and advisable for practice by missionary candidates; the continued study of the problem of providing theological training for medical

¹ The following have already been published: *The Religion of the Lower Races as illustrated by the African Bantu*, by Edwin W. Smith; *Buddhism and Buddhists in Southern Asia*, by Kenneth W. Saunders; *Buddhism and Buddhists in China*, by Lewis Hodous; *Roman Christianity in Latin America*, by Webster E. Browning. Other volumes in the series will be *Primitive Religion in South-eastern Asia*; *Hinduism in the Life of India*; *Present Day Buddhism in Japan*; *Present Day Confucianism*; *Islam and Its Followers*; *Christianity and the World Religions*.

candidates ;¹ also of the question of study by missionaries in their first term of service and during their first furlough (it is now an accepted axiom that every missionary's period of preparation is to be regarded as continuing to the end of that furlough) ; and the holding in the near future of a conference on the work of the candidate department, including a report from the Committee on Standards, and possibly a conference on the preparation of ordained missionaries.

J. LOVELL MURRAY

¹ In the Canadian School of Missions the experiment is being tried of offering special missionary and theological courses for prospective medical missionaries. A six-year syllabus has been prepared, covering two twenty-hour courses a year, a diploma to be granted to those completing the course. Over thirty students have been enrolled during each of the past two years.

THE JEWISH PROBLEM: SOME NEWER ASPECTS

By J. MACDONALD WEBSTER, D.D.

THE challenge of the Jew is perennial and has in our time become all but universal. We are aware of the anti-Semitism which in past decades issued in violent measures, now in one country then in another. These measures, and the attitude they expressed, may have been wrong, but they served the world with reminders that, to the countries concerned, the Jews living in them presented some particular problem. Generally speaking, the outbreaks were sporadic, limited in time and in area—Rumania and Russia were the only lands which persistently denied common human rights to their Jewish inhabitants, and, it may be noted, Russia had over a thousand anti-Jewish enactments on her statute books in 1914. But to-day all lands appear to have discovered of a sudden that a Jewish question exists in each and all of them, and in recent years Jew-hatred has arisen to sweep like a flood from country to country. Scarcely a land in Europe remains unaffected by it; even Hungary, where Jews had full freedom, recalling bolshevist atrocities (of which many Jews, although not 'the Jews,' were guilty), has strong anti-Semitic parties; other countries fear to have Hungary's experience and fulminate against Jews generally; Japan has become infected by the anti-Semitic virus; but, in the age-long tragedy of the Jew, no misfortune is so grievous as the development of Jew-hatred in the great liberty-loving Anglo-Saxon democracies of Great Britain and America. Probably not since the days of the crusaders or of the Roman Empire has anti-Semitism been so universal. Here is one new phase of the Jewish problem.

Another marked feature of our time is the world-wide emancipation of the Jews, with concurrent disintegration of Judaism. Prior to 1914, the majority who live in Eastern Europe were in political servitude, confined, oppressed, denied freedom in any true sense. It was the flight of Jews from this oppression, after the Russian 'May Laws' of 1882, which caused the great and rapid increase of the Jewish population of the United States, where the number of Jews has grown from 200,000 to upwards of 3,000,000 in little over forty years and given to the New World its own great Jewish problem. But the vast mass of the Jews of Eastern Europe and many of them elsewhere were held under bondage of another sort—rabbinical tyranny with its hide-bound superstitions, a bondage of mind and spirit. At one stroke, the world war has set all free. The whole of Jewry is in convulsion. On the one hand, full half of the world's Jews are coming for the first time in their history into vital contact with a life other than their own, claiming their rights as men and also the liberty to exercise these rights; on the other hand, the revolt from the Talmudical and rabbinical grip of centuries, which had already made certain headway in the free lands prior to the war, advances with giant strides. The old restraints are being given up, there is steady drift away from the synagogue. Hundreds of thousands, or rather millions, of Jews profess no religious convictions whatever. For them religious forms and beliefs have no significance or reality. Representative Jews write with remarkable frankness about the gravity of the situation. They deplore the manifest religious decadence in Jewry, tell us that a marked degradation among Jewish women has occurred, that the religious degeneration in Eastern Europe is appalling and it is estimated that eighty per cent of the Jews of America have already abandoned the synagogue and are religiously adrift. That the synagogue is shaken to its foundations is fully clear; equally so is it that its frantic efforts to dam the drift are in vain. Many of the die-hards are so impressed that they now openly

declare—thus revealing their old, though unexpressed, attitude—that freedom is the greatest danger to which Judaism is exposed. It cannot withstand the impact of liberty and modern enlightenment.

Again, quite as notable is the revival of race consciousness and of a sense of mission among large masses of Jews. When it is considered that the growth of nationalism among smaller peoples was one of the principal contributory causes of the recent world upheaval, when it is kept in mind that these peoples are now claiming full recognition of their nationhood, and when it is recalled how the Jews as a people suffered, perhaps more than any, under the war, it is not surprising that they should be affected by the spirit of the age—all the more since they have their international relationships helping on the enforcement of their demands. In any case, the nationalist idea is alive, and there is truth in the statement that nationalism with very many of them has been substituted for religion as the basis of appeal for Jewish loyalty. At the same time, this is not to be identified solely with Zionism and a national home in Palestine. It has other phases, for example, the demand in some lands for recognition of a separate national Jewish status. But a new Jewish race consciousness has come to the fore, and, whereas in the past they lived apart, group separated from group, to-day hands are stretched from land to land, while a conviction of purpose, power and mission grows. What that mission may be is still hazy and undefined; some appear to think it may be to make peace on earth, others seem to regard it as the overthrowing of existing society and the building of a new civilization out of the ruins, and yet others discuss views lying anywhere between these two extremes. But amid the clamour and contradiction a new sense of mission, a new line of thought and a new issue of life possess the Jews, while as a whole they are probably more sensible in our time than they have been since the Captivity to the meaning of the old proverb: 'All Israel is one.'

Once more, these recent years have seen a remarkable growth of Jewish influence in the world. That such influence was wielded in the past is true. Every stage reached during the past hundred and fifty years in the attainment of freedom by Jews has resulted in an increase in the number of them occupying important positions. Their tenacity, adaptability, resourcefulness and keen desire for the best education obtainable have all helped them, but their scattered state, the freedom they have now gained, the recent upheaval, and the present unsettled state of the world, all contribute to afford new and more manifold opportunities for Jewish talent and energy. In a hundred spheres they are finding scope for their abilities and attainments. In finance, their power is very much less than is commonly assumed, but in commerce, industry, trade, transport, science, philosophy, medicine, law, politics, statecraft, in socialistic movements and in the press they wield a power out of all proportion to their numbers, and many hold high positions enabling them to mould thought and public opinion and to exert an influence on the life and destiny of nations. While other elements have gone to the formation of the wide-spread anti-Semitic movement of the present day, it is doubtless this last mentioned factor, coupled with certain political, and, to some extent, economic and social considerations, that has been the main cause. Its reflex is found in that vile forgery and calumny, issued under the title *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and circulated very widely in Europe, Britain and America, to inflame the mind of the masses and let loose the forces of unreason against the Jews. But that Jewish power and influence have grown in the world need not be disputed.

Although in the past most nations regarded Jews as outcasts and applied only methods of repression to solve their Jewish problems, and although the wide-spread anti-Semitism of our day shows that the lessons of the past have not yet been generally learned, it has to be stated that in the best minds a change of attitude is discernible.

Statesmen and leaders of thought in many lands are not happy in regard to the Jewish problem. They have discussed and brought forward certain proposals, designed to make life more tolerable for the Jew. In some at least there seems to be a conviction that the world owes reparation to this people for the ills inflicted throughout the long years. And this is gain. Nevertheless, the application of these saner and more humane views is hampered by the attitude of peoples, by lack of a wider and fuller expression of the moral power of Christianity, perhaps also by certain characteristics in the Jews themselves. It must also be granted that remedies proposed by politicians and parliaments are of a material nature, and, looking back over the history of the centuries, one must realize that such materialistic solutions of the Jewish question, even if freely applied, would fail in themselves and also lead Israel farther away from the fire divine and from her real spiritual destiny.

The message and action of the Christian Church are required. If men anywhere feel that this whole Jewish problem needs the application of the Christian ethic, we of the Christian Church ought to feel it even more strongly. But if it is asked what the Churches of Christendom have done in the past in face of this people's suffering and need, it must be confessed that, generally speaking, they have stood idly by, passing pious resolutions now and then, it is true, at their corporate gatherings, but never seeming to realize with any sense of conviction that they are to be active exponents of righteousness to and on behalf of this branch of the human family. Moreover, the Church at large has acted as if there were no call of Christ to bring the Gospel to His own. Although millions of this non-Christian people are at her doors and affect her life and work on every side, she has not allowed their case to grip her mind and imagination. In the midst of many enterprises for the evangelization of the world, the Jewish mission has had the place of a Cinderella, until it has seemed almost as if the all-commanding attraction to missionary activity

were distance. But here also signs of a change of attitude are appearing. Despite much antipathy among church members towards the Jews, and apathy towards the cause of their evangelization, increasing numbers of churchmen and missionary leaders throughout the world are becoming seriously concerned about this whole problem. They begin to grasp that the real need of the Jew is not material, but religious and spiritual, demanding missionary action to meet it. They begin to understand that if the Church had thought aright and applied what is her sole possession, there would have been no Jewish problem at all, and it is being forced upon them that the problem has entered on a new phase and presents to-day a special, direct and urgent challenge to the whole Christian Church.

The nearness of the problem is brought home by consideration of the newer factors in the situation, indicated above. They are of more immediate concern to the Church than they are to the State, for, otherwise, without the action of the Church, the non-Christian elements and forces will develop among the Christian nations. World-wide emancipation of the Jews, the new race consciousness awakened among them, the power they wield, will not be used to serve Christian ends, probably not any religious end. The Jew emancipated but unredeemed, the Jew unsynagogued and adrift from his old restraints, becomes a disintegrating element in the community where he settles. In the Jewries of Europe and America many are going over to the ranks of the godless, and the Eastern European fountain gives to all lands of its overflow. How is the situation to be faced and mastered? To effect a solution political attempts are too fleeting and they run to defeat in face of the temper of peoples. The old repressive measures will not help. Anti-Semitism always fails and must itself be replaced by a line of thought and feeling which it is the Church's business to engender. Material remedies have ever failed, for they miss the purpose of God for the Jewish soul, even when it is the Jew himself who seeks them.

The call is to the missionary statesman. Our experts and men of vision must take up the study of this complex and intricate question, regain for the Church her sense of duty to the Jew, educate the Church, her office bearers and workers, to face the subject from a practical and not merely a sentimental standpoint, review the whole field, arouse an apostolic enthusiasm for this most tenacious, persistent, adaptable, resourceful of non-Christian peoples, show to its members what Christianity actually is, establish missions in force at the great strategic centres, and, in short, apply in well thought out ways and with comprehension of the issue the great solvent of the Gospel, never yet really put to use in this problem.

Of test there has already been enough to show success and to give encouragement. In the free lands where the Jews have known liberty and had contact with a right Christian spirit, and wherever the Gospel is preached to them, a great change in the attitude of many is seen. In such areas the Jewish mind has opened and larger numbers of Jews are concerned with Jesus Christ than has been the case since the days of the apostles. Jewish teachers and rabbis of the liberal type commend the New Testament and declare Jesus to be Israel's greatest ethical teacher. Others claim Him as bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. Not long ago a Jewish minister in London, convinced that the young people of his synagogue, who were asking him many questions about Jesus, would profit by study of the life of Jesus, if only for the purpose of being better equipped for denying His claims, started a Bible class for reading one of the gospels. More recently, Dr Klausner has given to his compatriots in the Holy Land a Hebrew Life of Christ. The uniqueness, originality and exaltation of the teaching of Jesus are granted by many a thinking Jew. 'As a religious being,' says Enelow, 'the Jew cannot help taking an interest in the Man, who, above all others, has played a part in religious history.' And Claude G. Montefiore says, 'I cannot conceive that a time will come when

the figure of Jesus will no longer be a star of the first magnitude in the spiritual heavens, when He will no longer be regarded as one of the greatest religious heroes and teachers whom the world has seen.'

Such testimonies are far from an acceptance of Jesus as Saviour and Lord, or an acknowledgment of His divinity and of the claim He makes upon life and conscience, but they mark a significant change of attitude from that which was till quite recently common among Jews, whose opinions about Christ were mainly derived from an infamous account of His life, written in the Middle Ages and circulated for centuries. In our time most Jews are ashamed of that work, *Toledoth Yeshu*, and the best of them are rather studying the facts of Christ's life with reverence. An able missionary of wide experience, now resident in Palestine, can accordingly be understood, when he states, 'Everywhere the Jew seems to have abandoned his old system of attack on the Christian faith.'

But evidence accumulates of the results of the impact of Christian teaching and of missionary activity along other lines and in other spheres. In places as far apart as the Gorbals of Glasgow and the Municipal Square of Johannesburg, hundreds of Jews listen to the Gospel in the open air from Sunday to Sunday, despite the opposition of the synagogue. In America tens of thousands have become Christian Scientists. Jewish children flock to the mission schools and their parents pay high fees for their instruction. Missionaries are welcomed in the Palestine Jewish colonies to-day; a dozen years ago they would have been stoned. From Warsaw it is reported that 'it is not now a case of the missionary seeking the Jew. The position is reversed, and week by week our agents with sorrow see men and women, hungering for the bread of life, going empty away.' There and elsewhere in Eastern Europe mission halls are too small to accommodate the Jewish enquirers. In Ukrainia a remarkable breaking down of prejudice has taken place. In certain cities Jewish-Christian congregations have been

formed. In Vienna, thousands of Jews have entered the Christian Church in recent years, among them being Hans Herzl, son of the founder of Zionism. And since 1917 the net ingathering of Jews into the Christian fold in the area covered by the pre-war Hungary exceeds 40,000 souls.

These are only a few instances of a changed attitude and of the results of Christian activity among this people, but whole fields lie fallow, whole lands with teeming Jewish populations are without a missionary and millions of them have never once heard of Jesus a Saviour. Eastern Europe has hundreds of towns and cities with tens and scores of thousands of Jews without any witness for Christ. It is in this area the cause will be lost or won, not alone for Europe, but for America and for the world. In this area much larger numbers than are entering the Church go over to atheism and to destructive communism, thus increasing the menace and sharpening the challenge. In this area are found seventy per cent of the world's Jews, but only sixteen per cent of the world's Jewish mission stations, and it is in this area also that the fall of the old order, letting the Jew out of bondage, allows the missionary in and gives the open door of opportunity. From this area pre-eminently comes the call to the Church of Christ.

At the great Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 the cause of Jewish evangelization had no real place, but the subject has not been lost sight of, nor the hope given up that representatives of the Churches would meet in council upon it. Interested parties in Europe and America have been in correspondence with each other regarding the situation. The Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland has devoted attention to it. And thus the concern, which has been growing in the minds of numbers of churchmen and missionary leaders about the Jewish problem, has become known. And now the subject has been taken up by the International Missionary Council, under the chairmanship of Dr John R. Mott, with the result that steps have been taken and preparations are already

in hand for the holding of a World Conference to meet in Eastern Europe in 1927 for study of the whole Jewish question and the development of Jewish missions. In face of such factors as are roughly sketched in this article, it will be granted that the time has come for an international gathering of the nature indicated. At it and for its efficacy the assistance of the several evangelical Churches of Europe and of the English-speaking world will be needed. Many of them have never yet taken a share in enterprise directed to winning the Jew, but the call and the opportunity are now before them. Granted the prayers and the active help of all, the Jewish mission will come at last to its proper place in the thought, the affections and the activities of the whole Christian Church, whose it is to help the Jewish people find its soul, give it the new ideal of life and duty which it needs and thus enable it to take up its place as the prophet-nation and minister of the grace of God and to stand as God's witness in the midst of the nations proclaiming a future and a hope to all peoples.

J. MACDONALD WEBSTER

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE IMPACT OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION UPON THE FAR EAST

WESTERN CIVILIZATION AND THE FAR EAST. By STEPHEN KING-HALL.
Appendices. Maps. New York: Scribner's. \$5. London:
Methuen. 18s. 1924.

A CRISIS inevitably begets a book. But occasionally the book anticipates the crisis, and this is peculiarly true of the volume now before us. Written nearly a year before the unfortunate incidents which have recently set China ablaze, it throws a vivid light upon the play of forces which have been so strikingly liberated during the past three months, and which have converted a local shooting affray into one of the most critical incidents that have jeopardized the relations of East and West during the present generation. For that reason alone, its publication is most timely and opportune; but apart altogether from the regrettable events which have been occurring in China, this volume is one of first-class importance. One of the greatest difficulties which students of Far Eastern problems meet, in their attempt to follow the tortuous and often surprising course of events in the Orient, is the lack of any accurate historical survey depicting the reaction of China and Japan to the impact of western civilization. That lack has now been supplied by Mr King-Hall in a lucid and succinct fashion, and the volume which he has produced is extraordinarily illuminating and suggestive.

Commencing with Japan, a fascinating story is unravelled of the determined and successful efforts made by the Island Empire to assimilate all that the West had to offer, and to build upon a foundation of Oriental mythology and feudalism a superstructure of modern science and political economy. The change in domestic politics consequent upon the overthrow of the Shogunate and the break up of the feudal system, and the part which Shintoism has played in the preservation of Emperor-worship are carefully traced in these pages. At the same time the fight for liberal principles, for true democracy and for a remodelled social order, against the hereditary powers of reaction, is clearly depicted. It is in her foreign policy,

however, that Japan's reaction to western civilization is most apparent and most significant. Awaking to the handicaps under which she was suffering in consequence of the 'unequal treaties' imposed upon her, as upon China, by the western powers, we see her deliberately reorganizing her army and navy, and compelling the West to recognize her full autonomy. We see her next embarking upon a perilous course of aggressive exploitation of her neighbours, the lust for territorial expansion, produced in large measure by the rapid growth of her population and the serious shortage of her raw materials, leading to her encroachment in Korea, in Manchuria and in Shantung, and to the great Siberian gamble. Finally, the risk of international ostracism, as revealed at Washington, strengthened the hands of the liberal elements, and brought about a readjusting of her foreign policy to the demands of a post-war world.

The tangled story of China's political evolution during the past fifty years is traced by Mr King-Hall with a discerning and generous pen. The unblushing policy pursued by most of the western powers for so many years, in taking advantage of China's political and military impotence in order to filch from her some national concession, is exposed in unmistakable fashion. At the same time, an unbiassed account is given of the difficulties which China has met with, in her endeavour to evolve a constitutional form of government under the republic; and the marked progress which she has made in educational and commercial spheres is described with sympathy and appreciation.

Amidst all the confusion of political disturbance, of governmental weakness and of provincial disorder, Mr King-Hall sees China steadily, and he sees her whole. He writes :

The race has lost none of its vigour; it has multiplied exceedingly; the industry of its individuals is amazing; its aptitude for commerce enables it to compete on easy terms with modern trading conditions, and if, during the last eighty years in which China has been buffeted by the western powers and Japan, she has not been mistress of her fate, she is still possessed of that one essential which in the long end ensures that a nation will triumph over her difficulties. China is still the captain of her soul.

The volume is illustrated by three maps, and possesses two valuable chronological tables of political events in China and Japan, and a number of important appendices. By its historical accuracy, its breadth of outlook, its sympathetic understanding of the new race

consciousness of the Orient, and its clear interpretation of the modern trend of thought in China and Japan, it claims the careful study of all interested in the progress of missions in the Far East.

HAROLD BALME

ASHFORD, KENT

A JAPANESE NOVEL

BEFORE THE DAWN. By TOYOHICO KAGAWA. Translated from the Japanese by I. Fukumoto and T. Satchell. London: Chatto & Windus. 7s. 6d. New York: Doran. \$2.50. 1925.

THIS is the first Japanese realistic novel. In it we see Japan through Japanese eyes, or rather through the eyes of one very special Japanese, Kagawa—Christian, labour-leader, poet and artist. He shows us Japan as he has seen it, first in his student days and then for fifteen years in the slums of Shinkawa, a part of Kobe. *Before the Dawn* is largely a transcript of his own experience. The translation is the joint work of a Japanese and an Anglo-Saxon; they have tried to give local colour and atmosphere by representing the Japanese slum dialect by the argot of the London doss house. Success in such an effort is perhaps impossible, but at least the attempt is less misleading than rendering the speech of the Japanese factory-hand into Lafcadio Hearnese.

The book leaves us with two main impressions. First, that Kagawa's Japan is not the Japan we thought we knew from travellers, from books on Bushido, from Japanese art or drama. The Japanese we knew was, above all things, self-controlled; he could gaze at the sun without winking and would announce his father's death with a smile; he was a man of unfailing politeness, a marvel of up-to-date efficiency in all his doings individual and corporate. The Japanese woman was courteous, like her mate, gentle, submissive, graceful, exquisitely clean in person and dress; their home was a wonder of beautiful simplicity and unfailing taste.

Kagawa introduces us to slums, overcrowded even beyond London, to a curiously coarse and sordid poverty, to disorderly and filthy houses infested with insects, to drunkenness and violence, disease and deformity at every turn. In higher circles, he shows us family life made wretched by violence and vice. High and low, men and women are a prey to violent emotions. Uncontrolled emotion, indeed, would seem to be the keynote of Japanese character. We

have failed to discover one chapter out of fifty-eight in which the hero does not weep. Inefficiency in private and public business and corruption in the latter are seen on all sides. True, the Japanese as we knew them had no very high standard of sexual or public morality, but we had thought they sinned with more restraint and grace. We have the two sides of a shield—without doubt Japan contains our Japanese and Kagawa's.

Our second impression is that the Japanese, as Kagawa represents them, are extraordinarily like Russians. The very method of this Japanese novelist is Russian, and again and again we ask 'Is this Dostoevsky or Kagawa? A Russian novel or a Japanese reality?' Russian, too, though perhaps with a bow to Arnold Bennett, is the dwelling on the trickle of thought through the mind. Tolstoi might tell us that the hero in a train 'thought how nice it would be if the whole carriage was made of glass.' Russian are the sudden changes of mood with their issue in apparently irrational decisions, and the soaring aloft only to plunge to the depths. Russian is the quick recourse to suicide. Our Japanese, of course, ceremoniously committed hara-kiri to vindicate his own honour or his feudal lord's; but Kagawa's Japanese thinks of suicide whenever anything hits him hard in love, religion, family or society. Russian it is to seize on the mood of sky, land or sea to mirror the soul's experience; but our Japanese does this too. One of the most Japanese charms of the book are the tiny word pictures in which the artist poet makes you see a landscape and a man's life in storm or sunshine. Russian, again, is the hero's conversion—first, a long toying with Christianity in its intellectual and social aspects, then, suddenly, surrender to a desire to throw life away, the embracing in Christ of the way of devotion; and Russian is the glorious recklessness of the devotion, careless of comfort, health or life itself if so be the cause shall triumph.

The question arises: Is Kagawa depicting the Japanese as he really is? Or is he so steeped in Russian literature that his writing cannot but wear a Russian hue? We imagine the first hypothesis holds good. True, his hero has read Gorki, Tolstoi and Dostoevsky, but then so also has he read the Zend Avesta and Indian pantheistic philosophy, Spinoza, Kant, Haeckel and William James, Pfeiderer, Caird, Flint and Harnack, Saint Simon, Fourier and Marx, Westermarcks' *Origin of Human Marriage* and Ruskin's *Modern Painters*. Yet, though he and his friends, male and female, discuss by the hour the theories of Indian, German, British and American philosophers

and sociologists, none leave any serious mark on their thought or action, while the trail of the Russian is over all.

Was the success of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Japan due to a kinship of soul between Russian and Japanese? Would a Russo-Japanese political *entente* be a natural *rapprochement* psychologically as well as geographically? These are speculations of some interest.

One hundred and fifty thousand copies of *Before the Dawn* have been sold in five years in Japan, an indication that the Japanese see truth in this book. It must be read by all western Christians who would understand and love Japan to-day. For us it is more than a realistic novel; it defines under what conditions the task of the Christian Church must be performed to-day in Japan. We see, calling for help, huge cities suffering from the evils of modern industrial life suddenly developed amongst an unprepared people, the struggles of labour in a land where trades unions are not recognized, children employed in insanitary factories with unprotected machinery, 'phossy-jaw' horrors in match factories, tubercular and venereal disease rampant, the hardships of women half in and half out of the shell of custom. We see help coming through the gradual evolution of a young man's attitude towards all this mass of misery, and towards God in Christ Jesus, till he finds the meaning of his own life as a friend of publicans and sinners.

But we shall hear more of Kagawa's Japan and of his hero. We are left at the beginning of his career in the little settlement in Shinkawa. This is the first volume of a trilogy; the second has already appeared in Japanese.

WIMBLEDON

R. ROUSE

DIFFERENTIATION WITH CO-OPERATION

THE HISTORY OF NATIVE POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA FROM 1830 TO THE PRESENT DAY. By EDGAR H. BROOKES, D.Litt. Cape Town: Nasionale Pers Beperk. 15s. 1924.

THIS important book, by the head of the Department of Politics and Public Administration in Transvaal University College, Pretoria, is more than a history, it is a plan for the solution of the Native problem in South Africa. An examination of the past reveals to the author three types of proposed solutions. One, which is labelled 'identity,' refuses to acknowledge any real difference between Europeans and Natives. This Dr Brookes rejects, as also the policy

at the other extreme, namely, 'subordination.' He advocates a form of segregation which he entitles 'differentiation with co-operation.' This is the policy which, he claims, was fathered by Theophilus Shepstone. It

is based on a full and frank devotion to the interests of Europeans and Natives alike. It does not propose to give an answer to the problem of whether the Native is inferior to the European, or equal to the European, or whether he is now inferior, but will one day be equal. . . . All that it asks us to accept is that the Native is different from the white man, and that his development must not be diverted into unnatural and unsatisfactory channels.

In another passage Dr Brookes insists that

we must never differentiate in order to suggest that Natives are inferior to Europeans. We must never differentiate as a result of unworthy and unreasoning prejudice. If we differentiate, it must be as the result of a definite principle—the value of the individual national ethos. We must preserve European and Native national individuality; and we must differentiate as far as is necessary and advisable for that end, in charity, courtesy and sympathy, and no further.

Any Native policy must be judged by its attitude towards land and labour. What has Dr Brookes to propose about these? He will not admit the possibility of dividing South Africa into two areas, such as Mr Stevens proposed; for one thing, the dominant European electorate would never agree to it. He would not allocate sufficient land to accommodate every Native in the country—to go on doing this commensurate to the growth of the Native population would be equivalent (he thinks) to an abandonment of the whole country by the whites. He calls such a suggestion 'philanthropy run mad.' He considers that complete residential segregation is impracticable and undesirable—for farmers must have black labourers and farm labour is 'the natural work of the Native.' He will not admit that the Bantu have any more right to the soil than the Europeans. Yet there must be some division of the land; partial, gradual, natural and practical segregation is Dr Brookes' policy and he indicates that it is also General Hertzog's. The present Native reserves should remain as scheduled in the Land Act of 1913 (Dr Brookes recognizes the injustice of this Act), and the rest of the land should be divided into white areas, and neutral areas. In the latter both whites and blacks would be allowed to acquire land. The Natives are to be encouraged to develop their areas; agricultural

education is a strong plank in Dr Brookes' policy. He looks forward to a gradual reduction of the Natives in European areas ; in a hundred years from now the number remaining there would be so negligible that they might safely be given political rights. Some such measure of segregation is essential, in Dr Brookes' view, to the solution of the problem.

What about labour ? The Native would not be so hedged off that he could not work on the land for the white man ; but, in mines and industries, Dr Brookes hopes for a gradual displacement of black by white labour. Until this can be done, he would impose a colour bar—not a horizontal bar, as provided by General Hertzog's Bill this year (rejected by the Senate), but a vertical one—allowing Natives to do skilled work in certain specified departments. The black man must not be allowed to compete with the white man. Dr Brookes, while generally in sympathy with the missions, blames them for having taught the Natives trades that enable them to compete with European artisans ; he would allow the black artisan to work only for a black employer, and a white artisan to work only for a white employer. This means that skilled Natives would exercise their crafts in Native areas for the benefit of their own people. Dr Brookes would not place any limit on advanced education for the Bantu, only he would restrict Native doctors and others to ministering to their own folk. In education he is all in favour, as one would expect, of developing the Native on the lines of his own genius. The result of such a policy as he advocates would be, he claims, the reduction to a minimum of friction between the races, and the making of their spheres complementary and not competitive.

This book is published under the auspices of General Hertzog, and it will be interesting to observe how far it foreshadows his policy when, as he has promised, he presents this to the next session of the Union Parliament. In any case the book calls for careful and serious study—as any book must do that puts forward reasoned proposals for a solution of the Native problem of South Africa. The only thing that displeases us about Dr Brookes is his unfortunate indulgence in language hardly in keeping with historical research. For instance, he speaks of opponents as 'entertaining fools.' He displays a strong bias, which is quite permissible in a political tract, but is out of place in a scientific study.

WALTON-ON-THAMES

EDWIN W. SMITH

THE FILIPINO

THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINES : Their Religion, Progress and Preparation for Spiritual Leadership in the Far East. By F. C. LAUBACH, Ph.D. New York : Doran. \$3.50. 1925.

THERE has long been need of a book of this character. The author reviews the religious life of the Filipino people, and gives in detail the history of the Protestant missions in the archipelago. Dr Laubach has made a thorough search in the archives of all missions as well as a profound study of the history of the Filipino people. His material is of great interest to all who have engaged in Christian work in the Islands. Dr Laubach reviews impartially the work of all sections of the missionary body and modestly omits any account of his own efficient service. He has laboured in Misamis province in Mindanao, and is at present Professor of Sociology in the Union Theological Seminary. He has won the confidence of hundreds of students in this and other schools and colleges in Manila.

His book is far more than a history of the work of evangelical missions in the archipelago. It is a careful study of the religious history and temperament of the Filipino people. He depicts from the earliest dawn of their history to the present the various religious experiences of the tribes that to-day make up the Filipino people. He traces the development from the animistic period through the nebulous years of the Buddhist and Hindu culture and domination. He describes in vivid colours the Moro (Mohammedan) invasion of the Islands. He briefly recites the development of the Spanish colonial period and through the centuries up to 1898. His treatment of this particular part of Philippine history, which is often portrayed in dark colours by both American and Filipino writers, is appreciative of the good work done by the early Roman Catholic missions and the devotion of their workers.

The author avoids being drawn into the discussion in regard to the political capacity and status of the Filipino people which to-day colours everything written concerning the Philippines. He frankly expresses his sympathy and that of all missionaries with the aspirations of the people for their own nationhood, but does not attempt to discuss the main question or any of the subordinate questions that occupy the minds of Americans and Filipinos at this time. Many recent volumes on the Philippines present partisan arguments on

one side or another of the political situations and such books grow stale rapidly. Dr Laubach's book has additional value because it does not endeavour to cover all that might be said about the Filipinos, but rather confines itself to the main subject of the title.

The author strikes a refreshing note in the sympathetic and optimistic references to the character and capacity, and to the hopes and aspirations of the people among whom he dwells. Some readers may feel that his note is too optimistic and that it deals with hopes rather than facts. Even though this charge may stand as true, this book will be a very good antidote for the '*Isles of Fear*' and similar works of pessimistic tone which have been recently published.

JAMES B. RODGERS

MANILA

GERMAN SCIENCE OF RELIGION

RELIGIONSWISSENSCHAFT: Prolegomena zu ihrer wissenschaftstheoretischen Grundlegung. Von JOACHIM WACH. Leipzig: Hinrichs. M. 8.25. 1924.

URCHRISTENTUM UND RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE: Studien des apologetischen Seminars in Wernigerode. Heft 10. Von KARL HOLL. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. M. 1.20. 1925.

JESUS UND DIE HEIDENMISSION: Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen. Bd. I. 1. u. 2. Heft. 2. Auflage. Von M. MEINERTZ. Münster: Aschendorff. M. 10.50. 1925.

LEHRBUCH DER RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE: Begründet von Chantepie de la Saussaye. 4. Auflage in 2 Bänden. Von ALFRED BERTHOLET und EDVARD LEHMANN. Tübingen: Mohr. Jede Lieferung, M. 3. 1924-25.

EACH of the works dealt with in this review shows in its own way how seriously German theology seeks to further scientific methods of work. Joachim Wach, private lecturer in Leipzig, enters the lists against that obscurity in the methodization of first principles which is so noticeable in scientific religious work, and tries to lay a scientific theoretical foundation by means of which to come to clear issues and lines of demarcation. He points out that the science of religion is empirical, and must be kept distinct from the philosophy of religion, in order that its independence may be secured by the side of the other empirical sciences. The subject may be divided into the history of religion and the systematic science

of religion. In this way Wach deals in varied manner with formal abstract investigations through which alone, however, it is possible to arrive at real certainty. The author has at his disposal an astonishing knowledge of the literature of the subject, so that his claims and delimitations rest on a secure basis. The science of religion is indebted to him for refusing to lay undue emphasis on psychology.

For the practical work of the mission field acceptance of Wach's views should prove profitable in many ways. Take, for example, the distinction between systematic investigation and history. Development and growth interest the historian. His work is undertaken from the standpoint of origins. The systematic scientist, on the other hand, takes cross sections; it is not growth but the finished product which appeals to him. This is simple enough, and should be understood as a matter of course, yet up to the present the distinction has not been generally appreciated. Yet the study of comparative religion, on theoretical lines as well as through practical research, is an absolute necessity for the carrying on of missionary work in contact with the non-Christian religions. To have shown the way in this and warned us against error seems to me the special service rendered by this important book.

The study by Karl Holl, professor in Berlin University, contains only forty-eight pages, but it is theologically significant, because it resolutely turns aside from the standpoint usually adopted in present-day discussions of the subject. It does not attempt to establish what Christianity has in common with, or derives from, other contemporary religions, but rather dwells on what differentiates it from them. Holl finds that in all other redemptive religions faith is founded on the conviction of the innate nobility of man, whereas Jesus sees the deep gulf between God and man, and shows that salvation lies in the fact that God of His free grace bridges over the gulf, and raises man, in spite of the fact that man has fallen. From this starting point the contrast is drawn out into the finest ramifications, and concluded with some remarkable reflections on a Christian philosophy of history.

The book of Max Meinertz on Jesus and missions to the heathen is founded on Roman Catholic theology. And although the second edition, after a lapse of seventeen years, follows in its broad outlines the sequence of thought in the first edition, it is worthy of special attention, not only because the author is well read in Protestant

theology, but also, and above all, because his work is a most thoughtful contribution to the question how far Jesus had within His purview missions to the heathen. Meinertz points out that Jesus not only expressly stood for universal salvation, but that He had positive conceptions of missionary work which necessarily expressed themselves in missionary commands, the fulfilment of which is worked out in the New Testament. Meinertz' work is the most comprehensive and thoughtful enquiry to-day on this theme.

Doubtless the most important theological publication among the four reviewed here—perhaps the most outstanding contribution of the whole year to the history of religion—is the fourth edition of the text-book on the history of religion by Chantepie de la Saussaye. It is scarcely a case of a new edition but of a newly written handbook on the history of religion in which an international company of distinguished specialists have collaborated. The first volume is already completed. In it Edvard Lehmann of Lund gives first a sketch of the history of religion and then a statement of the phenomena and conceptions of religion. Bernhard Ankermann of Berlin treats in sixty pages of the religion of primitive peoples, O. Franke of Berlin in masterly fashion of the Chinese. Karl Florenz of Hamburg has a detailed and arresting article on the Japanese, O. Lange of Copenhagen writes on the Egyptians, Friedrich Jeremias of Magdeburg on the Semitic races of further Asia, and C. Snouck-Hurgronje more than a hundred pages on Islam. Up to the present three sections of the second volume have appeared, with an account of Indian religions from the pen of Sten Konow of Christiania, of the Persian and Manichæan religions by Edvard Lehmann and of the Greek religions by M. P. Nilsson of Lund. There are still to come studies of the Romans by L. Deubner of Freiburg, of the Slavs and Lithuanians by A. Brückner of Berlin and of the Germans by W. Grönbeck of Copenhagen. An examination of the parts so far published shows that in the latest edition of this handbook, conceived so many years ago, the first authorities in Europe have collaborated, and their contributions are a model not only as regards the delimitation of material, and its exposition, but also from the point of view of thoroughly up to date literary work. As the greater part of the work deals with living religions this standard volume should be carefully studied on the mission field. No scientific library should be without it.

MARTIN SCHLUNK

HAMBURG

CHAITANYA

THE CHAITANYA MOVEMENT: A Study of the Vaishnavism of Bengal.
By MELVILLE T. KENNEDY. *The Religious Life of India Series.*
Calcutta: Association Press. Rs. 3. London: Oxford University Press. 6s. 1925.

MR KENNEDY'S affection and respect for the people of Bengal have gone into this book, his gift of interpretation as he left their shores. So little is known in England of the inner thoughts and motives of India that very few will see how important it is. The form which Vaishnavism takes in Bengal is the cult of Krishna. Rama, so dear to the United Provinces, is hardly taken seriously; an exceptional fool is called *bokārām*, 'the Rama of duffers.' The people's passionate emotionalism has found the figure of Rama austere and even a trifle ridiculous, and has poured itself out in service of Krishna. In the sameness of its imagery and the unintellectual repetition of its ecstasies, it might have worn itself out, if the early sixteenth century had not produced a man, Chaitanya, who must have been extraordinarily lovable and of outstanding personal magnetism, in whom the cult found what it lacked—and in the modern world must find or perish—firm historical ground. It made him the incarnation of Krishna. Chaitanya influences a population of fifty million people; even the Brahmo Samaj, despite its honourable effort to save religion from being mere unintellectual excitement, feels his fascination, and such leaders as Keshabchandra Sen have revered him. Christian missionaries increasingly see the necessity of adopting Chaitanya's *saṅkīrtans* or processions of religious singing and dancing.

Mr Kennedy has patiently examined the conflicting records of Chaitanya's life, and has collected a mass of information as to the Chaitanya movement. He shows a scholar's independence—for example, he handles critically the question as to how far Chaitanya was a caste reformer, with sounder results than Indian scholars usually give us. The book is unlikely to be soon superseded, it is a study of a figure of first-rate importance, a study long needed. There are a few misprints in transliteration; but the present reviewer, who knows how hard it is to avoid these, is not going to throw stones. I think Mr Kennedy is not quite fair to the *bauls*—mendicant Vaishnavas. They have given Bengal some of its most piercingly sweet and moving religious songs, and cannot fairly be dis-

missed as all grossly sexual and licentious. Individual *bauls* are spoken of with reverence by Hindus whose face is set sternly against the intellectual and physical abandonment of Vaishnavism. But Mr Kennedy has done an extremely difficult task very well indeed.

E. J. THOMPSON

BOAR'S HILL, OXFORD

THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF RELIGION

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF RELIGION. By E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, Ph.D., LL.D. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. \$3. London: Oxford University Press. 15s. 1924.

THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF RELIGION. By ALBERT CHURCHWARD, M.D., M.R.C.P. Illustrated. London: Allen & Unwin. 42s. 1924.

MOST large works on the religions of man seek to describe for us the organized faiths of the world; but Professor Hopkins, in his search for the scientific truth about the origin and the evolution of religion, has adopted the method of arranging the phenomena of religions in classes and showing how development has proceeded in each group. Thus chapters II to VII deal with (a) stones, hills, trees and plants as objects of worship, (b) animals, (c) elements and heavenly phenomena, (d) the sun, (e) man, (f) ancestors; and in each case the writer shows how, as man advanced in religious insight, the object was put to loftier use. This method is justified by the well-known fact that man's religious history has been continuously influenced (some would say controlled) by the geographical and economic conditions in which he has lived.

Chapter VII, named 'Religious Stimuli,' approaches the problem from the side of our common human nature. Man's emotions have played a great part in his religious experience, but it is a mistake to regard feeling as the only source of religion. Intellect and imagination have also been active. Hence it is important to consider what the chief inner factors are which have stimulated man to religious activity.

Two chapters follow on the gradual growth of man's consciousness of the importance of his inner self and the chief stages of the progress of religious belief as to the nature of the self. Three chapters next deal with the Cult and the Priest and seek to show how the develop-

ment has proceeded. In similar fashion, three chapters trace the historical relation between religion, on the one hand, and mythology, ethics and philosophy, on the other.

Four chapters form a block by themselves, discussing the history of the appearance of divine triads and trinities.

The volume thus provides us with a large amount of valuable and interesting material illustrating in various ways the rise and development of religion. Finally, in his last chapter, Professor Hopkins raises the question of 'the reality of religion,' inquiring whether the phenomena which he has discussed are based on 'human illusions' or are 'the weak but illuminative expression of an underlying reality'; and he finds, in the ordered development of the universe and the slow steady rise of man from an animal existence to the present stage of civilization, proof that there is 'an immaterial something actually existing as an objective reality,' which is the source of the religions of man.

If any adverse criticism may be ventured on this rich and informing volume, we should be inclined to point out that the writer has confined himself too strictly to the 'objective historical phenomena' of religion, and in so doing has largely neglected the religious consciousness (p. 350). For believers in God, religion is the human response to the divine self-manifestation. In all religion—savage, barbaric, civilized—from the very beginning, there stands out clear man's consciousness of the presence of the supernatural. The earliest outbursts of this aspect of religion have been described and analysed with great success by Professor Rudolf Otto in *Das Heilige*; and Professor Hopkins's work would have undoubtedly made a far deeper appeal if prayer, faith, meditation, consciousness of sin, self-abandonment, fellowship with God, prophecy, inspiration, mystic illumination, conversion and the transformation of character in conversion had had a larger place in his book. In these phenomena the investigator gets much nearer the origin of religion than in the objective phenomena which are so vividly reflected in his pages.

The essential interest of the study of religious triads and trinities may justify the addition of a single suggestion arising from the reviewer's experience in the East. It seems to me that triads have, in most religions, arisen from image worship. The image of a great god is set up in a noble temple, and the people admire and worship. But some seeing eye desiderates a couple of images, to be set one on each side of the great image. When this is done, the shrine is digni-

fied with a group which satisfies the artistic sense ; the three are henceforth closely related ; and the triad is an accomplished fact.

Dr Churchward's book is a handsome volume, printed in large type on comfortable paper and richly illustrated. The table of contents promises to introduce the reader to a most varied and most attractive list of subjects, ranging from the earliest forms of faith to the greatest religions of to-day ; and a glance at the illustrations whets one's appetite still further.

The writer is a convinced spiritualist, a fact which ought to enable him to expound many features of early religion with lucidity. He also knows a good deal about the religion of Egypt and African religion in general ; so that he possesses several qualifications for the task he has set himself.

As to the history of religion on the earth, he declares that ' the pygmy was the first human in evolution from the anthropoid ape. Here then we find the origin and dawn of all religion and religious ideas ' (p. 7). No evidence is produced in support of these statements.

With regard to the evolution of religion, he tells us that ' the most essential part of religion assuredly originated in the worship of ancestral spirits ' (p. 9), that, by the methods of spiritualism, early men perceived ' the human soul emerging alive, in the likeness of the man, out of the body of dead matter ' (p. 3). Hence the belief in the survival of the soul and the worship of the sainted dead. This he declares was the tap-root of true religion.

This, and everything else which he declares to be true, he states in pure dogmatism, without the slightest reference to the established history of man on the earth, or to the immense labours of unnumbered scholars in the domain of religion during the past century. He makes no attempt to collect evidence, enabling students to consider whether his conclusions are justifiable or not : what Dr Churchward holds to be true *is true*, and nothing further remains to be said. The whole work is extremely inaccurate : *Cortex Vaticanus* for *Codex Vaticanus* is a fair sample of his scholarship. In the matter of Indian religions, where the reviewer can check his statements in details, his assertions are childishly foolish.

We must therefore pronounce the whole work valueless. It is pitiable to see such unreliable material published as a serious contribution to the study of religion.

J. N. FARQUHAR

MANCHESTER

MIGRANT STUDENTS

THE FOREIGN STUDENT IN AMERICA. A Study by the Commission on Survey of Foreign Students in the United States of America, under the auspices of the Friendly Relations Committees of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association. Edited by W. REGINALD WHEELER, HENRY H. KING and ALEXANDER B. DAVIDSON. With a foreword by ROBERT E. SPEER. New York: Association Press. \$1.75. 1925.

THE migrant student is a romantic figure. He played no inconsiderable part in founding the European universities, and his influence on European life has been by no means negligible. He appears wresting privileges from Barbarossa at Bologna, listening to Abelard in Paris, and sojourning in Padua during the 'grand tour.' In the nineteenth century Americans migrated to German universities and Indian students, following Macaulay's Minute, appeared in England. Yung Wing went to Yale in the fifties, and Neesima returned from America and founded Doshisha University in 1874. To-day, besides entering the older faculties, the foreign student takes economics, psychology, dentistry or journalism, studies art in the Latin Quarter, or learns engineering in a Clyde shipyard. He is a symbol of the freemasonry of scholarship, the tradition that learning ignores frontiers, and he is generally an apostle of international understanding. A voluntary exile, aloof from the intimacies of life because the old virtue of hospitality to the stranger has declined, compelled to estimate another people chiefly by its exterior characteristics, he responds generously to any gesture of friendship. Yet more than ever, in a day of increasing contact between nations and races, he is a significant figure.

This book, based upon careful enquiry and observation, is a study of the life of the foreign student in America. During the academic year 1923-4, 7000 overseas students were returned as from 100 countries, including 1467 Chinese, 708 Japanese, 591 Filipinos, 391 Russians and 231 Indians.¹ The book shows how essentially human the average foreign student is. He may be critical, but he is equally appreciative, and above all things he values 'the privilege

¹ The number of overseas students entered in British Universities in October, 1924, was 4385, including 1199 from India, 564 from the Continent of Europe, 309 from Egypt, 111 from China and 93 from Japan. This total does not include students in the Inns of Court (unless also entered at a university) or in technical and other institutions not of university status. The full total is probably about 6000.

of being in good homes.' 'In their standards of scholarship,' it is noted, 'foreign students compare favourably, are on a par with, or are on the whole more serious students than, American students.' They frequently work hard at menial occupations to support themselves. Many of them 'find no fault with the religion of Jesus Christ,' but they find stumbling-blocks in 'industrialism, imperialistic commercial expansion, war-like temperament, racial haughtiness, misunderstood missionary policy,' and they are perplexed at the denominational divisions within Christianity. 'If only they would judge us,' says Mr Hurrey, 'by some standard less exalted than the Gospel of Christ we might make a better showing.' The obligation of the Christian community is emphasized: 'The work which the Churches have been doing for more than a century in foreign missions lays upon them a special obligation to give attention to these foreign students whose influence will be vastly greater than that of any foreign missionary whom we may possibly send.' This book is a challenge to the Christian conscience.

LONDON

JAMES O. DOBSON

SHORTER NOTICES

The Handbook of Sierra Leone. By T. N. Goddard. (London: Grant Richards. 10s. 6d. 1925.) In 335 pages Mr T. N. Goddard, with the assistance of a few experts, offers to the public by far the most valuable one-volume book yet written on Sierra Leone, a Colony and Protectorate of which he is Assistant Colonial Secretary. No pains seem to have been lost to make the book illuminative, reliable and withal concise. It is filled with information that really informs and is thus an indispensable *vade mecum* for any and all interested in Sierra Leone in particular, as well as a desirable and trustworthy companion and reference for all interested in colonial government and administration in general. The book is divided into seven parts comprising a discussion of the Colony and Protectorate both geographically and geologically; a historical outline; studies of population and racial distribution; of administrative organization; of finance, trade, development and communications; valuable general information and appendices. It has also an index. In the next edition we should like to see among the illustrations a number showing the homes and surroundings of

advanced Africans and institutions. For example, as against 'Bundu devils (?) dancing' (p. 60), some illustrations such as St George's Cathedral, a congregation returning from church, welcoming the Governor to Freetown, or Fourah Bay College. If not these in particular, at least something illustrating the changes wrought by the hundred and more years of good and invaluable work done by Government and self-sacrificing missionaries. This by the way. Mr Goddard has done a good service. *The Handbook of Sierra Leone* deserves and should receive an enthusiastic welcome, and wide as well as careful reading.

J. E. K. AGGREY

Indische Gedichte aus Vier Jahrtausenden in Deutscher Nachbildung. Von Otto von Glasenapp, mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen von Helmuth von Glasenapp. (Berlin: Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. M. 5. 1925.) Dr Helmuth von Glasenapp is an orientalist of distinction, who has published several works of large value on Hinduism and Jainism. His exact scholarship stands behind these excellent German verse translations by his father. The volume is a strikingly useful selection of extracts from Indian poetry, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi and Bengali, translated into flowing German verse. So carefully have the passages been selected that they represent a very large proportion of the chief forms of Hinduism, and bring before us, in most pleasing form, a great many of the leading convictions and aspirations of the people of India. To the student who is struggling to understand the development of Hinduism and its chief exponents, this book will be a pleasing and most helpful companion.

J. N. F.

The Basis of Racial Adjustment. By Thomas Jackson Woofter, Jr., Ph.D. (Boston and London: Ginn. 6s. 6d. 1925.) Much that is written on this subject of race relations is calculated to sound the alarm; it is full of the conceptions of conflict, menace and calamity. It assumes that the interests of two or more races within a single country are necessarily divergent, and its counsel is despair or defiance. Here lies the virtue of Dr Woofter's book—that the writer believes in a constructive programme for the improvement of race relations, based on a careful study of the facts of Negro life, the recognition of the essential part which the Negro has to play in the communities of South and North, and the policy of co-operation as the antidote to fear, distrust and mutterings of civil strife. Dr

Woofter is thinking of a national situation, the so-called 'Negro problem' of the United States. His programme is intended to teach the minds of the white South, in particular, that there is a next thing to do in this matter, that the way of study leads to sympathy, and the attitude of helpfulness is socially and nationally the wisest and best. Some readers may think that the theory of social segregation is carried too far, but let them consider what audience the writer has in view, and if they can enunciate a policy equally feasible in present conditions, and at the same time as thoroughly noble and gentle, this book will have served its day well. J. W. C. D.

Missionen en Livsmakt. (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrrelses Bokförlag. Kr. 2.50. 1925.) The Jubilee of the Swedish Church Mission was celebrated at Uppsala from the 3rd to 5th November 1924. Societies from other lands which are neighbours of the Swedish Church on the mission field sent representatives and the International Missionary Council sent its congratulations through its secretary. Some of the speeches delivered on that occasion are collected in the small book mentioned above. It opens with the speech of Archbishop Söderblom on the spirit of Christian missions. Provost Rodhe and Bishop Danell follow with two papers on the inter-relation of missions and theology, then Missionsdirektor Gunnar Brundin gives the story of the development of the Swedish Church Mission and four missionaries take up different mission fields—Zululand, Southern Rhodesia, India and China—where the society has work, dealing with these countries on broad national lines rather than from a merely mission society point of view. Next comes Mr Oldham's paper on Christian education in the mission field, followed by an interesting paper by Dr Gerhard Lindblom on the effect upon a primitive people of contact with western culture and missions. Bishop Heuman (who was consecrated a few years ago as the first bishop of the Tamil Lutheran Church) and Rural Dean G. Hogner both write on the spiritual relations between the home Church and the mission field. Another missionary and a home churchman (Per Pleijel and Carl Block) write of the capacity of the home society to support the expanding work of missions, and the book closes with a short account of the jubilee celebrations and a poem 'After Fifty Years' composed for the occasion by a mission secretary, Sam Perman.

B. D. G.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

MR ROGER S. GREENE is General Director of the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, and Secretary of the Trustees of the Peking Union Medical College. Among the many posts he has held with distinction may be mentioned that of Consul-General of the United States at Hankow.

The Rev. ROBERT E. SPEER, D.D., is a leader in missionary and church life in the United States. He has been since 1891 the Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., is a member of the International Missionary Council and Chairman of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, in which capacity he writes of the recent Congress at Montevideo.

The Rev. A. G. FRASER went to Uganda under the Church Missionary Society in 1900, and in 1904 became Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, under the same Society. He was Chairman of the Indian Village Education Commission of 1920-1. In 1924 he was appointed Principal of the newly-founded government college at Achimota, Gold Coast, where he is developing African education, still in its early stages.

Miss MABEL SHAW has been for ten years a missionary in Northern Rhodesia of the London Missionary Society. The girls' boarding school at Mbereshi has developed under her leadership on lines which have created wide interest in educational circles.

The article on 'The Problem of Native Labour in the Belgian Congo' is written by a Belgian Roman Catholic intimately acquainted with that colony. Dr Anet, to whose kindness the Review is indebted for the offer of this article, has translated it from the French.

Dr HENRY T. HODGKIN writes as one of the secretaries of the National Christian Council of China. Having returned to England

only in June of this year, he is in touch with the international situation.

The Rev. S. M. ZWEMER, D.D., is a missionary of the Reformed Church in America, Field Secretary of the American Christian Literature Society for Moslems and Editor of *The Moslem World*. Continuing his world-wide investigation of Moslem questions, he has recently visited South Africa, where he obtained the material for his article, having journeyed through the Union, Rhodesia, Portuguese East Africa and Nyasaland.

The Rev. J. LOVELL MURRAY, D.D., is qualified to write on the preparation of missionaries in North America, for besides being the Director of the Canadian School of Missions, Toronto, since its foundation in 1921, he held for sixteen years the post of Educational Secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement of North America, and has had practical experience as a missionary in India.

The Rev. J. MACDONALD WEBSTER, D.D., was a missionary at Budapest for seventeen years under the Jewish Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland. Since 1918 he has been Secretary of the Jewish Mission and Colonial and Continental Committees of his Church. He has been permitted by his Church to undertake the organization of two conferences on work among Jews, which it is proposed to hold in Eastern Europe in 1927.

The writers of book reviews are: President Harold Balme, F.R.C.S., of Shantung Christian University; Miss Ruth Rouse, a secretary of the Missionary Council of the National Assembly of the Church of England; the Rev. E. W. Smith, Literature Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society; the Rev. James B. Rodgers, of the Philippine Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Missionsdirektor D.Th. Martin Schlunk of Hamburg, member of the International Missionary Council; the Rev. E. J. Thompson, Reader in Bengali, Oxford University; Professor J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt., of Manchester University; and Mr J. O. Dobson, secretary for foreign students of the British Student Christian Movement.

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In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Professor J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Manchester), Professor Arthur Jeffery (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Missionsdirektor Dr M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Rev. E. W. Smith (London), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Rev. Martin Westling (Stockholm), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 635.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

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ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

CMR = Church Missionary Review
CR = Chinese Recorder
EM = Die Evangelischen Missionen
EMM = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin
EW = The East and The West
IRM = International Review of Missions
E = Japan Evangelist
IR = Journal of International Relations
MRW = Missionary Review of the World
MW = Moslem World

MZW = Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingwetenschap
NAMZ = Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift
NCCR = National Christian Council Review
NMT = Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift
SMT = Svensk Missionstidskrift
ZM = Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft
ZMR = Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft

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QUARTERLY NOTES

BEING THE BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

The Committee of the Council,
January 11-15, 1925

THE Committee of the International Missionary Council will hold its first full meeting since the Council Meeting at Oxford in July 1923 in North America—probably in the neighbourhood of New York—from January 11-15, 1925. It will be remembered that the Committee met also at Canterbury, England, from July 27-30, 1922, that the European members held an informal meeting with the Chairman, Dr Mott, in London on May 6, 1924, and that the American members in like manner met with him in New York on June 25 of that same year.

Special importance attaches to the meeting of the Committee from January 11-15, in view of the fact that there is a general sense that after continued discussion the time has come when the issues of effective international co-operation have become clearly defined, and when the whole situation needs to be reviewed in order that a definite policy may be laid down and the right relations established between the national and international organizations. Such a task can best be undertaken in the first instance by a small body like the Committee of the Council. An attempt will be made at this meeting of the Committee, in the light of the experience of the last fifteen years, to define the main issues which have emerged as the result of the experiments, thinking and discussions of that period and to submit them to the different national organizations for their consideration. The most important question the Committee can consider is how far international co-operation can be made to contribute to the bringing to birth of the new things which lie hid in the purpose of God for the world as it is to-day. Any conclusion at which the Committee may arrive will be submitted to the boards through the national missionary organizations.

It is expected that the following will attend the meeting: The Rev. W. I. Chamberlain, Ph.D., Rev. J. H. Franklin, D.D., Mrs Nicholson, Rev. F. M. North, D.D., Robert E. Speer, D.D., Mr F. P. Turner (United States); the Hon. N. W. Rowell (Canada); Baron van Boetzelar (Holland); M. le Pasteur Couve (France); Missionsdirektor M. Schlunk, D.Theol. (Germany); Rev. J. E. Lundahl (Sweden); Rev. R. Forgan, D.D., Mr Kenneth MacLennan, Rev. G. F. Saywell and another (Great Britain); and the officers of the Council.

In order that this meeting of the Committee may render the largest possible service, special value attaches to the prayers of members of the national missionary associations and mission boards associated in the International Missionary Council.

Christian Missions in Tropical Africa

IN view of the urgency of questions affecting the future of Christian education in Africa at the present time, and the recent return of the Phelps-Stokes Commission from East Africa with important recommendations to discuss, a conference was called at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire, from September 8th to 13th, 1924. The conference was arranged by the Standing Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, but was international in its membership.

Of those present—some 120—56 represented 15 British missionary societies, 10 represented 7 American missionary organizations, and from the continent of Europe representatives were present of missions in Belgium, Germany (Bremen, Berlin and Leipzig Missions), Sweden and Switzerland (Basel and Mission Romande). Of these, no less than three-fourths were past or present missionaries. Among the visitors were several government officials, including Sir Frederick Lugard, formerly Governor of Nigeria, Mr Rivers-Smith, Director of Education in Tanganyika Territory, Major Hanns Vischer, Secretary of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, and others. Three men of African race made specially large contributions—Dr J. Kwegyir Aggrey, a member of the Education Commission, the Rev. R. D. Baeta, a native of Togoland, one of the representatives of the Bremen Mission, and the Rev. Max Yergan, an American Negro, who is a secretary of the South African Y.M.C.A. The Rev. A. G. Fraser, formerly of Trinity College, Kandy, and now Principal of the Government College, Achimota, West Africa, was also present. He and Dr Aggrey, who is a member of the staff, sailed shortly after the conference for the Gold Coast. Mr J. H. Oldham was in the chair.

The success of this weighty and representative conference was assured by the fact that it drew its membership from a wide area and concentrated on a single subject. The quality of the papers read can be measured by the three (by Dr Garfield Williams, Professor Westermann of Berlin and the Rev. W. T. Balmer) which are published in the January (1925) number of the *International Review of Missions*. The discussions were on as high a level as the papers. Among the subjects specially presented were the following: Recent changes in the African Continent; the relation of education to the African's past; the place and function of the vernacular in education; relations with government in education in British, French, Belgian and Portuguese colonies; the education of girls and women; text-books and literature; and the training of teachers.

Large place was given to the report of the Educational Commission to East Africa and to the Memorandum on the elements of an effective policy proposed for the organization and supervision of education in Africa presented by Dr T. Jesse Jones. The conference was not designed to pass resolutions or to adopt findings, but it desired to record its profound impression of the unique opportunity afforded to Christian missions by the educational situation in Africa, and commended to all the missionary boards represented a careful study of the above Memorandum entitled *An Educational Policy for African Colonies*. A copy of the Memorandum has been sent to every missionary society having work in Africa.

One outcome of the conference is the proposal now under consideration for the formation of an International Bureau for African Languages and Literature.

The National Christian Council of Japan

THE National Christian Council, through its Commission on International Relations, was able to render large service during the recent critical period following the passing of the Immigration Bill in America. At the close of a comment on the situation, in the June number of the *Japan Evangelist* (p. 2), the editor writes:

We cannot close this editorial without a word of appreciation of the great service rendered by the National Christian Council at this crisis. It seems to us that the Council was born for just such a time as this. When the tension among Christians was at its height, it was the Executive Committee of the Council which met and after five hours of discussion finally adopted a resolution in which the Christian Churches in Japan have taken a stand for international goodwill and brotherhood.

The two years' special evangelistic campaign referred to in *Quarterly Notes* for July (p. ii) was opened in October. Japanese pastors and laymen, besides foreign missionaries, are taking part. These are organized into evangelistic bands of two or three workers; each band is to spend about a week in about fifty places in a year. It is hoped that over two hundred centres may be visited intensively during a year.

The organization of the Council has had one immediate and happy result in making more possible a friendly relationship with Chinese Christians through the National Christian Council of China. The China Council sent two representatives to the organizing meeting of the Japan Council in November 1923 (see *Bulletin* for April, p. vii), and Rev. K. Miyazaki, representing the Japan Council, spoke at the second general meeting of the China Council held in Shanghai in May 1924.

The Rev. R. C. Armstrong has been appointed Foreign Secretary of the Council as a colleague to the Rev. K. Miyazaki.

The China Christian Educational Association

THIS Association is making progress along the lines suggested by the China Educational Commission in its Report.

Chinese secretaries are being added to its staff. Professor C. C. Chen has accepted the appointment of associate general secretary. He is a graduate of the University of Nanking and an M.A. in Education of Columbia University. He has also had the experience of eight years in teaching in elementary and secondary schools. Since his return from America in 1921 he has been head of the department of Chinese in the University of Nanking, and has taught in the department of education in South-Eastern University, and has been connected with the provincial bureau of education as supervisor of normal schools. He is specially equipped to give assistance in two very important departments, the teaching of Chinese and the training of teachers.

Mr Y. P. Tien is assistant secretary of the two Councils of Religious Education and of Elementary Education. The other national officers are Dr F. D. Gamewell, general secretary, Dr E. W. Wallace, associate general secretary, and Rev. E. C. Lobenstine, secretary of the Council of Higher Education.

The Association has been reorganized with four Councils: Higher Education, Elementary Education, Religious Education, and the Council of Extension and Adult Education. The regional associations are being reorganized into

provincial boards, as recommended in the Commission's report. Nine of these reorganizations have been already completed or are in process. Through the co-operation of the universities or colleges and the missions and church organizations in each area, the necessary provision of secretarial staff for these boards is being made. The national association has an assured income now of \$16,600, most of which is obtained through the missions on the field.

Co-operative relations are being developed with the Churches through the National Christian Council, and with government education through individual government teachers who are members of the association and through relations with organizations of government teachers and schools.

During the past year the Association has given special attention to standardized tests in connexion with a national educational survey conducted under the direction of an expert in the University of Peking. The problem of teacher training is also receiving attention from a special committee. The development of schools adapted to rural conditions in China is being carried forward with earnestness and increasing success. A course of study for rural primary schools has been proposed, and several centres have been decided upon for the training of rural teachers. In this connexion it may be noted that there are now fifty-eight men in the Christian schools in China who are devoting practically all their time to agriculture and forestry educational work, of whom thirty-two are graduates of agricultural colleges in the United States or Canada. Of these, eleven are Chinese. There are also sixteen graduates in agriculture of colleges in China, and nine missionaries who have had special training in agriculture.

The necessity for improvement in religious education is generally recognized. A special conference on this subject has been held, and much attention is being given to it in summer conferences. The following resolutions were adopted at the last meeting of the National Association :

1. That the Standing Committee on Religious Education of the China Christian Educational Association be asked to secure the facts about present curriculum Bible study, to suggest an outline for a model curriculum for colleges, middle and primary schools, and to promote the preparation of the courses needed. Such a model curriculum would recommend the subjects to be offered, their sequence, and the amount of time to be given to them.

2. That curriculum religious instruction be under the direction of specially trained teachers.

3. That for the success of any programme, the Christian personality of the teacher is of very great importance. This applies not only to those with special definite responsibilities, such as college pastors, religious work directors and teachers of Bible courses, but also to all members of the faculty, all of whom should have a share in the religious activities of the college or school. We strongly urge that definite allowance for these religious activities be made in the schedule of the teachers, and that, where necessary, the number of students in an institution be limited to enable the faculty to fulfil this personal responsibility to each individual student.

4. That we believe that for the special training of Bible teachers and leaders in religious education in middle schools and colleges, strong departments for the training should be developed in certain colleges and seminaries.

The *Educational Review*, from the issue of which for July 1924 the above statement has been compiled, is published quarterly by the China Christian Educational Association, and should be read regularly by those interested in the development of Christian education in the mission field, and certainly by all those who are in any way concerned with the future of Christian work in China.

German Missionaries

IN the last number of *Quarterly Notes* (p. vi) the announcement was made that missionaries of German missionary societies had been given permission to return to Tanganyika Territory. Application is now being made for the resumption of work by the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, where several missionaries of the Bremen Society have been at work again for some months. As a result of a conference in September in Edinburgh an agreement has been reached between the Basel, Bremen and United Free Church of Scotland Missions whereby the work on the Gold Coast would be shared between the three societies. The arrangement proposed in the first instance is that the Basel Mission should become responsible for the Ashanti area, the Bremen Mission for the Ewe area and the United Free Church of Scotland for the remainder of the former Basel Mission field. If the Government consents to this arrangement it is hoped that the European missionaries of the three societies would form one Mission Council to be the local representative of the home Churches, responsible to them for the administration of all affairs and for the expenditure of all moneys entrusted to it.

Several of the German missionaries, preparatory to returning to Africa, are spending some time in Great Britain to gain fuller knowledge of the language and get into touch with future fellow-workers. The British Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries has gladly placed all its facilities at the disposal of the officers of the International Missionary Council to further this end.

The Northern Missionary Council

Helsingfors Meeting

THIS Council held its second meeting in Helsingfors, September 23rd and 24th, 1924, when two representatives attended from Sweden, two from Norway, one from Denmark and three from Finland, besides the secretary, Rev. J. E. Lundahl. The most important subject before the Council was the drawing up of the programme and lines for discussion of the Northern Missionary Conference to be held in Stockholm in the autumn of 1925. The meeting in Helsingfors decided that the dates of the conference should be September 23rd-27th, 1925. The conference is to be common to Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland, and a great number of delegates are expected from these countries. In addition, the International Missionary Council has been invited to send a representative, and Dr Fr. Würz from Basel has been asked to represent the continental missions. It is also hoped that Dr Samuel Zwemer will be present. Papers will be read and discussions held during the conference on such mission problems as are at that time most vital to the missions of the northern countries.

J. E. L.

The Herrnhut Missionswoche

THE eighth Herrnhut Mission Week was held from October 6th to 10th, representatives attending from the whole of Germany; Holland was also represented by two members.

Two main lines were followed. The first was a survey of the large mission fields which are the concern of German missions: South Africa, the Dutch East Indies, China and India; the growth of Roman Catholic missions in the last two decades was noticed particularly. The second line of discussion dealt with the principles underlying the action to be taken, keeping in mind the growing national Churches and the constituency at the home base.

The week was noteworthy for two reasons: The German Evangelischer Missionsbund (the national missionary organization) held its first session at that time; and

Missionsdirektor Dr Hennig resigned his position as chairman of the German Missions Ausschuss (the executive committee of the Missionsbund). Missionsdirektor Dr Baudert was elected in his place to represent Herrnhut on the Ausschuss, and Missionsdirektor Dr Sehlunk was appointed its chairman in addition to directing its affairs as secretary. Finally, the Ausschuss, to demonstrate the growing confidence in international missionary co-operation and the restoring of German missionary activity, appointed Professor Dr Julius Richter of Berlin University and Missionsdirektor Dr Knak of Germany as additional members of the International Missionary Council.

M. S.

Jubilee of the Swedish Church Mission

THE Mission Board of the Swedish National Church celebrated its jubilee at Uppsala on November 3rd-5th. There has been an encouraging growth in the missionary work of the Church in recent years, and the remarkable gathering which filled the University Hall at Uppsala, composed of elected representatives from hundreds of parishes all over Sweden, gave promise of still larger things to be looked for in the future. The King of Sweden honoured the proceedings with his presence. The other Swedish missionary societies were represented at the meeting, and there were also representatives from sister missionary societies in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Germany, while Mr Oldham attended as representing the International Missionary Council.

The World Missionary Atlas

THIRTEEN years after the appearance of the *World Atlas of Christian Missions*, which was the North American revision of the *Statistical Atlas of Christian Missions* prepared for the World Missionary Conference of 1910, a new *World Missionary Atlas* has been compiled. No *World Statistics of Christian Missions* have been gathered since the volume bearing that title appeared in 1916, based on field reports covering the period at the beginning of the world war. The new atlas brings the maps of mission fields and the statistics of these fields to date.

In general, the new atlas follows the lines of the earlier *World Atlas of Christian Missions*. Instead of twenty-four double-page map plates the new atlas offers thirty, of which eighteen are orographical—that is, they show relative altitudes in addition to political divisions. The number of statistical pages is almost double that of the earlier atlas, this being largely due to the increase in number of political units for which statistics are given. A new feature, of a gazetteer nature, 'Explanatory Map Notes,' fills thirty pages and gives much useful information pertaining to mission lands. The values of the Directory of Missionary Societies and the Index of Mission Stations (with key to map location for each station) are already known to users of the earlier atlases.

The editors of the *World Missionary Atlas* are Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D., of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, and Mr Charles H. Fals, Director of the Missionary Research Library, New York City, two of the three editors of the earlier atlas. The Edinburgh Geographical Institute has lithographed the maps. The publisher is the Institute of Social and Religious Research, of New York City. The pre-publication price for North America, good for orders received before March 1st, 1925, is \$6.00, carriage free; the post-publication price in the U.S.A. will be \$10.00, carriage free. Orders should be sent to the Institute of Social and Religious Research, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City. For Great Britain and the continent of Europe the pre-publication price will be 25 shillings and the post-publication price 42 shillings, in each case postage extra. Orders may be sent to Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1. *Benefit* orders from far-away regions will be honoured either by the Institute or by Edinburgh House at the pre-publication rates if these orders bear postmarks of date prior to March 1st, 1925 and appropriate remittance is enclosed. It should be said that even the post-publication prices involve a very substantial underwriting by friends of missions in order to make possible the prices quoted.

G. M. F.

Forthcoming Report on African Education

AFTER the Phelps-Stokes Educational Commission visited West Africa and some of the southern areas in the years 1920-21, a large quarto Report was issued and has attracted the attention of administrators both at home and in Africa, and of missionaries. Its careful survey of existing conditions, its interpretation of education in terms of African life, and its sane and far-reaching recommendations have made it invaluable to all who care for African peoples.

In the year 1924 another Educational Commission, inaugurated by the same Phelps-Stokes Fund, and again supported by American and British missionary organizations, visited East Africa, ranging from Abyssinia southward through Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Portuguese East Africa, Bechuanaland and Basutoland and various parts of the Union of South Africa. The Commission included Dr T. Jesse Jones, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and chairman of both the Africa Educational Commissions; Dr J. E. Kwegyir Aggrey, formerly professor at Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C., U.S.A., and recently appointed to the staff of the Government College at Achimota in the Gold Coast; Dr James H. Dillard, president of the Slater and Jeanes Funds and member of the General Education Board in the United States; Dr Homer L. Shantz, head of the Bureau of Plant Distribution in the United States Department of Agriculture; Major Hanns Vischer, secretary and member of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa at the Colonial Office, London; Dr Garfield Williams, educational secretary of the Church Missionary Society; and, for part of the time, Dr C. T. Loram. Mr J. W. C. Dougall was secretary to the Commission.

The conference held near London after the return of the Commission is noted on p. ii. Since then Dr Jesse Jones has been engaged on the preparation of his second Report, which will be issued in the early months of 1925 (price 7s. 6d., plus postage). The Standing Committee of the British Conference have provided office accommodation and temporary staff for Dr Jesse Jones at Edinburgh House, and the secretaries of the International Missionary Council have arranged to give help in editorial work. Every available resource is being put at his disposal. Proofs are, at the time of writing, being circulated to members of the Commission.

The second Report will be at least equal in value to the preceding volume, and should prove of material service to all concerned in the education of primitive peoples.

Notes and News

German Membership of the International Missionary Council.—The German Missions Ausschuss is, by the Constitution of the International Missionary Council, entitled to appoint six members. Up to the present there have been only two German members of the Council, Missionsdirektor Dr Schlunk and Dr Friedrich Würz. The German Missions Ausschuss, as an indication of the growing confidence of German missionary circles in international missionary co-operation, decided at their meeting in October to appoint two additional representatives on the Council. Those appointed are Professor Dr Julius Richter and Missionsdirektor Dr Knak.

Missionary Vacation Courses.—*Sweden.*—A successful summer vacation course was held at Holsbybrunn, arranged by the Swedish Missionary Council. It was attended by missionaries and candidates from almost all the Swedish mission organizations. The lectures were good, and dealt with vital problems.

Switzerland.—The third vacation course for missionaries and candidates was held September 23rd to 30th, 1924, at La Coque, near Trélex, being attended by about forty, representing four societies (Missions aux Indes, Romande, Philafricaine and Paris). Lectures were given on practical subjects such as physical culture, tropical hygiene, account-keeping; on the religions of India; on the mind of the animist; on relations of missionaries with government. A large place in the programme was devoted to the spiritual life of the missionary.

China.—Dr C. Y. Cheng, after spending two years in study in New York City, during which time he also made a brief visit to England, Stockholm, Copenhagen and Berlin, returned to China in July, and has accepted the call extended to him by the National Christian Council to serve as one of its secretaries.

The National Christian Council of China sent a circular letter to eight thousand churches urging them to observe September 28th, 1924, as *National Anti-Opium Sunday*.

Copies of *Modern Industry in China* (6 cents), by Miss Zung, are now available from the Office of the Council, Missions Building, 23 Yuen-Ming-Yuen Road, Shanghai.

South Africa.—The South Africa General Missionary Conference will meet in July 1925. Plans have been made for a missionary campaign during the three months preceding the conference among the churches of South Africa. Dr Donald Fraser of Livingstonia will take part in this campaign.

World Missionary Exhibition at the Vatican.—The September issue of the *Revue d'Histoire des Missions* records that the first world missionary exhibition of Roman Catholic missions, opening on December 24th, 1924, was to be held in the Vatican. Preparations have been in hand since the spring of 1923.

Treaties, Acts and Regulations relating to Missionary Freedom.—A few copies of this useful publication are still left and may be obtained from the Office of the International Missionary Council, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

The Christian Occupation of China.—A few second-hand copies of this book, now out of print, are obtainable in China at 35s. each, plus postage. Application should be made to The Business Manager, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

New York Address of the International Missionary Council.—For the purpose of relating the missionary forces in North America more closely to those in Europe, Mr Warnshuis was in New York from November 1923 to the end of July 1924. From August to November he has been in Europe, in close association with the missionary workers in Great Britain and on the Continent, also spending several weeks in Geneva in order to become better acquainted with the work of the League of Nations as it is related to missionary interests. He will probably make his headquarters in the future in America, where his address will be 25 Madison Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.

The Contents of the January number of the *International Review of Missions* are as follows:—Relations with Government in Education; British Colonies in Tropical Africa, by Garfield H. Williams; The Place and Function of the Vernacular in African Education, by Diedrich Westermann, D.Phil.; Text-books: A Study with an African Background, by W. T. Balmer; To the Rescue of Civilization, by A. G. Hogg, D.Litt.; The Peculiar Language of the Heavenly Powers, by N. Adriani, D.Litt. Orient.; The Mecca Pilgrimage in the Life of Islam, by Arthur Jeffery; A Christian Experiment in National Expression, by J. Paul S. R. Gibson; The Religious Education of Students in Christian Colleges and Universities in China, by C. S. Miao, Ph.D.; The Study of the History of Missions, by Kenneth Scott Latourette, Ph.D.; and India and Opium, by William Paton.

Quarterly Notes, being the Bulletin of the International Missionary Council, is in no sense an official organ of the International Missionary Council. It is intended to be a brief record of the facts of national and international missionary co-operation. It is issued *gratis* as an inset in the *International Review of Missions* and also separately. National organizations and missionary societies who desire to put it into the hands of committee members or missionaries can order it from the International Missionary Council, Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, at 8d. (15 cents) per 10 copies, post free. Applications for single copies should be made to the Mission Houses.

QUARTERLY NOTES

BEING THE BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

Meeting of the Committee of the International Missionary Council

A MEETING of the Committee of the Council was held at Atlantic City in America from January 10-15. There were present: Dr John R. Mott (Chairman); Rev. W. I. Chamberlain, Ph.D., Rev. James H. Franklin, D.D., Mrs Thomas Nicholson, Rev. Frank Mason North, D.D., LL.D., Hon. N. W. Rowell, LL.D., K.C., Dr Robert Speer, Mr James M. Speers, Mr Fennell P. Turner (North America); Rev. R. Forgan, D.D., Mr Kenneth MacLennan, Rev. G. F. Saywell (Great Britain); M. le pasteur Daniel Couve (France); Dr M. Schlunk (Germany); Baron C. W. Th. van Boetzelaaer van Dubbeldam (Holland); Rev. Jakob E. Lundahl (Sweden); Mr J. H. Oldham and Dr A. L. Warnshuis (Secretaries).

The present position and problems of the International Missionary Council were subjected to a thorough review during the five days of the meeting. The conclusion was unanimously reached that, in order to respond to the present demands of the missionary situation, international co-operation is indispensable. The view of the Committee found expression in the following minute:

The Committee gave prolonged and earnest consideration to the missionary situation with which the Church is confronted to-day. It surveyed some of the outstanding problems with which the missionary enterprise is deeply involved—the problems of religious liberty and of the freedom of missionary preaching and education, of racial relationships within and without the Church, of the independence and spiritual vitality and efficiency of the indigenous Churches, of the relation of the great modern student migrations to the missionary movement, of Christian education in Africa and China, of the changed situation in the Moslem world, of the restriction of opium and kindred evils, of the clear affirmation and demonstration of the sufficiency of Christ to meet the needs of the world, and of the fuller discernment by the Church of the true character and applications of the Christian Gospel and her fuller acceptance of her missionary duty.

Adequate response to such a situation can be made, in the judgment of the Committee, only through international co-operation. The Committee gave careful consideration to the question whether the ends of international co-operation can be sufficiently achieved by the desired strengthening of the national organizations and an endeavour on their part to keep in touch with one another, and to co-operate with one another. The Committee unanimously reached the conclusion that for the full expression of international fellowship and co-operation an international organization is indispensable. The services rendered by the Continuation Committee and the International Missionary Council in the past have been large, and the Committee believe that the International Missionary Council, adapted as may from time to time be necessary to the changing conditions of the time, may, under the continued guidance of God, render still larger services in the future.

In view of the magnitude and difficulty of the problems confronting the missionary movement the Committee resolved to recommend that the next meeting of the International Missionary Council should be held in 1927, and that in view of its importance the national missionary organizations should be invited to appoint additional representatives on a basis corresponding generally to three times their present representation on the Council. It was felt that there ought at this meeting also to be adequate representation of the mission field. Details of representation were left to be worked out more fully by the Committee at its next meeting. The purpose of the meeting will be to consider in humble and prayerful dependence upon God, and in a larger and richer international fellowship, the implications and claims of those questions which, as set forth in the resolution already quoted, have engaged the attention of the Committee at this meeting, and of other related questions; in order that, through such consideration, the larger will of God for the witness and service of the Church in relation to the whole world may be more clearly discerned and more adequately interpreted to the whole body of Christian people.

The Committee reached the conclusion that experience has shown that there is room and need for larger variety and greater flexibility in the means by which international fellowship and co-operation find expression; and that general meetings of the International Missionary Council may with great advantage be supplemented by international conferences having a strictly limited purpose and dealing with a particular subject. At conferences of this nature a larger amount of time is available for the thorough examination of the subject in hand, and it is possible to ensure the presence of those specially qualified to deal with that subject. The holding of such special conferences will have the further advantage of giving to a larger number of people the enrichment of thought and enlargement of outlook which come from contact with those belonging to other nations. The Committee accordingly authorized its officers to consult with the national organizations concerned regarding the advisability of special conferences to consider African Education and Christian Education in China, and in the event of their approving of the holding of such conferences to make the necessary arrangements in consultation with such national bodies.

Long and serious consideration was given by the Committee to the question of inviting Dr Mott to give the whole of his time to the work of the International Missionary Council. What took place is recorded in the following minute:

While recognizing that God may have many ways of dealing with the issues of vital concern to the missionary movement which came under its consideration, there was given to the Committee a deep and solemn sense of the services which might be rendered by the International Missionary Council if the living forces at its disposal could be increased. The Committee reached the unanimous conviction that it would greatly strengthen the service of the Council in its field of international missionary relations if Dr John R. Mott would give his entire time to this work, and recorded its hope and desire that he consent to make this arrangement at the earliest possible date, it being also the Committee's thought that in such service Dr Mott might find a large and fruitful opportunity for the investment of his rich experience and trained powers.

The Committee requested Dr Mott to give careful consideration to this conviction and desire, and to present to the Committee before adjournment his own views and suggestions in response to this resolution.

Dr Mott indicated that, while deeply sensible of the importance of the opportunity this presented and of the confidence implied in the invitation, he was unable, owing to commitments already made, to respond at this time to the request. He stated that in the year 1926 he might, if desired, be able to devote seven or eight months to the

work of the Council, including visits to Australia, New Zealand and the Netherlands Indies, and possibly meetings with a number of the National Councils.

The National Christian Councils at Work India

THE first meeting of the Council after its new constitution was held at Waltair in November 1924, and was full of interest. The following points are taken from *The National Christian Council Review*, December 1924.

The first whole day of the Conference was reserved for meditation and prayer, and 'it will be surprising if any future Council decides to depart from the precedent established.'

The day of opportunity is now with the Church as regards both the more educated and the depressed classes of the people. An era of greater religious freedom also appears to be at hand, as an outcome of the Delhi Unity Conference. The approach to the great mass of the middle classes is, however, still difficult. The Council arrived at and issued a statement which stimulates thought, dealing with the spiritual opportunity in India.

Rural education is still to the fore in missionary thinking. *The Village Teachers' Journal* appears in five vernaculars, experiments are now getting under way, and the general attitude of the Government is sympathetic.

The Council once more recorded its earnest desire for the return of the German missionaries, and recognized the need of helping those who may return to relate themselves to the great changes which have taken place since their repatriation.

A committee was appointed to carry to a further stage the consideration of the possibility of co-operation in theological training and of its problems.

The National Christian Councils of China and India are in correspondence on the subject of the anti-narcotic work in which both are interested.

The Council took steps towards developing welfare work and social reform.

The Council asked the Rev. W. Paton, who had been appointed for two years from the beginning of 1924, to accept a five years' appointment thereafter.

The following were appointed as delegates to the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work to be held at Stockholm in August 1925: the Bishop of Bombay, Dr Lucas of Lahore and the Rev. D. S. Savarkar of Poona.

Language Training for Missionaries in India.—The National Christian Council, in connexion with the enquiry initiated by the International Missionary Council, has been making enquiries with a view to preparing a statement on the future development of training facilities in India. Material has been produced for a statement which will be embodied in a report later. It is noteworthy that the Madras Council expressed sympathy with the scheme for the proposed training college for European and Indian women as outlined in the *National Christian Council Review*, 1924 (Aug.), pp. 293-5. This scheme would provide for a college, preferably in Madras, where women of both races living together could receive training, the Europeans chiefly on the lines of language, Indian religions and customs, and the Indians on the lines of western culture and Bible study. A further statement will be made later.

China

The Council, at its meeting in May 1924, having laid special emphasis on the need for enriching the life of the Church in rural areas (see *Quarterly Notes*, October 1924, p. i), the matter has since been receiving much thought and study. *The Chinese Recorder* for December 1924 is a 'rural

work ' number containing several articles dealing with different aspects of the work, including plans for a Rural Workers' Training School, and a short statement of the line along which the Council is moving. Briefly, this is at present that of gathering full information of the actual conditions of the Church in rural areas. Two Chinese have been lent by their respective mission organizations to travel for a year making investigations.

The National Anti-Opium Association of China, through which the National Christian Council makes its contribution to the problem, has been instrumental in getting the subject of the opium evil into the government primary school text-books, making the question one of education.

A special committee has been appointed to consider the steps to be taken by Christian educators if the Chinese Government decides to refuse to register institutions including religious education in their curriculum.

Japan

At the second general meeting, held in October 1924 at Tokyo, a resolution was passed to form a committee for investigating the opium problem as it affects Japan. The committee will also include morphine and other habit-forming drugs in their purview.

It was also decided that the nation-wide evangelistic campaign, originally planned for 1924-6 (see *Quarterly Notes*, 1924, July, p. ii), should close in June 1925, only to be continued during 1926 if the third general meeting of the Council should so determine. This evangelistic campaign is to be utilized to emphasize the importance of the abolition of prostitution, the government prohibition of *saké* and education in the Christian principles of citizenship.

The Opium Conferences and Missions

THE Opium Conferences in Geneva are of great interest to the missionary forces because the opium and drug traffic menaces the welfare of the peoples in the Far East, and is incompatible with the Christian Gospel.

The results of the recent Conferences can be accurately estimated only when the records and documents are available for careful study. This has not been possible in time for publication in this issue of *Quarterly Notes*.

Representatives of the missionary forces were present in Geneva during the two Conferences and took part in the discussions and negotiations. In the Second Conference a plenary session was given to the hearing of representatives of non-official organizations, when Mr Kenneth MacLennan, Secretary of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, and Mr A. L. Warnshuis spoke. The National Anti-Opium Association of China was represented by Mr T. Z. Koo. Copies of the report, *Opium in India*, prepared by the Rev. W. Paton, Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, and also of his article published in the January number of *The International Review of Missions* were given to all the delegates attending the Conference.

Messrs Koo and Warnshuis remained in Geneva throughout the Conference sessions in November and December, Mr Koo returning again in January. They were closely associated with the Chinese and American delegations and were able to confer with many other national delegations. Their work was especially fruitful in preparing for effective co-operation in the larger efforts that these Conferences have revealed to be necessary in enlightening the public conscience in both the growing and the consuming countries.

A. L. W.

The Washington Missionary Convention

A GREAT Missionary Convention, under the auspices of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America was held at Washington, January 28th to February 2nd, 1925. It was to be expected that this would be one of the largest and most representative missionary gatherings ever held, for the Churches in North America now contribute three-fourths of the total financial support of Protestant missions. The attendance at each of the three sessions held daily in the large auditorium exceeded five thousand, and was maintained without any slackening of interest for five days, in spite of adverse weather conditions. This was convincing proof that the program had so gripped the delegates as to hold them not only during the period of the Convention, but for long afterwards when they will be echoing its messages in the states and provinces from which they came.

The aim of the Convention was to inform and inspire the Churches of Canada and the United States, so as to enlarge interest and deepen conviction as to foreign missionary responsibilities. In order to reach the constituency of more than ninety missionary societies, it was necessary to make it a big convention, and therefore it could not be deliberative or legislative. Its purpose was educational, and evidence already appearing seems to show that it will prove to be the beginning of a great advance in giving to the Churches a clearer understanding of the work of present-day foreign missions. It did not deal with the questions and problems of administration and policies on the mission field, but its aim was to describe the changes, development and growth in missionary work.

Sixty-three addresses were delivered in the main auditorium, besides those in the eight or ten sectional meetings that were held each afternoon. Washington became a sounding board which will serve to send these messages throughout the continent. The addresses, with scarcely any exception, were of great value, showing the direction of the general progress of religion in America during the last twenty-five years. Judged from this standpoint, the convention gives reason for great encouragement and hope. No vital issue was ignored or compromised.

The international relationships in the missionary world were emphasized at the meeting when fraternal greetings were brought by delegates from Holland, Germany, France, Sweden and Great Britain, and, throughout, the appreciation of co-operation was impressive.

A. L. W.

The Relation of Women to the Church in the Mission Field

THE enquiry instituted by the International Missionary Council in 1923 is making good progress, though it is of necessity slow.

The Swedish group is the first of the national groups to send in its completed answers to the questionnaire.

The American group (which includes among others Mrs Nicholson, Miss Calder, Dr North and Dr Speer) is working with great keenness. There have been meetings to review the material already in hand, and certain individuals have been entrusted with the task of preparing statements on the various mission fields. These reports will be discussed at a meeting in June 1925. After these reports have been compiled in the geographical divisions, the plan is to study

them under certain topics, carrying one topic straight through all the reports. The topics under which this study is to be carried on have not yet been fixed.

The British group reports that the missionary societies are corresponding with their missionaries or mission councils on the field, and all but one or two societies have now sent in answers on which a preliminary report can be based. In some cases the official report cannot be ready for some months. The material now in hand will be prepared by a small group and submitted to the missionary societies before presentation to the International Missionary Council.

A group is at work in Germany. Dr Würz of Basel is the chairman, and the members are Fräulein Magdalene Beysiegel and Missionsinspektor Wegner of the Rhenish Mission, and Missionsinspektor Bechler of Herrnhut. Their work is being done largely by correspondence. The statement for the International Missionary Council will be drawn up by Bishop Hennig, and will probably be published in the *Evangelisches Missionsmagazin*. It was found necessary to make some changes in the questionnaire to fit the conditions of German missions, but the essential points of the original have been retained.

Denmark, Finland, Holland, Norway and Switzerland have groups at work but they have not yet completed their statements.

B. D. G.

Congress on Christian Work in South America

MONTEVIDEO, MARCH 27-APRIL 8, 1925.

REMARKABLE transformations are taking place to-day in South America. Physically, great stretches of territory which were far removed from the outer world are becoming accessible. This will affect the whole political, economic, spiritual and educational life of the Republic. More remarkable transformations are taking place in the social structure of the continent. With the development of a middle class, the introduction of a consciousness of their rights among the labouring people and a new appreciation of social problems by the educated classes, there is a breaking up of the old fixed castes. Large numbers of women have begun to take part in the discussion of the great questions stirring their nations; many have entered industry. Even the poorer women have come into a class consciousness and are now educating themselves. Most significant of all, there is a marked revival of interest in spiritual matters. If these spiritual forces are to prevail there must be found some way of alliance between them and the social, economic and educational renaissance. This is the challenge facing the Congress.

Every topic to be discussed will be related to education. There will be a special educational conference before the general meeting, to which a number of well-known educators have been invited. Some members of the Committee on Arrangements will go on from Montevideo to Buenos Aires, Chile, Bolivia and Peru, where they will meet in regional conferences with the leaders before returning to New York.

The greatest service to the Congress, in session when these notes appear, can be rendered through intercession which will bring all persons and plans connected with it under the control of the Infinite God.

A report of the Congress will be published in due course, and an account of it will appear later in the pages of *The International Review of Missions*.

S. G. I.

African Dinner in the United States

IN connexion with the visit of Dr Thomas Jesse Jones and Mr Oldham to the United States a dinner was given by Dr Anson Phelps Stokes in New York on January 16. Among those present were Dr Wickliffe Rose, President of the General and International Education Board, Dr John H. Finley, Editor of the *New York Times*, Dr John R. Mott, Chairman of the International Missionary Council, Dr Abraham Flexner, Secretary of the General Education Board, the Secretary of the Carnegie Corporation, the Chancellor of New York University, and a number of other leading representatives of educational and philanthropic interests. A few outstanding leaders of the coloured people in the United States were also present, as well as the European members of the Committee of the International Missionary Council. Speeches were made by the Chairman (Dr Stokes), Professor Franklin H. Giddings of Columbia University, Dr Jones, Dr Dillard, Mr Oldham and Dr Moton, the Head of Tuskegee Institute. The representative character of the gathering is evidence of the keen interest in African matters that is growing in influential circles in America.

Kenya Missionary Council

IN 1924 the Alliance of Protestant Missionary Societies in Kenya Colony secured the formation of a United Missionary Council to deal with educational matters and questions arising in relation to the Government. The first meeting of the executive committee of the Council was held in November 1924, and passed a memorandum for presentation by their deputation to the East African Parliamentary Commission. The first general meeting of the Council was fixed for February 1925.

China Association for Christian Higher Education

The Council of this Association, meeting in October 1924, passed some important resolutions, among which were the following :

To form a Council on Religious Education, with a full-time secretary, as a department of the China Christian Educational Association ; to recommend to the executive committee of the same Association the calling of a conference of Chinese and foreign educators for a frank discussion of the bearing of the Boxer Indemnity Fund upon Christian education ; and to adopt uniform standards for Christian colleges in China, according to an outline presented at the meeting and accepted.

Notes and News

The World Missionary Atlas is now on sale and can be obtained from New York : Institute of Social and Religious Research, \$10, or from London : 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 42s.

The Report of the Phelps-Stokes Educational Commission to East Africa will be published by the end of April and can be obtained from New York : 101 Park Avenue. \$2, or from London : 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 7s. 6d.

German Missionaries.—The Leipzig Mission is sending back Missionare Raum and Gutmann to Kilimanjaro. The Brüdergemeine (Moravian Mission) is sending Missionar Gemuseus to East Africa, and the Bethel Mission is sending back Missionare Johannssen and Hosbach to Usambara. The two last studied English for some weeks at Kingsmead, one of the Selly Oak Colleges, previous to sailing for Africa.

Progress in Race Relations.—The Survey for 1923-4 of the work of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation gives an insight into methods being used, with success, to promote mutual understanding, appreciation and goodwill between the white and coloured races in America. Any reader of this Review who may be interested in the

object and work of the Commission can receive a copy of the survey, a nineteen-page pamphlet, by application to the office at 409 Palmer Building, Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A.

British Student Conference.—At the Seventh Quadrennial Conference of the Student Christian Movement, recently held in Manchester, Mr T. Z. Koo, one of the secretaries of the World's Student Christian Federation, was elected vice-Chairman and presided at several of the meetings. This is an interesting illustration of the international character of present-day movements among students.

Church Union.—At the Home Base the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches and the Congregational Union of Canada are to become the United Church of Canada in June 1925. Negotiations have been in progress since 1902.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in India and the Aikya (Union) of Congregational Churches in Western India joined to form the United Church of India (North) in December 1924. The first Moderator is the veteran missionary, Dr R. A. Hume.

Vatican World Missionary Exhibition.—One feature of this exhibition, being held during 1925, is a daily paper entitled *Esposizione Missionaria Vaticana* dealing with subjects of art and science in connexion with the exhibition. Great attention is being paid to the geographical side, which has an exhibit to itself in which is on view a World Atlas of the Roman Catholic Church. A small edition will be issued for convenience in use.

The Contents of the April number of *The International Review of Missions* are as follows: Chinese Education and Religious Work among Students, by T. Z. Koo;—The Christian Opportunity in Africa: Some Reflections on the Report of the Phelps Stokes Commission, by J. H. Oldham;—Frank Weston, Bishop of Zanzibar: An Appreciation, by H. Maynard Smith;—The Spirit of Worship and Reverence, by George S. Stewart;—Religious Education in India, I. The Syllabus in Religious Education: Preliminary Requisites, by J. H. Warnshuis, II. A Graded Course of Religious Training in Mission Schools, by Constance Pelly, III. Story-Telling as a Factor in Missionary Work, by Edith M. Annett;—The Ethical Teaching of Dr Schweitzer, by A. G. Hogg, D.Litt.;—Eastern Turkestan as a Mission Field, by G. Raquette;—On Making a Missionary Atlas, by Charles H. Fahs;—Reviews of Books.

Directory Notes

The National Christian Council of India has adopted the following as its cable and telegraphic address: *Aikya, Calcutta*.

The Secretary of the Kenya Missionary Council is the Rev. A. Ruffell Barlow, Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu, Kenya.

Quarterly Notes, being the *Bulletin of the International Missionary Council*, is in no sense an official organ of the International Missionary Council. It is intended to be a brief record of the facts of national and international missionary co-operation. It is issued *gratis* as an inset in the *International Review of Missions* and also separately. National organizations and missionary societies who desire to put it into the hands of committee members or missionaries can order it from the International Missionary Council, Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, at 8d. (15 cents) per 10 copies, post free. Applications for single copies should be made to the Mission Houses.

QUARTERLY NOTES

BEING THE BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

Libraries for Missionary Study

MISSIONARIES home on furlough, or in fact any missionary students, are often anxious to know what facilities for study are available for them. It is not sufficiently known that many local Municipal and Public Libraries contain books covering whole ranges of subjects cognate to missionary work, and of extraordinary value for the student. For example, records of travel, books on history, anthropology, ethnology or sociology will be found in all good public libraries, and on the reference shelves those treasured friends, *The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, *The Encyclopædia Britannica* and *The Imperial Gazetteer*. In addition, periodical publications such as Colonial Reports, will furnish a mass of information from which the discerning student can glean much to help him.

For students requiring more than the local public library can provide, a further source may be a neighbouring College or University. In most cases the libraries provided by these for the use of their own members are not rigidly closed to all others. A serious student, who can furnish proof of capacity to profit by reading, may not infrequently obtain access through a suitable introduction. Conditions can always be obtained upon application to the librarian.

It has been thought worth while to issue information concerning libraries where missionary students can, failing or in addition to the above-mentioned, get the books they need. A list having been issued in Great Britain in 1918, a beginning is being made on that, revised and brought up to date. In succeeding issues of *Quarterly Notes* it is hoped to supply information about libraries in America and on the Continent of Europe.

To save space the following initials are used: L=lending; R=reference; s=small subscription; f=free.

GENERAL LIBRARIES IN A FEW LARGE CENTRES

London. British Museum (R, f).—School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. (R).—Williams, Gordon Square, W.C.1 (L, f).—The Colonial Institute, the African, Japan and similar Societies have facilities for topical study.

Oxford. Bodleian (R, introduction).—Hannington Hall, New Inn Hall Street (L and R, f, not up to date. Apply Rector of St Peter-le-Bailey).—Indian Institute, Broad Street (L and R, f, India).

Cambridge. University (L to members of University, R on introduction, s).

Birmingham. Griffin's Hill, Selly Oak (R, available from October 1925, in initial stages).

Manchester. John Rylands (R, f, good missionary section and magazines).

Edinburgh. Advocates' (R, f, good religious sections).—Divinity Hall (R,

introduction).—New College (R, for Scottish theological students and ministers).—University (L and R, s, introduction).

MISSIONARY LIBRARIES

London. Baptist Missionary Society, 19 Fumival Street, E.C.4 (Monthly Missionary Conference, L; also on India, China, Ceylon, West Africa, R).—British and Foreign Bible Society, 146 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.4 (R, translations in 556 languages).—Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 27 Chancery Lane, W.C.2 (L, s).—Church Missions to Jews, 16 Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.2 (L and R, Jewish).—Friends' Foreign Missionary Association, 15 Devonshire Street, E.C.2 (L, f).—London Missionary Society, 48 Broadway, S.W.1 (R, not at present available, Oriental texts, especially Chinese; L, small, on purchase of 6d. catalogue).—Presbyterian Church of England, 15 Russell Square, W.C.1 (L, small).—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 15 Tufton Street, S.W.1 (L, over 14,500 volumes, open to all, s).—South American Missionary Society, 20 John Street, W.C.1 (L, South America).—Student Christian Movement, Annandale, North End Road, Golders Green, N.W.11 (L, f, small).—Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 9 Dartmouth Street, S.W.1 (L, s, Africa).—Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 24 Bishopsgate, E.C.2 (L, on purchase of 6d. catalogue).—Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, 33 Surrey Street, Strand, W.C.2 (L, f, small and elementary). There is also the Talbot Library at Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, S.W.1 in its initial stages only (R, f).

Liverpool. Presbyterian Church of England, Women's Missionary Association, 1 Sunnyside, Princes Park (L, s, open to all).

Edinburgh. Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee, 22 Queen Street (L and R).—United Free Church of Scotland, 121 George Street (L, s; also Foreign Missions Committee, R).—Women's Missionary College, 23 Inverleith Terrace (R).

Glasgow. United Free Church of Scotland, 232 St Vincent Street (L, s).

Belfast. Presbyterian Church in Ireland Foreign Mission, Church House (L).

A New Era in Missions

A FEW OF THE GREAT NOTES STRUCK AT THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE WORK OF OUR CHURCH TO-DAY

1. The older order in missions, wherein the foreign missionary originated everything and dominated all departments of work, has in most fields passed, giving place to a new stage where we are partners with Christians of oriental countries, working with them for the evangelization of their fellow-countrymen, ready to accept positions subordinate to them, as they rightfully assume the direction of the work in their own lands.

2. This change brings to the Church a new motive in our missionary enterprise. Something of a condescending pity, as of a superior race for an inferior, has often entered into this great work of the Christian Church. To-day the appeal is for Christian men and women, in humble recognition of our equality before God and conscious of our own weaknesses, to share with our brothers and sisters of other races the best that God has given us, being equally ready also to learn from them.

3. The great aim of the missionary enterprise, as a result of these developments, is not solely the conversion of individuals by the influence of the foreign

missionary, but the founding and nurture of an indigenous Church which may become under the providence of God the instrument for their evangelization.

4. These developments vitally affect the type of candidate selected to-day. Men and women are required who by temperament and experience are able to associate themselves with peoples of other races in a spirit of true Christlike humility, self-effacement and love, specially trained for the specific tasks in which the indigenous Churches solicit our help.

5. The message of the missionary abides as of old, to preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified. The emphasis to-day is upon the native simplicity of that message, divested of those added elements which make it appear the peculiar possession of any one race. It has been enriched by our experience through the centuries, but we do not deny to the disciples of another race the right to express their conception of Christ in terms of their own experience. As He is interpreted anew by many peoples and in many tongues He looms the more majestic before us and justifies anew His right to be crowned Lord of all.

6. There springs also from this new development of thought a splendid conception of the unity of the modern world. The East questions Christianity seeing its palpable failure in many aspects of life in the Christian West. It often spurns western civilization, but yearns for Christ. Our effort to make our own lands and our own individual lives more thoroughly Christian is but another aspect of the one great world task.

A. L. W.

The following figures were given at the Washington Conference showing the growth of American Protestant Missions during a period of eighty years:

Year.	No. of Missionaries.	Income in Dollars.
1844 (U.S. only) . . .	900	515,000
1898 („ „) . . .	5,000	7,000,000
1908 (U.S. and Canada) . . .	7,000	12,000,000
1924 („ „) . . .	19,000	40,000,000

Indian Notes

Higher Education in the United Provinces.—A conference was held at Lucknow, March 2nd to 4th, attended by representatives of all the Christian colleges, and most of the high schools in the United Provinces. The reorganization of higher education along the lines recommended by the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-19 has closely affected missionary education. The conference, after a thorough discussion, registered its belief in the intermediate college as a valuable instrument of secondary education.

The conference stressed the importance of the evangelistic opportunity afforded by missionary schools; and in this connexion it is of great interest to notice that the introduction of a conscience clause in this Province has not, in the opinion of the conference, circumscribed the opportunity for, nor impaired the efficiency of, religious teaching in the schools and colleges which have accepted it, which the vast majority have done. On the contrary, some educationists testified to the stimulus received from the existence of the clause.

Kontinentale Missions-Konferenz

THE above conference, held under the auspices of the Kontinentale Missions-Ausschuss, held its fifteenth meeting at Bremen, May 14th to 18th. Delegates attended from several continental countries, and included Mr J. H. Oldham, Secretary of the International Missionary Council.

China Notes

UNDER the auspices of the Industrial Committee of the National Christian Council an inquiry has been made into the question of phosphorus poisoning in Chinese match factories. The report was published in *The China Journal of Science and Arts* (1925, Vol. III., Feb. and March) and has been reprinted as a twenty-page pamphlet under the title of *Phosphorus Poisoning in Match Factories in China: With Brief Observations on the General Conditions of Labour Found*. By Charles Titterton Maitland, B.Sc., B.S., M.D.(Lond.).

The inquiry arose out of the action taken in 1923 by the Government at Peking, giving notice of the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in match factories throughout the republic as from January 1925.

The conclusions arrived at are that cases of phosphorus necrosis of the jaw are relatively few in number as compared with western experience, that the Peking Government's prohibition is likely to be put into force, and that the health of workers in match factories has been injured less by white phosphorus poisoning than by the general conditions of labour.

Concerning the Boxer Indemnity Fund and the U.S.A.—The attitude of the missionary societies in the United States with reference to the American share of the Boxer Indemnity Funds is easily explained. At the time of the remission of part of these funds in 1908, the Committee of Reference and Counsel deemed it inexpedient to take steps to obtain any part of the funds for missionary work, or even to communicate to the Government any expression of opinion concerning the use of these funds. The original suggestion that these Indemnity Funds should be remitted was made by Dr A. H. Smith; but it was emphasized that there should be no conditions attached to their return, the Chinese Government being left free to determine that question.

During the discussions in recent years, regarding the return of the balance of the American share of the Indemnity, no further action has been taken by the Committee of Reference and Counsel. During the public hearing of this subject before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, several missionaries were invited to give evidence. In doing so, they acted as private individuals, and their unanimous opinion was in favour of the unconditional return of the funds to China. It was not suggested by them nor any others that any part of these funds should be given in support of missionary institutions.

The bill remitting the balance of the American share was finally passed in June 1924, and became law shortly after. The preamble of this bill refers to the purpose of this remission as being 'in order further to develop the educational and other cultural activities in China,' but otherwise the return of the money was unconditional.

In response to this action of the United States Government, the Chinese Government has proposed the appointment of a Joint Commission, on which there will be five Americans and six or seven Chinese, who will be responsible for determining the use and for the administration of these funds.

Chinese Institute of Economic and Social Research.—The Educational Commission to China called attention to the importance of organized research into social and economic conditions and problems of modern China. Impressed by the magnitude of the issues involved, the Commission recommended the establishment of an Institute of Economic and Social Research, to be staffed by Christian men with expert economic training and to be developed as a school of post-graduate study in connexion with university departments of economics

and sociology. (See Report, pp. 226-229.) The first steps have now been taken towards the realization of such plans. An international committee representing Chinese, British and American interests, under the chairmanship of Professor J. B. Taylor of Yenching University, has been making a preliminary study on the field in China for the purpose of outlining more fully the plans for such an Institute. An early report is expected which it is hoped will enlist the united efforts of many church and missionary organizations in China.

Christian Education.—A conference was held in New York on April 6th, attended by representatives of most of the American missionary societies working in China, and of the trustees of Chinese Christian colleges and universities, together with several members of the China Educational Commission and a few Chinese leaders. Readers are referred to two articles on pp. 344-64 of the Review, entitled 'The Future of Christian Education in China.' The first, 'From the Chinese Standpoint,' is written by Dr Harold Balme; the second, 'From the Point of View of the Home Base,' by Mr F. H. Hawkins, is based on the discussions at the conference.

Influence of Christian Colleges.—Statistics recently prepared by President A. J. Bowen (of Shanghai College) show how widely the students from Christian institutions are permeating Chinese life. Following up the records of 1854 students from twelve of the leading Christian colleges and universities, it appears that 45.6 per cent have taken up educational work, 14.2 per cent have gone into business and industry, 13 per cent into the Christian ministry, 9.9 per cent into medicine, 4 per cent into social service, 3.6 per cent into government service, 2.4 per cent into offices and 1.7 per cent into agriculture and forestry, banking, engineering, literary work, law and politics, journalism and research.

Students of College Grade in Christian Institutions.—Statistics gathered for the Nanking Conference in 1924 showed a total of 3561 men and women in Christian colleges in China, an increase of 76 per cent as compared with the total given in the Survey volume, *The Christian Occupation of China*, in 1920.

The Christian Occupation of China.—A few second-hand copies of this book are still available, price 32s. each, plus postage from China. Apply to The Business Manager, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

African Notes

THE General Missionary Conference of South Africa, in session at Johannesburg when this issue appears (June 30-July 3) is expected to be one of outstanding importance, Dr Fraser, the Rev. A. Bryson and Dr Zwemer taking part in it. New features of the conference are the presence of African delegates and speakers (including a woman speaker), following the precedent set by the Dutch Reformed Church, and the permission given to members to invite Roman Catholic friends as non-voters.

The programme includes the following subjects: Spiritual Emphasis in the Lives of the Missionary and Native Pastor, Bantu Psychology, Arrest and Progress of Christianity among the Heathen Tribes of South Africa, the Native Church, Evangelizing the Heathen Woman, Separatist Movements, European Christianity.

Missionary Campaign.—This campaign, planned by the General Assembly in 1922, opened at Bloemfontein in February. Dr Donald Fraser and the Rev.

Arnold Bryson, the campaigners, started by visiting towns in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, from whence have come glowing accounts of their work.

Dr Zwemer joined the campaigners in the Cape Province in June.

Day of Prayer for Missions.—The Committee of the South Africa General Missionary Conference has agreed to ask all missionary associations and Churches represented in the conference to observe Whitsun Day each year as a day of prayer for missions. This year the day fell on May 31st.

Educational Conference at Assiut.—This conference, held January 1st to 3rd, 1925, was the first educational inter-mission conference to be held in Egypt. It was attended by representatives of eleven societies. Egypt is a country where co-operation between State and mission authorities in educational work is unknown. The conference concerned itself largely with the question of upholding the highest educational standards.

Proposed Conference on Africa.—In September 1924 a conference was held at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, England, with international representation, the main subject being problems connected with missionary education. A strong desire has since been expressed in various quarters for another conference, to be held in 1926, to consider the situation in the African Continent and its significance for the Christian Church. The different national missionary organizations have been consulted. Replies have not been received from all at the time of going to press, but there is sufficient data for stating that such a conference, under the auspices of the International Missionary Council, will probably be held in Belgium during September 1926. Full information will be obtainable at a later date.

British Government Educational Policy in Africa.—An important statement of policy has been issued on the advice of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa. An article in reference to it appears in the current number of the Review, pp. 421-7.

OPIMUM CONFERENCES AT GENEVA, 1924-25

The following statement, prepared for *The Edinburgh House Bulletin*, is printed here, by permission, for purposes of further reference :

The First Conference, which opened last November, dealt specifically with the smoking of opium, and at its close a Convention, which has application only to Far Eastern possessions or territory of the Contracting Powers, was signed by seven Powers, including Great Britain and India. The following decisions, which are briefly summarized, were embodied in the Convention :

1. That the importation, sale and distribution of opium and making of prepared opium shall be a monopoly of the Government.
2. The sale of opium to minors shall be prohibited.
3. The number of retail shops and divans shall be limited as far as possible, and no minor shall be allowed to enter a smoking divan.
4. The export of opium from any Possession or Territory into which opium is imported for the purpose of smoking shall be prohibited—and transit through such countries is likewise prohibited.
5. Instruction shall be given in schools and by literature to discourage the use of opium except where the Government considers such measures to be undesirable under conditions existing in its territory.
6. The Contracting Powers undertake to assist one another by direct exchange of information.
7. The possibility is to be considered of punishment of persons resident in one territory in respect of illegitimate transactions in another country.

8. Information *re* number of opium smokers to be collected and transmitted to the League of Nations.

At the close of the Second Conference a further Convention was signed, the main provisions of which, summarized briefly, are as follows :

1. That there should be a limitation of the ports of import or export of raw opium and coca leaves ;

2. That the Contracting Powers shall enact effective legislation to limit ' exclusively to medical and scientific purposes ' the manufacture, import, sale and distribution, export and use of manufactured drugs derived from opium and Indian hemp, and certain rules are laid down for regulating these matters ; and

3. That a permanent Central Board shall be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to receive annually statistics regarding internal production, manufacture, consumption and stocks of drugs manufactured from opium ; to present an annual report of its work to the Council of the League ; and to watch continuously the course of international trade, to ask for information and explanation, and bring matters to the notice of the League.

By the adoption of a Protocol to this Convention certain Powers, including the British Empire, agree to take such measures as may be required to establish within five years at latest an effective control over the production, distribution and export of raw opium so as to prevent illicit traffic. A Commission is to be set up by the League of Nations to decide whether this undertaking has been fulfilled.

A Protocol to the First Agreement, taking note of the action referred to in the preceding paragraph, states that as soon as effective measures have been adopted by the poppy-growing countries to prevent the exportation of raw opium from their territories from being an obstacle to the reduction of the consumption in countries where the use of prepared opium is temporarily authorized, measures will be taken by the States signatory to reduce consumption of prepared opium in their territories so that it may be completely suppressed within fifteen years. Here again a Commission is to be appointed by the League of Nations to decide when the ' effective measures ' have been enforced. It is difficult to see how anyone can regard this agreement concerning the poppy-growing countries as satisfactory.

While pressing for the entire removal of one of the biggest obstacles to our work in the Far East, it is well we should take careful note of what has been thus far achieved. Every effort should be made to secure that these Conventions are speedily ratified, and to see that the work of the Central Board to be created under the Second Convention is made effective, and that the Colonial Office is steadily pressed to carry out in our Far Eastern possessions the obligation undertaken by the British Empire under the Protocol attached to the Second Convention to suppress, within five years, the smuggling of opium into their territories. That in itself would constitute a great gain.

Work among Jews

IT has been provisionally decided to hold two conferences on Work among Jews at Warsaw and at Budapest, probably about Easter 1927, at which it is hoped Dr Mott will preside. Societies, of whatever nationality, which carry on Jewish work will be represented. The preparatory work will be done by the Rev. J. Macdonald Webster, D.D., Secretary of the Jewish and Continental and Colonial Committees of the United Free Church of Scotland. A meeting representing all the Jewish societies with headquarters in Great Britain, was held in London in April to consider the preparatory arrangements for the conferences, and Dr Webster will visit various parts of the Continent of Europe in the course of the year.

Notes and News

Dinner to Dr Thomas Jesse Jones.—The British Government gave a dinner at Lancaster House on March 26th in honour of Dr T. J. Jones and in recognition of the work of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in sending a second educational commission to Africa.

The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Major Ormsby-Gore) presided, and the speakers were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Michael Sadler, Dr Jones himself and a representative of the American Embassy. A number of leading representatives of the press were present, together with African administrators, government officials and secretaries of the principal missions working in Africa.

Lunch to Dr Mott.—On April 29th Dr Mott and Dr Zwemer met members of the Standing Committee of the Conference of British Missionary Societies at lunch in London. Dr Mott impressed upon the gathering the vital importance and urgency of work among Moslems at the present day, and the necessity of co-operation in facing it. In particular he stressed the desirability of supporting the proposals for a Christian Missionary Council for Western Asia and Northern Africa, and a Literature Bureau, put forward by the conference at Jerusalem, April 1924.

The Washington Convention Report.—Copies may be obtained from 25 Madison Avenue, New York, price \$2.50.

The Montevideo Congress.—Under the title of *Christian Work in South America* will shortly appear the official report of the Congress held March 27th to April 8th. It will contain the twelve commission reports, issued for use by delegates before the meeting of the Congress, together with the discussions. Orders may be sent to New York : Fleming H. Revell or Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, 25 Madison Avenue, two volumes, price \$4.00.

The New Report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission.—This report, prepared by Thomas Jesse Jones, Ph.D., Chairman of the Commission, has recently been issued under the title *Education in East Africa*. It may be obtained from 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, or Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York, price 7s. 6d. and \$2.

Professor Raoul Allier's Forthcoming Book.—Under the title of *Psychologie de la Conversion chez les Non-Civilisés*, this will be published in October by M. Payot, Paris. The work will be in two volumes of about 500 pages each, the price of the two together being 60 francs. Pre-publication price (up to October 1st) will be 50 francs in France, 53 francs abroad.

The Contents of the July number of *The International Review of Missions* are as follows : How a French University Man was won for Missions, by Raoul Allier ;—Missionary Education and the Local Parish, by J. C. Archer ;—The Future of Christian Education in China, I. From the Chinese Standpoint, by Harold Balme, II. From the Point of View of the Home Base, by F. H. Hawkins ;—Retrospect and Prospect : An Indian Inquest, by N. Macnicol ;—Women's Work for Missions : Three Home Base Studies, I. American Woman's Boards, by M. M. Underhill ;—Douglas Thornton and the Future of Islam, by R. O. Hall ;—The Development of the Rural Church in China, by G. Mathew Thomas ;—Educational Policy of the British Government in Africa, by J. H. Oldham ;—A Mosuto Novelist, by A. Werner ;—Reviews of Books.

Directory Notes

The office of the National Christian Council of Japan is at 23 Kamitomisaka, Koishikawa, Tokyo—the registered cable address being *Jnccouncil*.

Quarterly Notes, being the Bulletin of the International Missionary Council, is in no sense an official organ of the International Missionary Council. It is intended to be a brief record of the facts of national and international missionary co-operation. It is issued *gratis* as an inset in *The International Review of Missions* and also separately. National organizations and missionary societies who desire to put it into the hands of committee members or missionaries can order it from the International Missionary Council, Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, at 8d. (15 cents) per 10 copies, post free. Applications for single copies should be made to the Mission Houses.

QUARTERLY NOTES

BEING THE BULLETIN OF THE

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

Libraries for Missionary Study

II. ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE

[R = reference ; L = lending ; s = small subscription ; f = free]

BELGIUM

Brussels. Bibliothèque du Ministère des Colonies, rue de la Pépinière, 41 (R and L, f).—Musée du Congo, Terbucren (near Brussels) (R, f).

Liège. (Small, for use of Churches.)

DENMARK

Aarhus, Jutland. Statsbibliotheket (R and L, f ; 11,000 volumes, missionary reports).

Kopenhagen. Studenternes Missionsbibliotek, K.F.U.M.—Teologisk Laboratorium, Studiegaarden, Studiestrodt (R).—Universitetsbibliotheket (R and L, f).

FINLAND

Helsingfors. Suomen Lähetyssseuran Kirjasto (L, f ; for missionaries, clergy, students ; books in Finnish, English, German, Swedish).

FRANCE

Montpellier, Herault. La Bibliothèque de la Faculté protestante de Montpellier, 26 boulevard Berthelot (R, for students or on introduction ; 36,000 volumes, general, with religious section).

Paris. La Bibliothèque Américaine, 10 rue de l'Elysée, 8 me (R, f ; or L, s ; 50,000 volumes, general, with ethnographical section).—La Bibliothèque de la Faculté protestante de Paris, 83 boulevard Arago, 14 me (R, for students or on introduction ; 40,000 volumes, general, with missionary section).—La Bibliothèque de la Société des Missions, 103 boulevard Arago, 14 me (R for rare volumes, L, f ; 3000 volumes on missionary subjects, especially history of missions in Africa and Oceania).—La Bibliothèque Nationale, 58 rue de Richelieu (R, on introduction ; 3 million volumes).

GERMANY

Barmen. Bibliothek des Missionshauses, Rudolfstrasse, 137-9, W. 57 (L, on introduction ; missionary, S.W. Africa, Netherlands Indies, New Guinea).

Berlin. Bibliothek des Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Protestantischen Missionsvereins, Pallasstrasse 57, 8-9 (L, on introduction; comp. religion, Japan and China, missions).—Bibliothek der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, Georgenkirchstr. 70, 43 (L, on introduction; missionary).—Missionsbibliothek in der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, Unter den Linden, C (L, f; very good).

Giessen. Missionsbibliothek in der Universitätsbibliothek (L, f).

Halle, Saale. Bibliothek des Waisenhauses (L, on introduction; archives of Danish-Halle Mission).

Herrnhut. Missionshaus der Brüdergemeinde (R, L in part, on introduction; archives of early history of Moravian Church).

Leipzig. Bibliothek der Leipziger Missionsgesellschaft, Carolinenstr. 19 (L, on introduction; Leipzig Mission fields).

HOLLAND

Amsterdam. Zendingsbibliotheek van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, Heerengracht 366 (R and L, on introduction; good).

Groningen. University Public Library, apply Professor Dr A. van Veldhuizen (R and L, f).

Leiden. University Public Library, apply Professor Dr H. M. van Nes (R and L, f).—Study hall of Theological faculty, apply as above (R, f).

Oegstgeest. Bibliothek van de Nederlandsche Zendingsschool (R and L, on introduction; especially Ancient Dutch Mission period).

Rotterdam. Bibliothek van de Nederlandsche Zendingsvereniging, Heemraadssingel 129 (R and L, on introduction; Java and Islam).

Utrecht. University Public Library, apply Professor Dr A. M. Brouwer (R and L, f).

NORWAY

Oslo. Deichmanske bibliotek (R, f; missionary section).—Universitetsbiblioteket (R, f; missionary section). In most of the larger cities are county council libraries, containing missionary literature, free of access.

SWEDEN

Lidingö Villastad. Svenska Missionsförbundets Centralbibliotek, Missions-skolan (L, f for students, s for public; missionary and theological; 1000 copies of Bible).

Stockholm. Johannelunds Missionsinstitutsbibliotek (R, L in part, f; missionary and theological).—K.F.U.M. (Y.M.C.A.) bibliotek, Birgerjarlsgatan 35 (R and L, f; missionary; with two travelling libraries for branch associations).

Uppsala. Studentmissionsföreningens bibliotek (L, f; missionary).

SWITZERLAND

Basel. Die Bibliothek des Basler Missionshauses (R and L, on introduction; Basel Mission fields).

Geneva. La Bibliothèque chez M. Henri Junod, Grange-Canal (R, s; missionary).

Lausanne. La Bibliothèque Missionnaire, Mlle Alice de Haller, avenue Secretan (R and L, f; Paris and Swiss Mission fields).

Stuttgart, Württemberg. Bibliothek der Basler Mission (L, f; missionary).—Zentralstelle für Missionsliteratur, Evangelischer Missionsverlag, Kasernenstrasse 21 (Bookroom where missionary books in various languages may be seen).

Zürich. Bibliothek des Missionars H. Kurtz, Basler Mission (L, f; small, missionary).

IN GREAT BRITAIN

(Supplementary to the list in *Quarterly Notes* for July)

London. Central Library for Students, 9 Galeci Place, Bury Street, W.C. 1 (L).—Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, E.C. 4 (R, f; L, s).

Warminster. St Boniface College (R).

China Notes

THE China Christian Educational Association issued in April last a statement of fundamental educational principles embodying the agreement arrived at by Chinese and Western educators. The statement was prepared in both Chinese and English, and can be obtained from the office of the Association (5 Quinsan Gardens, Shanghai). In view of events in China during May and succeeding months, the pronouncements on the relation of Christian schools to national education, and to patriotism, found in the statement, are of peculiar interest.

The same association has recently issued a series of bulletins dealing with Christian Education in China which are well worth study (see Bibliography, No. 583).

The National Christian Council, at its third annual meeting at Shanghai, May 13th to 20th, 1925, adopted a Call for a forward movement by the Christian Church of China (the English translation, as an eight-page pamphlet, can be obtained from the Committee of Reference and Counsel, 25 Madison Avenue, New York City). The Call states that the notes of the forward movement which need to be sounded are three—truth, freedom and love. The Christian Church believes in the majesty of truth, and welcomes it wherever it may be found; it holds the principle of freedom to be fundamental and vital, resting upon the worth of each man before God; it is the creation of the God of love, and while love means a way of life which involves hard thinking, patient toil, suffering and even death, love lived out by the Church is the one triumphant answer to all opponents. The Call closes:

The National Christian Council puts forth this Call with a full sense of past mistakes and of our weakness in the face of many grave evils. Nevertheless it is put forth in the confident belief that, as we listen, we shall hear in these days what the Spirit saith to the Churches and that the call of God always brings the assurance that His infinite wisdom, love and power are available for those who dare to obey. Let us not be disobedient to the heavenly vision.

Supplement to 'The Green Year.'—Under this title the National Young Women's Christian Association of China has issued a pamphlet in English (21 pages) concerning the events on and since May 30th in Shanghai, with a view of helping to meet the need for a clearer understanding between members of the different nations concerned. This pamphlet shows the angle from which many thoughtful Chinese view the situation. The editors are Helen Thoburn and Hwang Yeo Fuh.

Letter from the National Christian Council.—The Council addressed a letter to the chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Council, dated June 8th, on the question of securing harmonious relations between the Chinese and foreign communities,

both in Shanghai and throughout China, having especially in view the incidents which occurred in the city on May 30th. The letter pointed out that the wide differences in the reports of those incidents issued from various sources had tended to much misunderstanding, and expressed the importance felt by the Council of instituting a prompt, thorough and impartial investigation by a Committee or Court of Enquiry on which there should be Chinese representation.

The Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, at its fourteenth annual meeting held June 17th to 20th at Swanwick, gave a full session to the discussion of the situation in China, advantage being taken of the presence of Dr Harold Balme, Mr F. H. Hawkins and Dr Hodgkin. Messages were drafted and approved for sending to the Chinese Church, to missionaries in China and to Chinese students in Great Britain. Readers are referred for fuller information to the report of the conference, to be obtained from 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

Japan Notes

IT is proposed to acquire a building to act as a permanent Christian headquarters. Both the National Christian Council executive and that of the Federation of Christian Missions have expressed their approval of the proposal.

The nation-wide evangelistic campaign, mentioned in earlier issues of *Quarterly Notes*, was carried on steadily throughout the early months of this year. The promoters believe that the campaign will bear good fruit.

The third general meeting of the National Christian Council has been arranged for October 1925. The Councils in India and China were informed of the approximate date some months in advance, and were invited to send representatives to the meeting, it being considered most desirable to have such representation at the Asiatic council meetings, as tending to mutual understanding.

African Notes

The Sixth General Missionary Conference of South Africa.—This conference was held at Johannesburg, June 30th to July 3rd, 1925, representing missionaries, mission boards and Churches of South Africa, and was attended by about one hundred and twenty members from a score of organizations. France, Sweden and Switzerland were represented, and, for the first time since the war, German missionaries of the Berlin and Moravian societies.

The following is taken from an account of the meeting, written by the secretary :

For the first time in the history of the conference Native members opened a discussion of some topics, and a Native lady speaker read a paper. From all parts of South Africa—the Cape, Orange Free State, Natal, Transvaal, Basutoland, Swaziland, Pondoland, Zululand, Rhodesia, Portuguese Africa—they came. The subject chosen by the executive was 'The Evangelization of South Africa,' the committee feeling that the startling fact, revealed by the latest census figures, that there are still between three and four million heathen in the Union of South Africa should engage the earnest attention of the conference.

The Europeans present appreciated the contributions made by the Native speakers, realizing that there is no better way of getting at the back of the black man's mind than by hearing him speak.

The spiritual note was strong throughout the conference, and many missionaries

who came from far-away lonely stations testified that they were spiritually helped and encouraged.

Conference unanimously agreed that South Africa is under a debt of deep gratitude to Dr Donald Fraser and the Rev. Arnold Bryson and their colleagues for the excellent work done in the United Missionary Campaign, as well as to the committee responsible for the visit of Dr Zwemer.

We sincerely trust the committee appointed to draw up a Year Book of Missions will be able to accomplish this very necessary piece of work before the next triennial conference.

The writer then goes on to quote the resolutions passed by the conference. A number of these were concerned with matters calling for governmental investigation or legislation, as, for example :

That the Government be asked to investigate through the Native Affairs Commission, or by such other means as it may deem suitable, the working of the circumcision schools, with a view to the protection of life which is not only sometimes sacrificed by the unhygienic methods of operating, but is also occasionally deliberately taken because of the breaking of tribal taboos in connexion therewith. The conference does not suggest the suppression of the schools, which it recognizes are deeply rooted in Native belief and custom, and which will die eventually through the progress of Christian teaching, but it urges regulation to protect life and liberty.

That in view of the many disabilities under which Christian and civilized Natives labour with regard to the law of lobola in the Natal Province, and also having regard to the failure of the Native Christian Marriage Act of Natal, No. 46 of 1887, to afford protection to Native women married under its incidence, this conference hereby appoints a committee to investigate these matters and to collect evidence thereupon with a view to bringing them to the notice of the Government.

Other resolutions deal with the problem of the influx of Bantu women into certain industrial centres, the question of prison reform, land tenure, taxation and industrial conditions, the need for a trained missionary to work among Moslems, and the vital necessity of applying the principle of human brotherhood to all inter-racial problems.

With regard to the resolutions related to legislation, the conference secretary writes :

We trust that the Government of the country will be favourably disposed to receive a deputation to lay before them the resolutions taken on matters of such vital interest as the Native Land Act, the Colour Bar Bill, the Native Taxation Bill, Circumcision Schools. In these resolutions we have the considered judgment of men who have spent a lifetime among the Natives.

Congo Protestant Council (Conseil Protestant au Congo).—The above Council was formed at a meeting of the Congo Continuation Committee held at Leopoldville-Est, May 13th to 14th, 1925, and was the outcome of a resolution passed at the 1924 conference of the Continuation Committee at Kinshasa. The new Council takes over all the finances and functions of the former Committee.

Among the resolutions passed was the following :

That an initial conference of Native leaders with missionaries be arranged for at the time and place of the next meeting of the Congo Protestant Council, each mission which is represented by a missionary to be requested to send two such leaders.

Resolutions were also passed advocating the use of uniform marriage certificates and teachers' certificates and the application of educational tests described by the Secretary of the Education Committee. The next conference was fixed for September 1928, and it was agreed that representatives of regional conferences in Mid-Africa should be asked to attend it.

The Opium Problem

AN important memorandum has been prepared for the International Missionary Council by Dr A. L. Warnshuis, and is being circulated for consideration by the national missionary organizations of the various countries concerned. It contains an opinion as to the gains and disappointments of the opium conferences held at Geneva, November 1924 to February 1925, a statement of the present position in China, and a summary of the reasons for the withdrawal of the delegation from the United States to the second conference.

The memorandum recognizes that the next step to be taken will vary in the different countries concerned, and offers suggestions of some of the lines along which Christian forces might work in each country. The memorandum concludes :

By concerted efforts it may be possible to prepare the way for another conference at some future time, when a better informed public opinion and an awakened public conscience in the countries directly concerned both in production and manufacture may make possible such international co-operation as is essential for the effective control of the opium traffic so as to limit it to the scientific and medicinal needs of the world. In the accomplishment of that purpose I believe the missionary forces have an important part to play.

Church Union in Canada

REFERENCE has been made in former issues of the Review and of *Quarterly Notes* to the impending union in Canada of the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches into the United Church of Canada. The Inaugural Service took place on June 10th last.

Each of the uniting Churches has been content literally to die, in order to enter into fuller life. There has been no renouncing of principles, each has brought its own contribution. One remembers a certain word relating to a grain of wheat which 'abideth by itself alone,' but which, if it die, 'beareth much fruit.' It costs much, and demands a great love, to be willing to surrender independent existence and treasured tradition, and to merge with others into a corporate body ; but love is always costly, and is wont to issue in life.

History has surely never before witnessed the partaking, at one time, by eight thousand people, of the Holy Sacrament. The significance lies not only in the great number, but in the fact that the eight thousand had, up to that day, represented three camps, and now represented but one. It was the seal set on the act of union.

It is not yet possible, because of divergent principles strongly held as a divine trust, for union to become general among the divided members of the body of Christ. Where, however, union without sacrifice of principle is possible it must be welcomed with humble and devout joy by all who care for the cause of Christ and His Church here in earth.

M. M. U.

Questions for Missionaries

1. Missionaries and Art.—In a discussion following a lecture on this subject recently two facts emerged. In the first place, it was urged that beauty—whether of form, sound or colour—when given entrance into a missionary's life, contributes immeasurably to its depth and richness. And, in the second place, that many missionaries lack this richness of life through starving, for one reason

or another, their need for beauty. Any testimony to the truth of this, and any suggestion as to how beauty, through music, nature, poetry, paintings or other media, may become a real part of a missionary's life, would be welcomed by the Editors of this Review.

Further, a missionary in Japan writes of the help she has gained from pictures in her home as means of opening religious conversations with her visitors. She has proved the influence of reproductions of some of the great religious pictures of the West. Is this experience shared by those in other mission fields?

2. A Source Book for Method.—In a recent informal conference on Religious Education it was suggested that a fresh study of the methods of our Lord as Teacher, undertaken in the light of actual conditions in various mission fields to-day, would yield invaluable guidance. Groups are being formed to study the Gospels from this point of view during the coming winter and spring. If any missionary, or group of missionaries, is willing to co-operate, further particulars may be obtained from the Editors of the Review (2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1).

German Missions

FROM time to time *Quarterly Notes* has announced the return of German missionaries to their former fields of work. The last few months have witnessed several changes in the position of German missions in British areas.

In the Gold Coast the agreement between the Basel, Bremen and United Free Church Missions (reported in the January issue) has been approved by the Government with certain stipulations for the sake of ensuring a unified policy in education for the whole Colony. The Basel and Bremen Missions have been included in the list of 'recognized' societies for work in the Gold Coast, and five Basel men have received permission to go out in addition to the Bremen men who went to West Africa some time ago under the Scottish mission.

Dr Johanssen and the Rev. W. Hosbach of the Bielefeld Mission, who went to Tanganyika in the beginning of the year, have found great encouragement in the faithfulness of the people and in the progress of the Church during the absence of European helpers.

Permission has also been given to the Rev. H. Personn of the Bielefeld Mission, the Rev. P. Rother, the Rev. E. Ittameier, Nurses Wärtl and Vierhub of the Leipzig Mission and to the Rev. O. Schüler of the Berlin Mission to go to Tanganyika Territory, where they hope to take up work within the next few months.

In India the restrictions on the entry of Germans will remain in force until 1926, but, as a result of representations made by the National Christian Council, special permission has been granted to the Rev. R. Frölich and the Rev. P. Gäbler, missionaries of the Leipzig Society, to work under the Church of Sweden Mission in the former Leipzig field in South India; and to a deputation of two Gossner missionaries to visit for four months their field in Chota Nagpur.

B. D. G.

Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, Stockholm, August 19th to 31st, 1925.—There were no questions relating specifically to foreign missions on the programme. The meaning and significance of the conference in relation to foreign missions will, however, prove to be exceedingly important in view of its ecumenical character, for it is becoming increasingly recognized that all great social and moral questions are of common concern to all peoples.

The universality of Christianity in its message and implications stood out clearly in the discussion of the race problem, which was considered not only from the characteristically western point of view, but also from that of such countries as China, India

and Africa. The conference was unanimous that in the life and teachings of Jesus Christ lay the one and only hope of solution whether of this or of other baffling problems which beset humanity in the modern world. Due recognition was given to the contribution made by Christian missions in the nurture and education of native races and in instilling a more Christ-like attitude of mutual understanding between one people and another.

The conference gave the strongest expression to the essential unity of the Church. That this will have a decided influence on the work of Christian missions with regard to national and international co-operation, both at the home base and on the mission fields, may be regarded as assured. The conference was a challenge to the missionary enterprise to assemble its forces for common endeavour and to present a united front, thereby setting an example of Christian brotherhood before the non-Christian peoples of the world.

The Orthodox Church took a prominent part in the proceedings and without doubt received impulses to evangelism and visions of service which will bear fruit. What significance might not a spiritual awakening of the old eastern Churches have in forwarding the cause of Christian missions, especially with respect to the evangelization of the Moslem world ?

J. E. L.

Notes and News

Conference on Africa.—American mission boards having work in Africa are meeting in conference at Hartford, October 30th to November 1st. Discussion will centre round the report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission to East Africa.

Bureau des missions protestantes du Congo.—M. Anet reports that during the first semester of 1925 the number of missionaries who stayed in Brussels not less than two weeks for work in connexion with the Bureau amounted to sixty, representing twelve different societies and several nationalities.

Reprint.—‘The Spirit of Worship and Reverence,’ a paper by the Rev. G. S. Stewart, which appeared in the April number of the Review, has been reprinted by request. It can be obtained, 3d. post free, from 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

The Contents of the October number of *The International Review of Missions* are as follows : Public Health and the Training of Doctors and Nurses in China, by Roger S. Greene ;—The Congress on Christian Work in South America, by Robert E. Speer ;—Aims of African Education, by A. G. Fraser ;—A School Village in Northern Rhodesia, by Mabel Shaw ;—The Problem of Native Labour in the Belgian Congo, by a Belgian Catholic ;—The Church in China at the Cross Roads, by Henry T. Hodgkin ;—A Survey of Islam in South Africa, by S. M. Zwemer ;—Women’s Work for Foreign Missions : Three Home Base Studies, II. On the Continent of Europe, by G. A. Gollock ;—Missionary Preparation in North America : its Development and Present Outlook, by J. Lovell Murray ;—The Jewish Problem : Some Newer Aspects, by J. Macdonald Webster ;—Reviews of Books.

Directory Note

Secretaries of the Congo Protestant Council, vice the Congo Continuation Committee, Rev. A. R. Stonelake and Rev. Emory Ross, Union Missionnaire Hospitalière, Leopoldville-Est, Congo Belge, Afrique.

Quarterly Notes, being the Bulletin of the International Missionary Council, is in no sense an official organ of the International Missionary Council. It is intended to be a brief record of the facts of national and international missionary co-operation. It is issued *gratis* as an inset in the *International Review of Missions* and also separately. National organizations and missionary societies who desire to put it into the hands of committee members or missionaries can order it from the International Missionary Council, Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, at 8d. (15 cents) per 10 copies, post free. Applications for single copies should be made to the Mission Houses.

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